

Encyclopedia of Islam and The Muslim World

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Encyclopedia of

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ii

Encyclopedia of

Islam

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Muslim World

Editor in Chief
Richard C. Martin

Volume 1
A-L
Encyclopedia of

Islam
and the
Muslim World
Editor in Chief
Richard C. Martin

Volume 2
M-Z, Index
Encyclopedia of Islam
Richard C. Martin, Editor in Chief

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Contents

Introduction	ix
List of entries	xiii
List of contributors	xxiii
Synoptic outline of entries	xxxix
List of maps	xxxv

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ISLAM AND THE MUSLIM WORLD

Glossary	749

Appendix: Genealogies and Timelines	
.....	755
Index	
.....	785

v

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vi

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Islam and the Muslim World

vii

Introduction

A growing number of scholars and pundits have declared that the twenty-first century will be the era of Islam. Such predictions, whether intended in a positive or negative light, err in failing to appreciate the spread and influence of Islam during the past millennium and a half, especially on the continents of Asia and Africa. Nonetheless, events during the first decade of the new millennium have underscored the importance of knowing about Islamic history and understanding the great diversity and richness of Muslim social, cultural, and religious practices. Suicide bomber attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, killed over three thousand persons. These tragic events and the media coverage of the aftermath as well as of the two wars subsequently fought in the Muslim countries of Afghanistan and Iraq have dramatically shown how little is known in the West about Islam and the Muslim world. Islam is, and has been for nearly fifteen centuries, a global religious and political phenomenon. Muslim networks of communication, from the annual pilgrimage to Mecca to the vast new power of the World Wide Web, have enabled Muslims to establish postmodern identities in a rapidly changing world, while at the same time preserving and reinvigorating a variety of time-honored traditions and practices. The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World is a sourcebook of information about Islam, its past and present, addressed to students and general readers as the twenty-first century begins its first decade.

The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World presents in two volumes some 504

articles,
alphabetically arranged, in incremental lengths generally of 200, 500, 1,000,
3,000, and 5,000
words. The work of some 500 scholars appears in these pages, carefully reviewed
and edited in a
common style for easy access by readers who may presently have limited or no
knowledge of
Islam. It has also been prepared as a teaching and learning resource for
teachers and students,
from the high school grades through university. The alphabetical ordering of
articles that follow,
in the List of Articles, will enable readers to locate topics of interest
quickly. A synoptic outline of
the contents of the Encyclopedia, found within the frontmatter on pages
xxxi–xxxiv, provides
readers with an overview by topic and subtopic of the range and kinds of
information presented in
the main body of the Encyclopedia. Approximately 170 photographs, drawings,
maps, and charts
appear throughout the two volumes. A glossary in the back matter of volume two,
which lists
commonly used Arabic and other Islamic terms, such as shari a, or “Islamic
law,” will enable
general readers to determine quickly the meaning of essential but perhaps less
familiar terms in
Islamic studies.

The Encyclopedia is truly an international work that reflects the diversity of
ideas and practices
that have characterize the Islamic world throughout its history. This diversity
is reflected among
the editors who organized and compiled this work and the scores of scholars who
wrote the
articles contained in it. The associate editors’ national origins are Canada,
Iran, and South Africa;
their religious affiliations or backgrounds include Sunni and Shi ite Islam;
and their scholarly
training has been in sociology, the history of religions, and Islamic studies.
An even greater

ix

Introduction

diversity exists among the contributing scholars who live and teach in North
America, Europe,
Africa, and Asia, including the Middle East. They represent the fields of
history, philosophy,
religious studies, anthropology, sociology, political science, and the fine

arts, among others. In its totality, then, this work represents a broad expanse of scholarly knowledge about Islam, accessible in two volumes.

Islam increasingly is recognized as a vital force in the contemporary world, a source of collective social identity, and religious expression for over one billion people around the world, who comprise a fifth of the global population. Public interest in learning about Islam is a very recent phenomenon, however. Events of the past few decades have generated a demand for information about Islam on an unprecedented scale in the history of Islamic studies in the West.

In negative terms, these events include violence: the colonial and postcolonial encounters between Europeans and Muslims in Asia and Africa, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Hindu-Muslim clashes in South Asia, Serbian ethnic cleansing of Muslim populations in the Balkans, and the heavily televised American-led wars in the Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq. In positive terms, the recent years have seen productive Muslim diaspora communities emerge in Europe and the Americas, Islamic patterns of democracy and civil society develop in some countries in Africa and Asia, and venues of dialogue arise among Muslims, Jews, and Christians about their common moral and social concerns as well as their differences. That non-Muslims are learning more about Islam and their Muslim neighbors through tools like this encyclopedia must also be counted as a positive turn, and a much-needed one.

Scholars, journalists, and writers of all sorts have responded robustly to this newly recognized importance of Islam and the Muslim world, thus creating a wealth of information about Islam now available in bookstores, libraries, and newsstands around the world. More significant for readers of this work, the Internet hosts an expanding plethora of Web sites on Islamic teachings, practices, sectarian groups, and organizations. Many Web sites are sponsored by Muslim scholars, organizations, and institutions and provide authentic, and sometimes competing, information about Islamic beliefs and practices. Unfortunately, others offer

hostile interpretations of Islam. The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World is designed to help students and general readers cope with this growing demand and almost overwhelming supply of information.

The decision to call this work the Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World was made after considering other, less felicitous alternatives. The editors wanted to produce a work that was about Islamic cultures, religion, history, politics, and the like as well as the people who have identified with Islam over the past fourteen centuries. For the scope of the social and cultural aspects of the subject matter of the Encyclopedia, the editors chose the phrase "Muslim World."

The label "Muslim World" is not meant to suggest that diversity and variety are lacking in what Muslims think, believe, and do as Muslims. Nor is the Muslim World as represented in this work to be thought of as separate from the rest of the world. Indeed, it will be clear to readers of articles on virtually all topics included below that Islamic history and Muslim people have been deeply and richly engaged in and interacting with world history and are perhaps even more so in the modern world, as the late Marshall G. S. Hodgson so persuasively argued in his monumental three-volume work, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (1974).

The growing demand for accessible knowledge about Islam in recent decades has produced a number of histories, encyclopedias, and dictionaries that serve different purposes. In addition to Hodgson's comprehensive historical essay on Islamic civilization, *The Cambridge History of Islam* (1970) brought together substantial treatments of historical periods and geographical regions of Islamic societies. Another important and even older work that is widely used by scholars is the ongoing project known as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The first edition was published in four volumes in Leiden (1908–1938); the second and much larger edition recently reached its completion in twice as many volumes with a significantly expanded list of contributing scholars; and the third edition is now being planned. The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World brings

to general readers in accessible form the rich tradition of serious scholarship on Islam and Muslim peoples found in the Cambridge History and the Encyclopaedia of Islam, and it addresses information about Islam in the twenty-first century that is not discussed in the older sources. More recently,

x

Islam and the Muslim World

Introduction

the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World (1995) appeared in four volumes. The focus of this latter work is, as the title suggests, on Islam in the modern world, generally dated from the beginning the eighteenth century through the last decade of the twentieth. The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World by contrast seeks to contextualize contemporary Islam within the longer history of Islam, and it includes discussion of significant world events involving the Islamic world over the past decade.

In preparing this new resource on Islam, the editors sought to frame some of the traditional as well as the more recent aspects of Islam in newer categories. Thus, for example, readers will find articles covering “Material Culture,” “Vernacular Islam,” “Identity, Muslim,” “Secularism,” “Disputation,” and “Expansion of Islam.” A major feature of the Encyclopedia is the large number of brief biographical sketches (nearly two hundred) of major figures in Islamic history, men and women, past and present. The editors also included articles on several important and sometimes contested ethical and social issues, including “Ethnicity,” “Gender,” “Homosexuality,” “Human Rights,” and “Masculinities,” along with the more traditional entries on gender (usually concentrating on the feminine roles) and marriage. The events of September 11, 2001, occurred after the Table of Contents was prepared and authors were commissioned to write the articles. Nonetheless, new articles on “Terrorism,” “Usama bin Ladin,” and “al-Qa ida,” among others, were added.

History, of course, will continue to unfold for humankind worldwide, including Muslims. The

Encyclopedia includes a number of interpretive articles, such as “Ethics and Social Issues,” which provide frameworks for understanding ongoing events in Islamic history.

Editorial style is a matter of great importance in a work such as the Encyclopedia. Readers can easily get lost in technical terms and diacritical marks on words borrowed from Arabic and

Persian. Integrating work from a great number of scholars from around the world, each with

differing practices in academic expression and in transliterating Islamic languages into Latin

letters, presented some challenges to the academic editors and the editorial staff at Macmillan.

To make things easier on readers, especially for those not initiated into the argots of Islamic

technical terms, the editors decided to minimize the diacritical marks on loanwords from Arabic,

Persian, Urdu, Turkish, and other Islamic languages. We encouraged authors and copy editors to

romanize those Islamic terms that have made it into the English language, such as jihad, hajj, and

Ramadan, as evidenced by their inclusion in modern dictionaries such as Webster’s Third New

International Dictionary. Where it seemed helpful, editors supplied brief parenthetical definitions

and identifications, both in the text and in the Glossary.

The people who made this project possible brought great ideas to it, are extremely talented

and competent, and were wonderful to work with. Hélène Potter, Macmillan’s Director of New

Product Development, designed the project and brought to it a considerable knowledge about

Islam. More than an industry leader, Hélène became first and foremost a friend and colleague.

She is an accomplished professional with an uncanny understanding of the knowledge industry

she serves. Corrina Moss, an Assistant Editor with Macmillan, worked on the project throughout

and kept in touch daily on editorial matters large and small. To Corrina went the unpleasant task,

pleasantly administered, of keeping the associate editors and especially me on task. Elly

Dickason, who was the publisher in 2000 when this project was approved, and Jonathan Aretakis,

chief copy editor, also deserve expressions of praise and gratitude—Elly for supporting the

project from the moment she reviewed it, and Jonathan for making sure the articles are factually and stylistically appropriate.

My colleagues Saïd Arjomand, Marcia Hermansen, and Abdulkader Tayob served as Associate Editors. The associate editors brought broad vision and detailed knowledge to their tasks of helping to organize the contents of the Encyclopedia, and I am indebted to them for making my own knowledge limitations less problematic in producing it. Rochelle Davis, a specialist in Arabic and Islamic studies, served as Assistant Editor, responsible for reading page proofs and preparing the Glossary. However, she contributed much more to the Encyclopedia, with an eye for grammatical and content errors that greatly improved the penultimate draft. My friend and

Islam and the Muslim World

xi

Introduction

colleague of many years, John Voll, Editorial Consultant, kindly advised Hélène Potter and me of matters we should consider in the formative stages of planning the Encyclopedia, and he contributed several important articles to it.

On behalf of Saïd, Marcia, Abdulkader, Rochelle, and John, I would like to dedicate this project to our many Muslim and non-Muslim colleagues around the world, with whom we share the task of teaching and writing about Islam in a high-tech, troubled world that needs to know more about itself. To that end we hope this work will help disseminate useful knowledge about one of the world's great civilizations to those who have a desire and need to know.

Richard C. Martin
Creston, North Carolina
August 15, 2003

xii

Islam and the Muslim World

List of Entries

Abbas I, Shah	Abu 'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr	Ahmad Ibn Idris
Rudi Matthee	Mazyar Lotfalian	Knut S. Vikør
Abd al-Baha	Abu 'l-Hudhayl al- Allaf	Ahmadiyya

William McCants	M. Sait Özervarli	Avril A. Powell
Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis (Sir) Sayyid	Abu 'l-Qasem Kashani	Ahmad Khan,
Claudia Gazzini	Mohammad H. Faghfoory	David Lelyveld
Abd al-Hamid Kishk (Shaykh) Ghulam	Ada	Ahmad, Mirza
Joel Gordon	Tahir Fuzile Sitoto	Avril A. Powell
Abd al-Jabbar	Adab	A isha
M. Sait Özervarli	Barbara D. Metcalf	Sa'diyya
Shaikh		
Abd al-Karim Soroush	Adhan	Akbar
Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi	Muneer Goolam Fareed	Gregory C.
Kozlowski		
Abd al-Nasser, Jamal	Afghani, Jamal al-Din	Akhbariyya
Joel Gordon	Sohail H. Hashmi	Robert Gleave
Abd al-Qadir, Amir	Africa, Islam in	Akhlaq
Peter von Sivers	David Robinson	Azim Nanji
Abd al-Rahman Kawakibi	African Culture and Islam	Ali
Sohail H. Hashmi	Abdin Chande	Diana Steigerwald
Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri	Aga Khan	Aligarh
Khaled Abou El-Fadl	Azim Nanji	David Lelyveld
Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn	Ahl al-Bayt	Allah
Sohail H. Hashmi	Juan Eduardo Campo	Daniel C.
Peterson		
Abduh, Muhammad	Ahl-e Hadis / Ahl al-Hadith	American Culture
and Islam		
Sohail H. Hashmi	Barbara D. Metcalf	Ihsan Bagby
Abu Bakr	Ahl al-Hadith	Americas, Islam
in the		
Rizwi Faizer	R. Kevin Jaques	Sylviane Anna
Diouf		
Abu Bakr Gumi	Ahl al-Kitab	Andalus, al-
Roman Loimeier	Stephen Cory	Aaron Hughes
Abu Hanifa	Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi	Angels
Brannon M. Wheeler	Roman Loimeier	Peter Lamborn
Wilson		
xiii		
List of Entries		
Arabia, Pre-Islam	Baha allah	Calligraphy

Gordon D. Newby	John Walbridge	Sheila S. Blair
Jonathan M. Bloom		
Arabic Language	Baha i Faith	
Kees Versteegh	John Walbridge	Capitalism
Timur Kuran		
Arabic Literature	Balkans, Islam in the	
Gert Borg	Frances Trix	Cartography and
Geography		
Karen C. Pinto		
Arab League	Bamba, Ahmad	
Juan Eduardo Campo		Central Asia,
Islam in		
Lucy Creevey		
Devin DeWeese		
Architecture	Banna, Hasan al-	
Central Asian Culture and Islam		
Santhi Kavuri-Bauer	Sohail H. Hashmi	Devin DeWeese
Art	Baqillani, al-	Childhood
Sheila S. Blair	M. Sait Özervarli	Elizabeth
Warnock Fernea		
Jonathan M. Bloom		
Basri, Hasan al-	Christianity and Islam	
Asabiyya	Rkia E. Cornell	Patrice C.
Brodeur		
Aaron Hughes		
Ba th Party	Circumcision	
Ash arites, Ash aira		Kathryn Kueny
F. Gregory Gause III		
M. Sait Özervarli		
Bazargan, Mehdi	Clothing	
Askiya Muhammad		Charlotte
Jirousek		
Mazyar Lotfalian		
Ousmane Kane		
Bedouin	Coinage	
Asnam		Abdullah Saeed
Rochelle Davis		
Uri Rubin		
Colonialism		
Bid a		
Assassins		Jamal Malik
Nico J. G. Kaptein		
Farhad Daftary		
Communism		
Bin Ladin, Usama		
Astrology		Richard C.
Campany, Jr.		

Richard C. Martin		
Ahmad S. Dallal		
Conflict and Violence		
Astronomy	Biography and Hagiography	A. Rashied Omar
Ahmad S. Dallal	Marcia Hermansen	
Conversion		
Atabat	Biruni, al-	Peter B. Clarke
Neguin Yavari	Marcia Hermansen	
Crusades		
Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal	Body, Significance of	Warren C. Schultz
A. Uner Turgay	Brannon M. Wheeler	
Dar al-Harb		
Awami League	Bourghiba, Habib	John Kelsay
Sufia Uddin	John Ruedy	
Dar al-Islam		
Bukhara, Khanate and Emirate of	John Kelsay	
Ayatollah (Ar. Ayatullah)		
Robert Gleave	Florian Schwarz	Da wa
David Westerlund		
Azhar, al-	Bukhari, al-	
Christer Hedin		
Diana Steigerwald	Asma Afsaruddin	
Torsten Janson		
Babiyya	Buraq	Dawla
William McCants	Carel Bertram	Sohail H. Hashmi
Bab, Sayyed Ali Muhammad	Cairo	Death
William McCants	Aslam Farouk-Alli	Juan Eduardo Campo
Baghdad	Caliphate	Deoband
Mona Hassan	Muhammad Qasim Zaman	Barbara D. Metcalf
xiv		Islam and
the Muslim World		
List of Entries		
Devotional Life	Erbakan, Necmeddin	Genealogy
Gerard Wiegers	Linda T. Darling	Marcia Hermansen
Dhikr	Ethics and Social Issues	Ghannoushi,
Rashid al-		
Earle Waugh	Ebrahim Moosa	Gudrun Krämer
Dietary Laws	Ethiopia	Ghayba(t)
Muneer Goolam Fareed	Haggai Erlich	Robert Gleave
Disputation	Ethnicity	Ghazali, al-

Richard C. Martin	Amal Rassam	Ebrahim Moosa
Divorce	Eunuchs	Ghazali,
Muhammad al-		
Ziba Mir-Hosseini	Jane Hathaway	Qamar-ul Huda
European Culture and Islam	Ghazali, Zaynab al-	
Dome of the Rock		
Jorgen S. Nielsen	Ursula Günther	
Sheila S. Blair		
Jonathan M. Bloom	Europe, Islam in	Globalization
Jorgen S. Nielsen	Saïd Amir Arjomand	
Dreams		
John C. Lamoreaux	Expansion	Grammar and
Lexicography		
Fred M. Donner	Kees Versteegh	
Du a		
Muneer Goolam Fareed	Fadlallah, Muhammad Husayn	Greek
Civilization		
Mazyar Lotfalian	Oliver Leaman	
East Asia, Islam in		
Jacqueline M. Armijo	Falsafa	Hadith
Parviz Morewedge	Harald Motzki	
East Asian Culture and Islam		
Jacqueline M. Armijo	Farrakhan, Louis	Hajj Salim
Suwari, al-		
Aminah Beverly McCloud	Abdulkader Tayob	
Economy and Economic Institutions		
Nora Ann Colton	Fasi, Muhammad Allal al-	Haj Umar
al-Tal, al-		
David L. Johnston	Abdin Chande	
Education		
Jonathan Berkey	Fatima	Hallaj, al-
Ursula Günther	Herbert W. Mason	
Empires: Abbasid		
Matthew Gordon	Fatwa	HAMAS
Daniel C. Peterson	Tamara Sonn	
Empires: Byzantine		
Feda iyan-e Islam	Harem	
Nadia Maria El Cheikh		
Fakhreddin Azimi	Etin Anwar	
Empires: Mogul		
Feminism	Haron, Abdullah	
Iqtidar Alam Khan		
Ghazala Anwar	Shamil Jeppie	
Empires: Mongol and Il-Khanid		
Fez	Hasan	
Charles Melville		

Claudia Gazzini	Michael M. J. Fischer	
Empires: Ottoman	Fitna	
Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar		
Donald Quataert	Sandra S. Campbell	Majid
Mohammadi		
Empires: Safavid and Qajar	Fundamentalism	Healing
Rudi Matthee	Sohail H. Hashmi	Abdullahi
Osman El-Tom		
Empires: Sassanian	Futuwwa	Heresiography
Henning L. Bauer	Reeva Spector Simon	Aaron Hughes
Empires: Timurid	Gasprinskii, Isma il Bay	Hijra
Paul D. Buell	A. Uner Turgay	Rizwi Faizer
Empires: Umayyad	Gender	Hijri Calendar
Alfons H. Teipen	Zayn R. Kassam	Ahmad S.
Dallal		

Islam and the Muslim World

xv

List of Entries

Hilli, Allama al-	Ibn Hanbal	Islamic Jihad
Robert Gleave	Susan A. Spector	Najib Ghabbian
Hilli, Muhaqqiq al-	Ibn Khaldun	Islamic
Salvation Front		
Robert Gleave	R. Kevin Jaques	David L.
Johnston		
Hinduism and Islam	Ibn Maja	Islamic Society
of North America		
Juan Eduardo Campo	Asma Afsaruddin	R. Kevin
Jaques		
Anna Bigelow		
Ibn Rushd	Isma il I, Shah	
Hisba	Oliver Leaman	Sholeh A.
Quinn		
Robert Gleave		
Ibn Sina	Ja far al-Sadiq	
Historical Writing	Shams C. Inati	Liyakatali
Takim		
Konrad Hirschler		
Jahannam		
Ibn Taymiyya		
Hizb Allah	Juan Eduardo	
Campo		
James Pavlin		
Tamara Sonn		
Jahiliyya		

Identity, Muslim		
Hojjat al-Islam		Rizwi Faizer
Daniel C. Peterson		
Robert Gleave		
Jama at-e Islami		
Ijtihad		
Hojjatiyya Society		Jamal Malik
Muneer Goolam Fareed		
Majid Mohammadi		
Jami		
Ikhwan al-Muslimin	Muneer Goolam Fareed	
Holy Cities		
David L. Johnston		
Aslam Farouk-Alli		Jamil al-Amin,
Imam		
Ikhwan al-Safa	Edward E. Curtis IV	
Homosexuality		
Azim Nanji		
Everett K. Rowson		Jam iyat-e
Ulama-e Hind		
Imam	Jamal Malik	
Hosayniyya		
Muhammad Qasim Zaman		
Rasool Ja fariyan		Jam iyat-e
Ulama-e Islam		
Imamate	Jamal Malik	
Hospitality and Islam		
Robert Gleave		
Khalid Yahya Blankinship		Jam iyat-e
Ulama-e Pakistan		
Imamzadah	Jamal Malik	
Hukuma al-Islamiyya, al- (Islamic		
Government)	Anne H. Betteridge	
Janna		
Gudrun Krämer	Internet	Juan Eduardo
Campo		
Human Rights	Bruce B. Lawrence	
Jevdet Pasha		
Ursula Günther	Miriam Cooke	
Linda T. Darling		
Humor	Intifada	
Jihad		
Irfan A. Omar	Philip Mattar	
Sohail H. Hashmi		
Husayn	Iqbal, Muhammad	
Jinnah, Muhammad Ali		
Michael M. J. Fischer	David Lelyveld	

Rasul Bakhsh Rais		
Husayni, Hajj Amin al-Islam	Iran, Islamic Republic of	Judaism and
Philip Mattar	Nancy L. Stockdale	Gordon D. Newby
Husayn, Taha	Ishraqi School	Kalam
Sohail H. Hashmi	Seyyed Hossein Nasr	Parviz
Morewedge		
Ibadat	Islam and Islamic	Kano
Gerard Wiegers	John O. Voll	Thyge C. Bro
Ibn Arabi	Islam and Other Religions	Karaki, Shaykh
Ali		
William C. Chittick	Patrice C. Brodeur	Rula Jurdi
Abisaab		
Ibn Battuta	Islamicate Society	Karbala
Thyge C. Bro	R. Kevin Jaques	Diana
Steigerwald		
xvi		Islam and
the Muslim World		
List of Entries		
Kemal, Namek	Liberation Movement of Iran	Marwa, Muhammad
Linda T. Darling	Claudia Stodte	Paula Stiles
Khalid, Khalid Muhammad	Libraries	Marwan
William Shepard	John Walbridge	Rizwi Faizer
Khamane i, Sayyed Ali	Madani, Abbasi	Masculinities
Majid Mohammadi	Claudia Gazzini	Marcia Hermansen
Khan	Madhhab	Mashhad
Gene Garthwaite	Brannon M. Wheeler	Rasool Ja fariyan
Khanqa (Khanaqa, Khanga)	Madrasa	Masjid
Leonor Fernandes		Patrick D. Gaffney
John Walbridge		
Khan, Reza of Bareilly		Maslaha
Mahdi		
Barbara D. Metcalf		Richard C. Martin
Marcia Hermansen		
Kharijites, Khawarij		Material Culture
Mahdi, Sadiq al-		
Annie C. Higgins		Hassan Mwakimako
John O. Voll		
Khidr, al-		Maturidi, al-
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Islam and the Muslim World

List of Entries

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xviii

Islam and the Muslim World

List of Entries

Pilgrimage: Hajj Rashidun Sadr Kathryn Kueny Muhammad Qasim Zaman Andrew J. Newman

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Islam and the Muslim World

xix

List of Entries

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xx

Islam and the
Muslim World
List of Entries

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Islam and the Muslim World

xxi

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xxiv

Islam and the Muslim World

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Mu tazilites, Mu tazila	

xxvi

Islam and the Muslim World
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 xxvii
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 tional Studies, CA
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 Kho i, Abo l Qasem
 Taliban
 Europe, Islam in
 Komiteh
 European Culture and Islam
 Pasdaran
 Jon McGinnis
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Tabari, al-Abd al-Jabbar

Parviz Morewedge Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-Allaf

Thaqafi, Mukhtar al-Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ

Ash'arites, Ash'ari

Baqillani, al-Charles Melville

Falsafa Maturidi, al-Pembroke College, Cambridge University, England

Kalam

Nazzam, al-Knowledge

Empires: Mongol and Il-Khanid

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Young Ottomans Hadith

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Marwa, Muhammad
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 Pakistan, Islamic Republic of
 Mi raj Siba i, Mustafa al-
 Amal Rassam
 Mansur Sefatgol
 Queens College, City University of
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 Ethnicity Mollabashi
 Iran, Islamic Republic of
 Tribe Wazifa
 Khomeini, Ruhollah
 Nationalism: Arab
 David Robinson Christopher Shackle
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 Liberation Movement of Iran
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 Modernization, Political: Authoritari-
 Homosexuality
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 Mazalim

 Islam and the Muslim World
 xxix
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 Gasprinskii, Isma il Bay Libraries
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xxx

Islam and the Muslim World

Synoptic Outline of Entries

This outline provides a general overview of the conceptual structure of the
 Encyclopedia of Islam

and the Muslim World. The outline is organized under nine major categories, which are further split into twenty-five subcategories. The entries are listed alphabetically within each category or subcategory. For ease of reference, the same entry may be listed under several categories.

Biographies: Political and other	Saladin
Biruni, al-	
Public Figures	Saleh bin Allawi
Bukhari, al-	
Abbas I, Shah	Shar it Shangalaji, Reza-Qoli
Fadlallah, Muhammad Husayn	
Abd al-Qadir, Amir	Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad
Farrakhan, Louis	
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Fatima	
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Ghannoushi, Rashid al-	
Abd al-Karim Soroush	Wali Allah, Shah
Ghazali, al-	
Abd al-Nasser, Jamal	Yahya bin Abdallah Ramiya
Ghazali, Muhammad al-	
Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri	Zand, Karim Khan
Ghazali, Zaynab al-	
Abu l-Qasem Kashani	
Hajj Salim Suwari, al-	
Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi	
Haj Umar al-Tal, al-	
Biographies: Religious and Cultural	
Ahmad Khan, (Sir) Sayyid	
Hallaj, al-	
Figures	
Akbar	
Haron, Abdullah	
Askiya Muhammad	Abd al-Baha
Hasan	
Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal	Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis
Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar	
Bourghiba, Habib	Abd al-Jabbar
Husayn	
Erbakan, Necmeddin	Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn
Husayn, Taha	
Fasi, Muhammad Allal al-	Abduh, Muhammad
Husayni, Hajj Amin al-	
Gasprinskii, Isma il Bay	Abu Bakr
Khidr, al-	

Isma il I, Shah	Abu Bakr Gumi
Karaki, Shaykh Ali	
Jevdet Pasha	Abu Hanifa
Hilli, Allama al-	
Kemal, Namik	Abu 'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr
Hilli, Muhaqqiq al-	
Khalid, Khalid Muhammad	Abu 'l-Hudhayl al- Allaf
Ibn Arabi	
Mahdi, Sadiq al-	Afghani, Jamal al-Din
Ibn Battuta	
Mansa Musa	Aga Khan
Ibn Hanbal	
Marwan	Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam
Ibn Khaldun	
Mosaddeq, Mohammad	Ahmad Gran
Ibn Maja	
Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi	Ahmad ibn Idris
Ibn Rushd	
Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj	A isha
Ibn Sina	
Nader Shah Afshar	Ali
Ibn Taymiyya	
Nizam al-Mulk	Bab, Sayyed Ali Muhammad
Iqbal, Muhammad	
Nuri, Fazlallah	Baha allah
Ja far al-Sadiq	
Nursi, Said	Bamba, Ahmad
Jamil al-Amin, Imam	
Qadhdhafi, Mu ammar al-	Banna, Hasan al-
Jinnah, Muhammad Ali	
Reza Shah	Baqillani, al-
Khamane i, Sayyed Ali	
Rushdie, Salman	Basri, Hasan al-
Khan, Reza of Bareilly	
Sadat, Anwar al-	Bazargan, Mehdi
Kho i, Abol Qasem	

xxxi

Synoptic Outline of Entries

Khomeini, Ruhollah	Mihrab	
Ethnicity		
Kindi, al-	Ta ziya	Eunuchs
Kunti, Mukhtar al-	Vernacular Islam	
Feminism		
Madani, Abbasi		Gender
Malik, Ibn Anas	Culture: Disciplines and Fields of	Harem
Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir	Knowledge	Healing

Malcolm X	Akhlaq	
Homosexuality		
Nasa i, al-	Astrology	
Hospitality and Islam		
Makassar, Shaykh Yusuf	Astronomy	Human
Rights		
Maturidi, al-	Falsafa	Mahr
Maududi, Abu l-A la	Kalam	
Marriage		
Mojtahed-Shabestari, Mohammad	Law	
Masculinities		
Motahhari, Mortaza	Medicine	Maslaha
Mu awiya	Music	Nikah
Muhammad	Tasawwuf	
Polygamy		
Muhammad, Elijah	Science, Islam and	Purdah
Muhammad, Warith Deen		Women,
Public Roles of		
Muhammad Ahmad Ibn Abdullah		Veiling
Culture: Concepts		
Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya		
Asabiyya		
Muhasibi, al-		
Geography: Regions		
Ada		
Mulla Sadra		
Americas, Islam in the		
Adab		
Na ini, Mohammad Hosayn		Africa,
Islam in		
Knowledge		
Nasa i, al-		
Balkans, Islam in the		
Madhhab		
Nazzam, al-		Central
Asia, Islam in		
Sadr		
Qutb, Sayyid		East
Asia, Islam in		
Rabi a of Basra		Europe,
Islam in		
Rahman, Fazlur	Culture: Language and Literature	South
Asia, Islam in		
Rashid, Harun al-	Arabic Language	
Southeast Asia, Islam in		
Rida, Rashid	Arabic Literature	United
States, Islam in the		

Rumi, Jalaluddin	Biography and Hagiography	West,
Concept of		
Sadr, Muhammad Baqir al-	Grammar and Lexicography	
Sadr, Musa al-	Persian Language and Literature	
Translation	Geography: Countries, Cites and	
Shafi i, al-		
Locales		
Shaltut, Mahmud	Urdu Language, Literature, and	
Poetry	Andalus, al-	
Shari ati, Ali		Arabia,
Pre-Islam		
Siba i, Mustafa al-	Vernacular Islam	
Baghdad		
Suhrawardi, al-		
Bukhara, Khanate and Emirate of		
Sukayna	Culture: Regional	Cairo
Suyuti, al-	African Culture and Islam	
Ethiopia		
Tabari, al-	American Culture and Islam	Fez
Thaqafi, Mukhtar al-	Central Asian Culture and Islam	Holy
Cities		
Turabi, Hasan al-	East Asian Culture and Islam	Iran,
Islamic Republic of		
Tusi, Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan	European Culture and Islam	Kano
(Shaykh al-Ta ifa)	South Asian Culture and Islam	Lebanon
Tusi, Nasir al-Din	Southeast Asian Culture and Islam	Mashhad
Umar		Najaf
Umm Kulthum	Culture: Other	
Pakistan, Islamic Republic of		
Uthman ibn Affan	Dreams	Qom
Yusuf Ali, Abdullah	Education	Sahara
Identity, Muslim	Timbuktu	
Culture: Arts, Architecture, and	Humor in Islam	Touba
Culture	Libraries	
Zanzibar		
Architecture	Rawza-Khani	Zaytuna
Art		
Calligraphy	Family, Ethics and Society	Groups,
Organizations, Schools,		
Clothing	Childhood	and
Movements: Political		
Dome of the Rock	Conflict and Violence	Arab
League		
Khanqah (Khanaqah, Khanga)	Divorce	Awami
League		
Manar, Manara	Education	Ba th
Party		

Material Culture
Communism

Ethics and Social Issues

xxxii

Islam and the Muslim World

Synoptic Outline of Entries

Intifada	Coinage and Exchange	Riba
Khojas	Economy and Economic Institutions	Shari a
Komiteh		Taqlid
Nahdatul Ulama (NU)	Education	
Organization of the Islamic and Society	Libraries	Politics
Conference	Religious Institutions	Military
Raid		
Refah Partisi	Waqf	
Minorities: Dhimmis		
Taliban		
Minorities: Offshoots of Islam		
Young Ottomans	History: Periods, Dynasties,	
Modernization		
Young Turks	Governments	Monarchy
Arabia, Pre-Islam	Nationalism	
Groups, Organizations, Schools,	Ayyubids	
Pan-Arabism		
and Movements: Religious	Bukhara, Khanate and Emirate of	Pan-Islam
Aligarh	Colonialism	
Pan-Turanism		
Ash arites, Asha ira	Empires: Abbasid	Pasdaran
Assassins	Empires: Byzantine	
Pluralism: Legal and Ethno-		
Ahmadiyya	Empires: Mongol and Il-Khanid	
Religious		
Deoband	Empires: Mogul	
Pluralism: Political		
Feda iyan-e Islam	Empires: Ottoman	Political
Islam		
HAMAS	Empires: Safavid and Qajar	Political
Organization		
Hizb Allah	Empires: Sassanian	Political
Thought		
Ikhwan al-Muslimin	Empires: Timurid	Polygamy
Ikhwan al-Safa	Empires: Umayyad	Reform:
Arab Middle East and		
Islamic Jihad	Expansion	North
Africa		
Islamic Society of North America	Hijra	Reform:
Iran		

Majlis	Hijri Calendar	Reform:
Muslim Communities of		
Muslim Student Association of	Khiva, Khanate of	the
Russian Empire		
North America	Mahdist State, Mahdiyya	Reform:
South Asia		
Salafiyya	Modernity	Reform:
Southeast Asia		
Shaykhiyya	Monarchy	
Republican Brothers		
Tablighi Jama at	Moravids	
Revolution: Classical Islam		
Ulema	Muhammad Ali, Dynasty of	
Revolution: Islamic Revolution in		
Umma	Rashidun	Iran
Usuliyya	Sultanates: Delhi	
Revolution: Modern		
Wahhabiyya	Sultanates: Ghaznavid	Saudi
Dynasty		
Youth Movements	Sultanates: Mamluk	
Secularization		
Sultanates: Modern	Succession	
History: Concepts	Sultanates: Seljuk	Tanzimat
Asabiyya	Tribe	Velayat-e
Faqih		
Dawla		
Genealogy	History: Catalysts of Change	Religion:
Groups, Movements, and		
Historical Writing	Globalization	Sects
Hukuma al-Islamiyya, al- (Islamic	Greek Civilization	Ahl
al-Bayt		
Government)	Internet	Ahl
al-Hadith		
Modernity	Liberation Movement of Iran	Ahl
al-Kitab		
Orientalism	Terrorism	Ahl-e
Hadis / Ahl al-Hadith		
Secularism	Mihna	
Akhbariyya		
Socialism	Networks, Muslim	Babiyya
Traditionalism	Succession	Baha i
Faith		
Tajdid	Bedouin	
History: Events	Travel and Travelers	
Fundamentalism		
Religious and Political		Futuwwa
Intifada	Law	

Hojjatiyya Society

Mihna Ada Ishraqi
School

Modernization Law Islamic
Salvation Front

Muharram Mazalim

Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Hind

Mufti Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Islam

History: Institutions Muhtasib

Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Pakistan

Caliphate Property Jama at-e
Islami

Capitalism Qanun

Kharijites, Khawarij

Islam and the Muslim World

xxxiii

Synoptic Outline of Entries

Khilafat Movement Mi raj

Circumcision

Liberalism Modern Thought Da wa
Madhhab Nar

Devotional Life

Modernism Niyabat-e amma Dhikr
Mojahedin-e Khalq Prophets Dietary

Laws

Mujahidin Qibla

Disputation

Muhammadiyya (Muhammadiyah) Qur an Du a

Murji ites, Murji a Riba Fatwa

Mu tazilites, Mu tazila Shirk Fitna

Nation of Islam Silsila Ibadat

Nizari Sunna Ijtihad

Nur Movement Tafsir Khutba

Qa ida, al- Taqiyya

Martyrdom

Religious Beliefs Taqlid

Muharram

Religious Institutions Tasawwuf Nawruz

Shi a: Early Ta ziya (Ta ziye)

Pilgrimage: Hajj

Shi a: Imami (Twelver) Wahdat al-Wujud

Pilgrimage: Ziyara

Shi a: Isma ili Wajib al-Wujud Ritual

Shi a: Zaydi (Fiver) Wazifa

Tariqa Zar

Religion: Relations with Non-

Traditionalism		Muslims
Umma	Religion: Institutions	
Christianity and Islam		
Azhar, al-	Conversion	
Religion: Ideas, Beliefs, Concepts,	Caliphate	
Crusades		
and Doctrines	Deoband	
Globalization		
Allah	Hisba	
Hinduism and Islam		
Angels	Khanqa (Khanaqa, Khanga)	Islam
and Other Religions		
Asnam	Madrasa	Judaism
and Islam		
Bid a	Masjid	
Manicheanism		
Body, Significance of		
Buraq	Religion: Places and Sites	
Religion: Titles and Offices		
Dar al-Harb	Atabat	
Ayatollah (Ar. Ayatullah)		
Dar al-Islam	Dome of the Rock	Hojjat
al-Islam		
Death	Hojjatiyya Society	Imam
Ghayba(t)	Holy Cities	Islam
and Islamic		
Hadith	Hosayniyya	
Islamicate Society		
Harem	Imamzadah	Khan
Heresy	Jami	Mahdi
Imamate	Karbala	Marja
al-Taqlid		
Jahiliyya	Mashhad	Molla
Janna	Mihrab	
Mollabashi		
Jahannam	Minbar	Qadi
(Kadi, Kazi)		
Jihad	Najaf	Saint
Kalam		Sayyid
Khirqah	Religion: Practices and Rituals	Sharif
Mahdi	Adhan	Shaykh
al-Islam		
Miracles	Bid a	Wazir

Maps accompany the following entries, and are located on the provided pages.

Africa, Islam in	15
Arabia, Pre Islam	52
Balkans, Islam in	102
Balkans, Islam in	103
Crusades	163
Europe, Islam in	237
Expansion	243
Ibn Battuta	Volume one color insert
Law	408
Law	410
Muhammad	478
Networks	509
South Asia, Islam in	639
Southeast Asia, Islam in	646
Sultanates: Ayyubids	659

xxxv

A

ABBAS I, SHAH (1571–1629) See
also Empires: Safavid and Qajar.

Shah Abbas I, the fifth ruler of the Safavid dynasty, ruled Iran

BIBLIOGRAPHY

from 1587 until 1629, the year of his death. Shah Abbas came Matthee,
Rudolph P. The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk
to power at a time when tribal unrest and foreign invasion had for
Silver, 1600–1730. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
territory. Once on the throne he set versity Press, 1999.
out to regain the lands and authority that had been lost by his Savory,
Roger. Iran under the Safavids. Cambridge, U.K.:
immediate successors. His defeat of the Uzbeks in the north-

Cambridge University Press, 1980.

east and the peace he made with the Ottoman Empire, Iran's archenemy, enabled Shah Abbas to reform Iran's military

Rudi Matthee

and financial system. He diminished the military power of the tribes by creating a standing army composed of slave soldiers who were loyal only to him. These so-called ghulams (military slaves) were mostly Armenians and Georgians captured during raids in the Caucasus. In order to increase the revenue needed for these reforms the shah centralized state control, al-Baha Abbas, also known as Abbas Effendi, was the son of Baha allah (Mirza Husayn Ali, 1817–1892), the founder of the Baha i religion. In his final will and testament, Baha allah designated him as his successor and authoritative expounder

ABD

Abd

son of

of the

With the same intent he fostered trade by reestablishing teachings. Born in Tehran on 23 May 1844, he grew up road security and by building many caravan series throughout household of a father committed to the teachings of the the country. Under Shah Abbas, Isfahan became Iran's movement and consequently shared his father's fate of capital and most important city, endowed with a new commercial and administrative center grouped around a splendid revolution of 1909.

of his

in the

Babi

exile

square that survives today. His genius further manifested itself in his military skills and his astute foreign policy. He result, Abd al-Baha received little formal education halted the eastward expansion of the Ottomans, defeating to manage the affairs of his father's household at a them and taking Baghdad in 1623. To encourage trade and early age. Despite these setbacks, he demonstrated a thus gain treasure, he welcomed European merchants to the capacity for leadership and a prodigious knowledge of Persian Gulf. He also allowed Christian missionaries to settle history and thought.

As a

and had

very

natural

human

in his country, hopeful that this might win him allies among European powers in his anti-Ottoman struggle. Famously al-Baha corresponded with and enjoyed the respect down to earth, Shah Abbas was a pragmatic ruler who could number of the luminaries of his day, including the

Abd

of a

be cruel as well as generous. Rare among Iranian kings, he is Russian

author Leo Tolstoy and the Muslim reformer Mutoday remembered as a ruler who was concerned about his hammad Abduh. He left behind a small portion of what is a

own people. large
corpus of still-unexplored writings that include social
commentaries, interpretations, and elaborations of his fa-
A detail from a miniature painting of Abbas I (1571–1629)
ther's works, mystical treatises, and Qur'anic and biblical
appears in the volume one color plates. exegeses.

Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis

Upon his release from house imprisonment in 1909, Abd schools for
adults, where traditional Qur'anic studies could
al-Baha traveled to North Africa, Europe, and North Amer- be taught.
ica advocating a number of reforms for all countries, including the adoption of
a universal auxiliary language, global In May 1931 he founded the
AUMA (also Association of
collective security, mandatory education, and full legal and Algerian
Muslim Ulema), which gathered the country's leading social equality for women and
minorities. He also warned of a rising Muslim thinkers, initially both
reformist and conservative coming war in Europe and called for a just system of
global tive, and subsequently only reformist, and served as its
president
government and international courts where disputes between until his
death. Whereas the reformist programs promoted
nations could be resolved peacefully. through
Al-Shihab had managed to reach an audience limited
to the elite educated class of the country, the AUMA became
Abd al-Baha died on 28 November 1921. According to the tool for a
nationwide campaign to revive Islam, Arabic,
his will and testament, his eldest grandson, Shoghi Effendi and
religious studies, as well as a center for direct social and
Rabbani, became the head of the Baha'i community and the political
action. Throughout the country he founded a network of authorized interpreters of
his grandfather and great- work of Islamic cultural centers that
provided the means for
grandfather's teachings. the
educational initiatives he advocated and the establishment of Islamic youth
groups. He also spearheaded a cam-
See also Baha'ullah; Baha'i Faith. paign
against Sufi brotherhoods, accusing them of introducing
blameworthy innovations to religious practice, and also of
William McCants cooperating with the colonial administration. He played
an
important political role in the formation of the Algerian
Muslim Congress in 1936, which arose in reaction to the
victory of the Popular Front in France, and was active
ABD AL-HAMID IBN BADIS politically
in the country until his premature death in 1940.
(1889–1940) Thanks to

his activities as leader of the AUMA and to his writing in Al-Shihab, Ibn Badis is considered by some to be the most important figure of the Arab-Islamic cultural revival reformist movement in Algeria and founder of the Association in Algeria during the 1930s.

des Uléma Musulmanes Algériens (AUMA). He was born in 1889 in Constantine, where he also died in 1940. After See also Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa;

receiving a traditional education in his hometown, Ibn Badis Salafiyya.

(locally referred to as Ben Badis) studied at the Islamic University of Zaytuna, in Tunis, from 1908 to 1912. In the BIBLIOGRAPHY following years he journeyed through the Middle East, particularly in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, where he came into 1940. Paris: Mouton, 1967.

contact with modernist and reformist currents of thought Safi, Hammadi. “Abdel Hamid Ben Badis entre les exigences spreading within orthodox Sunni Islam.

cies du dogme et la contrainte de la modernité.” In Penseurs Maghrébins Contemporains. Casablanca: Editions Ibn Badis became the most prominent promoter of the EDDIF, 1993.

Islamic reformist movement in Algeria, first through his preaching at the mosque of Sidi Lahdar in his hometown, and, after 1925, through his intensive journalistic activity. He Claudia Gazzini

founded a newspaper, Al-Muntaqid (The critic), which closed after a few months. Immediately afterwards, however, he began a new and successful newspaper, Al-Shihab (The meteor), which soon became the platform of the reformist ABD AL-HAMID KISHK (SHAYKH) thinking in Algeria, until its closure in 1939. Through the (1933–1996)

pages of Al-Shihab, Ibn Badis spread the Salafiyya movement in Algeria, presented his Qur'anic exegesis, and argued the A pioneering “cassette preacher” of the 1970s, Abd alneed for Islamic reform and a rebirth of religion and religious Hamid Kishk was born in the Egyptian Delta village of

values within a society that, in his view, had been too influenced by Shubrakhut, the son of a small merchant. Early on he experienced by French colonial rule. He further argued that the influenced vision impairment, and lost his sight entirely as a young

Algerian nation had to be founded on its Muslim culture and teen. He memorized the Qur'an by age twelve, attended its Arab identity, and for this reason he is also considered a religious schools in Alexandria and Cairo, then enrolled at alprecursor of Algerian nationalism. He promoted the free Azhar University. He graduated in

1962, first in his class, but teaching of Arabic language, which had been marginalized rather than an expected nomination to the teaching faculty, during the years of French rule, and the establishment of free he was appointed imam at a Cairo mosque.

2

Islam and the Muslim World

Abd al-Karim Soroush

Kishk ran afoul of the Nasser regime in 1965. He claimed lost books, Sharh al-usul al-khamsa by Qiwam al-Din Mankdim he was instructed to denounce Sayyid Qutb, refused, and and al-Muhit bi'l-taklif by Ibn Mattawayh, are also available.

subsequently was arrested and tortured in prison. In the early 1970s, cassette recordings of his sermons and lessons began See also Kalam; Mu tazilites, Mu tazila.

to proliferate throughout Egypt; by the late 1970s he was arguably the most popular preacher in the Arab world. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Attendance at his mosque skyrocketed, reaching 100,000 for Frank,

Richard M. "The Autonomy of the Human Agent

Friday sermons by the early 1980s. In September 1981 he was in the

Teaching of Abd al-Gabbar." Le Museon 95

arrested as part of Anwar al-Sadat's crackdown on political (1982): 323–355.

opponents, and was in prison when Sadat was assassinated. Heemskerk, M.

T. Suffering in the Mu tazilite Theology: Abd

Upon his release he regained his following. He published his

al-Jabbar's Teaching on Pain and Divine Justice. Leiden:

autobiography, The Story of My Days, in 1986. He died a Brill,

2000.

decade later, in 1996. Hourani,

George F. Islamic Rationalism: The Ethics of Abd al-

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Speculative Theology of the Mu tazili Qadi l-Qudat Abul-

Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East. New Hasan Abd

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York and London: Macmillan, 1986. Brill, 1976.

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M. Sait Özervarli

nia Press, 1993.

Joel Gordon

ABD AL-KARIM SORUSH (1945–)

Abd al-Karim Soroush is the pen-name of Hassan Haj-Faraj
 ABD AL-JABBAR (935–1025) Dabbagh.
 Born in 1945 in Tehran, Soroush attended Alavi
 High School, an alternative school that offered a rigorous
 curriculum of Islamic studies in addition to the state-mandated,
 Abd al-Jabbar was a Mu tazilite theologian and Shafi ite
 standardized education in math and sciences. He studied
 He was born in Asadabad in Iran about 935, studied kalam Islamic law
 and exegesis with Reza Ruzbeh, one of the
 with Abu Ishaq al- Ayyash in Basra, and associated with the founders of
 the school. He attended Tehran University, and
 prominent Mu tazilite scholar Abu Abdullah al-Basri in in 1969
 graduated with a degree in pharmacology. He contin-
 Baghdad. Abd al-Jabbar was appointed as chief judge of Rayy ued his
 postgraduate education in history and philosophy of
 with a great authority over other regions in northern Iran by science at
 Chelsea College in London. In 1979 he returned to
 the Buyid wazir Sahib b. Abbad in 977. Following his Iran after
 the revolution, and soon thereafter was appointed
 dismissal from the post after the death of Ibn Abbad, he by Ayatollah
 Khomeini to the Cultural Revolution Council.
 devoted his life to teaching. In 999 he made a pilgrimage to He resigned
 from this controversial post in 1983.
 Mecca through Baghdad, where he spent some time. He
 taught briefly in Kazvin (1018–1019) and died in 1025 in Ray. In his
 most celebrated book, Qabz va Bast-i Teorik-i
 Shari at (The theoretical constriction and expansion of the
 As the teacher of the well-known Mu tazilites of the shari a), Soroush
 developed a general critique of dogmatic
 eleventh century, such as Abu Rashid al-Nisaburi, Ibn
 interpretations of religion. He argued that, when turned into
 Mattawayh, Abu 'l-Husayn al-Basri, and as the master of a dogma,
 religion becomes ideological and loses its universal-
 Mu tazilism in its late period, Abd al-Jabbar elaborated and ity. He held
 that religious knowledge is inevitably historical
 expanded the teachings of Bahshamiyya, the subgroup named and
 culturally contingent, and that it is distinct from religion,
 after Abu Hashim al-Jubba i. He synthesized some of the the truth of
 which is solely possessed by God. He posited that
 Mu tazilite views with Sunni doctrine on the relation of culture,
 language, history, and human subjectivity mediate
 reason and revelation, and came close to the Shi ite position the
 comprehension of the revealed text. Therefore, human
 on the question of leadership (imama). He is also a significant
 understandings of the physical world, through science, for
 source of information on ancient Iranian and other monothe- instance, and

the changing nature of the shared values of
 istic religions. human
 societies (such as citizenship and social and political
 rights) inform and condition religious knowledge.

Abd al-Jabbar wrote many works on kalam, especially on
 the defense of the Qur'an, and on the Prophet of Islam. Some There was
 a contradiction between Soroush's understanding of his books, including most of
 his twenty-volume work al- ing of epistemological problems of human
 knowledge, which
 Mughni, have been published. Commentaries on two of his he saw as
 logical and methodical, and his emphasis on the

Islam and the Muslim World

3

Abd al-Nasser, Jamal

historical contingencies of the hermeneutics of the divine Egypt's
 nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. The
 text. This contradiction was resolved in his later writing in tripartite
 British-French-Israeli invasion failed to topple his
 favor of a more hermeneutical approach. In his early work, he regime and
 solidified his reputation. Frustrated with the pace
 was influenced by analytical philosophy and skepticism of a of social
 and economic reform, in the early 1960s Nasser
 post-positivist logic, whereas in his later writings he adopted promoted a
 series of socialist decrees nationalizing key sectors of industry, agriculture, finance,
 to the meaning of the sacred and the arts. Egypt's
 text. In his earlier work he put forward epistemological relations
 with the Soviet bloc improved, but Nasser never
 questions about the limits and truthfulness of claims regard- turned
 entirely away from the West. In regional affairs the
 ing knowledge, but in two important later books, Sirath-al- years after
 Suez were marked by a series of setbacks. The
 mustaqim (1998, Straight paths) and Bast-e tajrubi-e Nabavi United Arab
 Republic (1958–1961) ended with Syria's cessa-
 (1999, The expansion of the prophetic experience), he em- tion, and
 the Yemeni civil war (1962–1967) entangled Egypt emphasized the reflexivity and
 plurality of human understand- tian troops in a quagmire.
 ing. In his plural usage of the Qur'anic phrase "straight
 paths," Soroush offered a radical break with both modernist Many
 contend that Nasser never recovered from the
 and orthodox traditions in Islamic theology. disastrous
 defeat by Israel in June 1967. Yet he changed the
 face of Egypt, erasing class privileges, narrowing social gaps,
 In the 1990s, Soroush emerged as one the most influential and ushering
 in an era of optimism. If Egyptians fault his
 Muslim thinkers in Iran. His theology contributed to the failure to

democratize and debate the wisdom of Arab social emergence of a generation of Muslim reformers who challenged the legitimization of the Islamic Republic's rule based on divine sources rather than on democratic principles and intentions. When he died suddenly of a heart attack on 28 September 1970, millions accompanied his coffin to popular consent. the grave.

See also Iran, Islamic Republic of; Khomeini, Ruhollah. See also Nationalism: Arab; Pan-Arabism.

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Joel Gordon

ABD AL-NASSER, JAMAL
(1918–1970)

The Egyptian leader who dominated two decades of Arab ABD
AL-QADIR, AMIR

history, Jamal Abd al-Nasser was born 15 January 1918, the (1807–1883)

son of a postal official. Raised in Alexandria and Cairo, he entered the military academy and was commissioned in 1938. During the early nineteenth century, Abd al-Qadir governed

Thereafter, he joined a secret Muslim Brotherhood cell, a state in Algeria. His family, claiming descent from Muhamwhere he met fellow dissidents with whom he later founded mad, led a Qadiriyya brotherhood center (zawiya) in western

the Free Officers. On 23 July 1952 the Free Officers seized Algeria.

In 1831 the French conquered the port of Oran from power; within a year they outlawed political parties and the Ottomans. Fighting broke out in the Oranais among

established a republic. In 1954, they dismissed the figurehead those tribes formerly subjected to Turkish taxes and those

president Muhammad Najib (Naguib) and repressed all op- privileged to collect them. The Moroccan sultan, failing to

position. Elected president in June 1956, Nasser ruled until pacify the tribes on his border, designated Abd al-Qadir's

his death. Under his leadership Egypt remained a one-party influential but aging father as his deputy. He, in turn, had tribal state. The ruling party changed names several times; the Arab leaders proclaim his son commander of the faithful Socialist Union, formed in 1962, survived until 1978 when (amir al-mu minin) in 1832.

Nasser's successor, Anwar al-Sadat, abolished it.

The highly educated and well-traveled new amir negotiated two A charismatic leader, Nasser drew regional acclaim and treaties with France (1834–1837). Happy to cede the international notoriety for his championship of pan-Arabism job of tribal pacification to an indigenous leader, the French and his leadership role in the Non-Aligned Movement. His acknowledged him as the sovereign of western Algeria. Abd popularity soared during the 1956 Suez Crisis, sparked by al-Qadir received French money and arms with which he

4

Islam and the Muslim World

Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri

organized an administration, diplomatic service, and supply from various Muslim countries aimed at charting the reform services, including storage facilities, a foundry, and textile of Muslim peoples.

workshops, for a standing army of six thousand men. Unfortunately, frequent disputes, and even occasional battles, punctuated the process. See also Modernization, Political: Administrative, Military, and Judicial Reform; Modernization, Political: Abd al-Qadir began expanding into eastern Algeria. In response, the

French decided on a complete conquest of Algeria and tation, Political: Constitutionalism; Modernization, destroyed Abd al-Qadir's state (1839–1847), exiling him to

Damascus. During his exile, the amir immersed himself in Parties. Political: Participation, Political Movements, and

when riots shook Damascus in July 1860. It was then that BIBLIOGRAPHY Muslim resentment against perceived advantages enjoyed by Husry,

Christians under the Ottoman reform edict of 1839 exploded Political Thought. Beirut: Khayats, 1966.

into widespread killings and lootings. Virtually alone among Kramer, Martin. *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim* the notables of Damascus, Abd al-Qadir shielded Christians Congresses. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. from Muslim attackers.

See also Tasawwuf.

Sohail H. Hashmi

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ABD

AL-RAZZAQ AL-SANHURI

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(1895–1971)

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Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri was one of the most distinguished & Meier, 1977.

jurists and principal architects of modern Arab civil laws. Al-

Sanhuri, a native of Alexandria, Egypt, obtained his law

Peter von Sivers degree from what was then known as the Khedival School of

Law of Cairo in 1917. He held different public posts including that of

assistant prosecutor at the Mixed Courts of

Mansura and as a lecturer at the Shari a School for Judges. In

ABD AL-RAHMAN KAWAKIBI

1921, he was

awarded a scholarship to study law at the

(1849?–1902)

University

of Lyon in France. In France, he wrote two

doctoral dissertations, one on English law and the other on

An Arab nationalist and reformer, Abd al-Rahman Kawakibi the subject

of the caliphate in the modern age. In 1926, alwas born in Aleppo, Syria, where

he was educated and worked Sanhuri returned to Egypt where he became a

law professor

as an official and journalist until being forced by Ottoman at the

National University (now the Cairo University), and

opposition to relocate to Cairo in 1898. He joined the circle eventually

became the dean of the law faculty. Because of his

of Arab intellectuals surrounding Muhammad Abduh and involvement

in politics, and defense of the Egyptian Consti-

Rashid Rida. Kawakibi's ideas are elaborated in two books, tution, he

was fired from his post in 1936, and left Egypt to

Taba i al-istibdad (Characteristics of tyranny) and Umm al- become the

dean of the Law College in Baghdad.

qura (Mother of cities). In the first, he argues that the

Muslims's political decline is the result of their straying from After

one year, he returned to Egypt where he held several

original Islamic principles and the advent of mystical and high-level

cabinet posts before becoming the president of the

fatalist interpretations. Such passivity, he argues, plays into Council of

State in 1949. Initially, al-Sanhuri supported the

the hands of despotic rulers, who historically have benefited movement of

the Free Officers who overthrew the Egyptian

from false interpretations of Islam. The book was a condem- monarch in

1952, but because of al-Sanhuri's insistence on a nation of the rule of the Ottoman Turks, and particularly of civilian democratic rule and his defense of civil the sultan Abd al-Hamid II. A revival of Islamic civilization was ousted from his position and persecuted. After could come only after fresh interpretation of law (ijtihad), al-Sanhuri withdrew from politics and focused his educational reforms, and sweeping political change, beginning with the institution of an Arab caliphate in the place of countries. Al-Sanhuri heavily influenced the the Ottoman Turks. The theme of renewed Arab leadership the civil codes of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and in the Muslim umma is developed in the second book. The year before his death in Egypt, al-Sanhuri title is taken from a Qur'anic reference to Mecca, where huge multivolume commentary on civil law, Kawakibi places a fictional conference of representatives al-Wasit fi sharh al-qanun al-madani, which is still

return to
rights, he
1954,
efforts on
several Arab
drafting of
Kuwait. One
completed a
called

Islam and the Muslim World

5

Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn

considered authoritative in many parts of the Arab world. He for intercession with God. More generally, following a line of argument also wrote several highly influential works on Islamic con- developed much earlier by Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab tractual law, the most famous of which are Masadir al-haqq fi al-fiqh al-Islami and Nazariyyat al-aqd fi al-fiqh al-Islami. One (ulema), challenged the authority of the religious scholars not only of his own time, but also the majority of those in of al-Sanhuri's most notable accomplishments was that he preceding generations. These scholars had injected unlawful integrated and reconciled the civil law codes, which were innovations (bid'a) into Islam, he argued. In order to restore the French based, with classical Islamic legal doctrines. For strict monotheism (tawhid) of true Islam, it was necessary instance, he is credited with making Egyptian civil law more to strip the pristine Islam of human additions and consistent with Islamic law. speculations and implement the laws contained in the Qur'an as interpreted by the Prophet and his immediate companions. See also Law; Modernization, Political: Constitution- Thus, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab called for the reopening of ijtihad alism.

(independent legal judgment) by qualified persons to reform Islam, but the end to which his ijtihad led was a conservative,

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literal

reading of certain parts of the Qur'an.

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Aspects of

Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's teachings, including

asceticism, simplicity of faith, and emphasis on an egalitarian

Khaled Abou El-Fadl community, quickly drew followers to his cause. But his

condemnation of the alleged moral laxity of society, his challenge to the ulema, and to the political authority that supported them estranged him from his townspeople and,

ABD AL-WAHHAB, MUHAMMAD

some claim,

even from his own family. In 1740, he returned to

IBN (1703–1792) his

native village of Uyayna, where the local ruler (amir)

Uthman b. Bishr adopted his teachings and began to act on

Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab was a religious scholar and some of

them, such as destroying tombs in the area. When

conservative reformer whose teachings were elaborated by this

activity caused a popular backlash, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab

his followers into the doctrines of Wahhabism. Ibn Abd al- moved on to

Dir iyya, a small town in the Najd near present-

Wahhab was born in the small town of Uyayna located in the day Riyadh.

Here he forged an alliance with the amir Muham-

Najd territory of north central Arabia. He came from a family mad b.

Sa'ud (d. 1765), who pledged military support on

of Hanbali scholars and received his early education from his behalf of

Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's religious vocation. Ibn Abd

father, who served as judge (qadi) and taught hadith and law at al-Wahhab

spent the remainder of his life in Dir iyya, teaching the local mosque schools. Ibn

Abd al-Wahhab left Uyayna ing in the local mosque, counseling first

Muhammad b. Sa'ud

at an early age, and probably journeyed first to Mecca for the and then

his son Abd al-Aziz (d. 1801), and spreading his

pilgrimage and then continued to Medina, where he re- teachings

through followers in the Najd and Iraq.

remained for a longer period. Here he was influenced by the

See also Wahhabiyya.

lectures of Shaykh Abdallah b. Ibrahim al-Najdi on the neo-

Hanbali doctrines of Ibn Taymiyya.

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From Medina, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab traveled to Basra,

Philby, Harry

St. John Bridger. *Arabia*. New York:

where he apparently remained for some time, and then to

Scribners, 1930.

Isfahan. In Basra he was introduced directly to an array of

Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. *Islam in Modern History*. Princeton,

mystical (Sufi) practices and to Shi'ite beliefs and rituals. This N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

encounter undoubtedly reinforced his earlier beliefs that Islam had been corrupted by the infusion of extraneous and heretical influences. The beginning of his reformist activism may be traced to the time when he left Basra around 1739 to return to the Najd.

Ibn Abd al-Wahhab rejoined his family in Huraymila, ABDUH, MUHAMMAD where his father had recently relocated. Here he composed (1849–1905) the small treatise entitled *Kitab al-tawhid* (Book of unity), in which he most clearly outlines his religio-political mission. Muhammad Abduh was one of the most influential Muslim reformers. He castigates not only the doctrines and practices of Sufism and jurists of the nineteenth century. Abduh was born in the Nile River delta in northern Egypt and received a traditional Islamic education in Tanta. He graduated from the graves of pious personages and beseeching the deceased Azhar University in Cairo in 1877, where he taught for the

6

Islam and the Muslim World

Abu Bakr

next two years. It was during this period that he met Jamal al-philosophers, he argues that reason and revelation are separate but Din Afghani, whose influence upon Abduh's thought over rate but inextricably linked sources for ethics: "The ground of the next decade would be profound. When Afghani was moral character is in beliefs and traditions and these can be expelled from Egypt in 1879, Abduh was also briefly exiled built only on religion. The religious factor is, therefore, the most from Cairo to his native village. He returned to Cairo the powerful of all, in respect both of public and of private following year to become editor of the official government ethics. It exercises an authority over men's souls superior to that of gazette, *al-Waqa i al-Misriyya* (Egyptian events), and began publishing articles on the need for reform in the country. When the British occupied Egypt following the Urabi revolt See also Afghani, Jamal al-Din; Reform: Arab Middle East and of 1882, Abduh was sentenced to three years' exile for North Africa; Rida, Rashid; Salafiyya.

assisting the nationalists. He lived briefly in Beirut before joining Afghani in Paris, where the two would publish the short-lived but highly influential journal al-Urwa al-wuthqa Muhammad. The Theology of Unity. Translated by ("The firmest grip," based on the Qur'anic references 2:256 Ishaq Musa ad and Kenneth Cragg. London: George and 31:22). Abduh returned to Beirut following the journal's Unwin, 1966.

demise in 1884, and it was during this sojourn that he first met Albert. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798–1939. Rashid Rida, who would become his chief biographer and U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

most distinguished disciple. Kerr, Malcolm H. Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. Berkeley: In 1888, following his increasing estrangement from University of California Press, 1966.

Afghani and a consequent rethinking of his earlier revolutionary ideas, Abduh was allowed to return to Cairo. He soon

Sohail H. Hashmi

began a rapid ascent in Egyptian judicial and political circles. Beginning as a judge in the new "native courts" created by the Egyptian government, Abduh became a member of the newly created administrative board for al-Azhar University in (573–634)

1895. In 1899, he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council, an advisory body serving at the behest of the Abu Bakr b.

Abi Quhafa, the first caliph (r. 632–634), and a khedive, the ruler of Egypt, and more importantly became in member of

the clan of Taym of the tribe of the Quraysh, was the same year the grand mufti, or the chief Islamic jurist, of the first

adult male convert to Islam, and the Prophet's close Egypt. As the head of Egypt's religious law courts, Abduh companion.

A merchant and an expert on the genealogies of the Arab

championed reforms that he saw as necessary to make shari'a tribes, Abu Bakr came to be known as al-Siddiq, the

relevant to modern problems. He argued that the early truthful, or

the one who trusts, a reference to the fact that he generations of Muslims (the salaf al-salihin, hence the name alone

immediately believed the Prophet's story of his night Salafiyya, which is given to Abduh and his disciples) had journey to

Jerusalem. Recognized even in Mecca as the

produced a vibrant civilization because they had creatively foremost

member of the Muslim community after Muhammad interpreted the Qur'an and hadith to

answer the needs of mad, he is credited with the purchase and release

of several

their times. Such creative jurisprudence (ijtihad) was needed slaves,

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Allen &

Hourani,

Cambridge,

Kerr,

University of

ABU BAKR

Abu Bakr b.

member of

the first

companion.

the Arab

truthful, or

alone

journey to

foremost

interpreted the Qur'an and hadith to

the purchase and release

slaves,

including Bilal, renowned for proclaiming the first Muslim call in the present, Abduh urged. In particular, modern jurists to prayer. Abu Bakr was chosen by Muhammad must consider public welfare (maslaha) over dogma when to accompany him on his “flight” or hijra to Medina in 622 C.E. He rendering judgments. The legal opinions (fatwas) he wrote daughter, became Muhammad’s father-in-law when his young A isha, married the Prophet. for the government and private individuals on such issues as polygamy, divorce, and the status of non-Muslims bore the imprint of his reformist attitudes. Taking the title Khalifat rasul Allah, meaning Successor to the Messenger of God, Abu Bakr became the first caliph of During the last years of his life, Abduh collaborated with Islam upon Muhammad’s death in 632 C.E. Just before his death, Abu Rashid Rida in publishing the journal al-Manar, founded by Bakr refused to recall the expedition sent to Syria. At the same Rida in 1898. The journal became a forum for not only time, he was forced to battle the wars of Apostasy, Abduh’s legal rulings and reformist essays, but also a Qur’anic or Ridda, against the Yemen, Yamama, and the tribes of Asad, commentary that had reached the middle of the fourth sura Ghatafan, and Tamim, who refused to pay the tithe or zakat, which was (chapter) when Abduh died in 1905. Rida would continue publishing the journal until his death in 1935. was because of the death of many leaders during these battles that Abu Bakr, on the advice of Umar, ordered Zayd b. The most systematic presentation of Abduh’s approach Thabit to compile a collection of the Qur’anic verses. to Islamic reform is found in his essay Risalat al-tawhid (The theology of unity). In opposition to European positivist See also Caliphate; Succession.

Islam and the Muslim World

7

Abu Bakr Gumi

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See also

Modern Thought; Political Islam; Wahhabiyya.

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Rizwi Faizer

Roman Loimeier

ABU BAKR GUMI (1922–1992)
 (699–767)

ABU HANIFA

Abu Hanifa al-Nu man b. Thabit b. Zurti was the eponymous
 Abu Bakr Gumi, born in Gumi/Sokoto province, northern
 founder of the Hanafi school (madhhab) of Islamic law. His
 Nigeria, was a leading personality in the development of the
 birth dates are given variously but the year 699 is considered
 Nigerian Islamic reform movement and author of a number
 the most sound based on many biographical dictionaries. Abu
 of influential works, such as *Al- aqida as-sahiha bi-muwafaqat*
 Hanifa died and was buried in Baghdad, though sources differ
 ash-shari a (The sound faith according to the prescriptions of
 concerning the month of his death. A shrine was built in 1066
 the shari a) and *Radd al-adhhan fi ma ani al-qur an* (Reconsider the site of
 his tomb, and the quarter of the city is called
 ering the meaning of the holy Qur an).

the al-A zamiyyah after Abu Hanifa's epithet al-Imam al-
 Gumi was one of the first northern Nigerians to experi- A zam, the
 "Great Imam."

ence a dual education in the Islamic sciences as well as in the
 In his *Jawahir al-mudiyya*, Ibn Abi al-Wafa provides a
 British colonial education system. After completing his
 genealogy, on the authority of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muham-
 Qur anic as well as primary school education, Gumi attended
 mad al-Sarifini (d. 1243), which links Abu Hanifa's family
 the Sokoto Middle School from where he went to the Kano
 with the Sassanian kings, the Kayyanid kings, and Judah, the
 Law School to be trained as a qadi (Muslim judge) from 1942
 eldest son of the prophet Jacob. Many sources mention that
 to 1947. After graduation he worked briefly as scribe to Alkali
 Abu Hanifa was of Persian descent, that his family were
 Attahiru in Sokoto. In 1947 he became a teacher at the Kano
 sellers of silk. Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (d. 1374) reports that
 Law School and was transferred to Maru, Sokoto Province, in
 Abu Hanifa's grandfather Zurti (also given as Zuta) is said to
 1949, where he had a confrontation with a local imam as well
 have been a slave brought from Kabul to Kufa where the
 as the sultan of Sokoto over the question of tayammum, the
 family was attached to the Arab tribe of Taym-Allah b.
 ritual ablution with sand. In the context of this confrontation
 Tha laba. Other sources claim that Abu Hanifa's family was

with the established authorities Gumi was supported by from Babylon, or the city of Anbar (on the Euphrates about Ahmadu Bello, the future prime minister of northern Nigeria forty miles from Baghdad).

Gumi, who in 1955 called upon Gumi to act as his advisor in religious affairs and in 1956 appointed him deputy grand kadi Most Muslim biographical dictionaries focus on the role of northern Nigeria. In this position, and later (from 1962) as a trustee authority of Abu Hanifa as a transmitter of hadith

grand kadi, Gumi was able to carry out a number of reforms in reports. It is said that a number of the younger ahl al-bayt the judicial system of northern Nigeria and to fight effectively (Companions) were still alive during the lifetime of Abu Hanifa but he only transmitted hadith from one of these, the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya. After Bello's assassination in well-known Anas b. Malik (d. 709 or 711). Among the tabi'un 1966, Gumi lost his institutional backing and started to (Followers) from whom he transmitted hadith reports are develop a network of followers that became, in the 1970s, Ata b. Abi Rabah (d. 732 or 733), al-Sha'bi (d. 724) and northern Nigeria's first reformist Muslim organization, the Nafi, the client of Ibn Umar. Many authorities regard Abu Hanifa as a Jama'at al-Islamiyya (Association for Hanifa as a trustworthy transmitter but others question the authority of the removal of innovation and for the establishment of the authority of his sources. In his *Mizan al-Itidal*, al-Dhahabi cites sunna, 1978). Gumi remained influential in Nigerian religious opinions that Abu Hanifa should be considered weak as a transmitter of hadith, and that his legal opinions rely upon various politics in the 1980s when he acted as advisor to president Shehu Shagari (1979–1983) and Ibrahim Babangida personal opinion (rarely). Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi (d. 1083) criticizes Abu (1985–1993). From 1962, Gumi was also a member of the Hanifa for having received most of his knowledge of hadith Rabitat al-alam al-Islami (Muslim World League), where he reports from Ibrahim al-Nakha'i rather than from the sahabah sat in the Legal Committee, and a member of the World who were still reliable transmitters during his lifetime. Supreme Council for the Affairs of Mosques.

8

Islam and the Muslim World
Abu 'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr

In terms of his reputation as a jurist, Abu Hanifa is al-Imam al-Mutta'allim and the Fiqh al-Absat, which contain credited with founding the Hanafi school of law, and is given a series of

questions and answers between Abu Hanifa and his
the epithet “imam” because of this role. In his Tadhkirat al- disciple
Abu Muti al-Balkhi (d. 799). Extant is a letter written
huffaz, al-Dhahabi repeats a conversation in which Yazid b. by Abu
Hanifa to Uthman al-Batti, which resembles the
Harun says that Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 778) was more knowl- perspective
found in these other works. Also attributed to
edgeable in hadith but Abu Hanifa was more knowledgeable Abu Hanifa
is the Fiqh al-akbar, the so-called Fiqh al-akbar II,
in jurisprudence and law. Even Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi i and the
Wasiyyat Abi Hanifa. The ten creedal articles of the
(d. 820), whose legal opinions often rival those of the Hanafis, Fiqh
al-akbar closely parallel the views found in the Fiqh alis reported to have
attributed great learning in jurisprudence absat, but scholars such as
Arent Jan Wensinck have assigned
to Abu Hanifa. Many sources refer to Hammad b. Abi later dates
to the Fiqh al-akbar II and the Wasiyyat Abi Hanifa,
Sulayman (d. 738) as Abu Hanifa’s primary teacher in juris- though
they may have been influenced by the earlier works.
prudence, and Joseph Schacht considers Abu Hanifa to have The creedal
works of later Hanafis such as Tahawi and Abu
adapted the bulk of his legal opinions from him. Yazid b. al-Layth
al-Samarqandi (d. 993) may also show the influence
Harun also states that he did not know anyone more pious of Abu
Hanifa’s theology. Because of Abu Hanifa’s close
and rational than Abu Hanifa. Bishr b. al-Walid reports that association
to these creedal statements, later scholars have
Abu Hanifa used to pray all night, and that he never learned emphasized
the influence of Abu Hanifa on the development
or transmitted a hadith that he did not himself practice. of
widespread and officially sanctioned definitions of Muslim belief.
After Abu Hanifa’s death his legal opinions and the hadith
reports that he transmitted were compiled into texts. There See also
Law; Madhhab.

are no extant collections of works composed by Abu Hanifa
himself. His legal opinions can be found in the Ikhtilaf Abi BIBLIOGRAPHY
Hanifa wa Ibn Abi Layla and the al-Radd ala siyar al-Awza i,
Abu Zahra, Muhammad. Abu Hanifa. 2d ed. Cairo: 1947.
both attributed to Abu Yusuf (d. 798), one of Abu Hanifa’s
closest disciples. To another of Abu Hanifa’s disciples, Muham- Dhahabi,
Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad. Mizan
al-i tidal fi naqd al-rijal. Beirut: Dar al-Ma arif, n.d.
mad al-Shaybani (d. 805), is attributed the al-Hujjah fi ikhtilaf
ahl Kufah wa ahl al-Madinah and the Kitab al-asl fi al-furu , Dhahabi,
Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmed. Kitab tadhkirat
both containing the legal opinions of Abu Hanifa which later al-huffaz.
Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al- Ilmiyya, n.d.

became the basis for Hanafi legal scholarship. Some of the Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmed. Siyyar al-alam wa al-nubala. Beirut: Muassasat al-Risala, 1993.

collected in the Sharh ma'ani al-athar and Bayan mushkil al-ahadith of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tahawi (d. 933), and in the al-mudhiyya fi tabaqat al-Hanafiyya. Beirut: Muassasat al-Risala, 1993.

Abi Hanifa compiled by Abu al-Mu'ayyad Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Khwarizmi (d. 1257). Ahmad b. Ali. Tahdhib al-tahdhib. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1994.

Classical Hanafi jurisprudence developed primarily as Ibn al-Imad, Abd al-Hayy. Shadharat al-dhahab fi akhbar min compendia and commentaries on the legal opinions of Abu dhahab. Beirut: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, n.d.

Hanifa and their interpretation by his main students, Abu Schacht, Joseph. Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. 2d Yusuf and Muhammad al-Shaybani. The Mukhtasar fi al-fiqh ed. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Abi Hanifa al-Nu'man by Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Quduri (d. 1037) contains a collection of the opinions of these three Hanafi authorities, as does the Kitab al-mabsut of Muhammad Historical Development. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1932.

b. Ahmad al-Sarakhsi (d. 1090). The works of later Hanafi scholars such as Abu Bakr b. Mas'ud al-Kasani (d. 1191), Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Marghinani (d. 1197), Abdallah b. Ahmad al-Nasafi (d. 1310), Uthman b. Ali al-Zayla'i (d. 1342), Ibn Nujaym (d. 1562), and Abd al-Hakim al-Afghani (d. 1907) are largely based upon these earlier compilations of opinions going back to Abu Hanifa and his immediate disciples. These works, building upon the opinions of Abu Hanifa and his main students, show the influence of Abu Hanifa upon the development of Islamic legal theory and case law. city of Hamadan, became the first president-elect of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the 1979 revolution. He Abu Hanifa is also credited with a number of creedal and law and economics at the University of theological works, though some scholars assign the reaction continued his studies at the Sorbonne, in Paris, of these to followers of Abu Hanifa. Two such works are the focus was on economics and the role of Islam in

Dhahabi,

Ibn Abi

Ibn Hajar,

Wensinck,

ABU

Abu

from the

studied Islamic

Tehran, then

where his

Abu 'l-Hudhayl al- Allaf

social change. Like many of his contemporaries, who combined western European training with an Islamic education, Bishr and Abu Ya qub al-Shahham were among his he developed a focus on interpreting Islam as a “unitarian” students. beliefs. His Yahya b. closest ideology (towhidi) for economic and cultural independence from the West, based on the notion of divine unity. Abu 'l-Hudhayl's numerous works are not extant, though some of his views are quoted in early kalam sources. His Bani-Sadr lived in exile in Europe from 1963 until 1979, as metaphysics of created beings, indivisible atoms, motion, and a result of his political activities at Tehran University. In the cause-effect process of generation (tawallud) provoked Europe he became one of the most important activists of the intellectual discussions and controversies among Mu tazilites. In order to National Front in Iran and abroad and a key organizer of protect the unity (tawhid) of God as the main principle, Iranian students outside Iran. He came in contact with the he denied the essential nature of things as well as Ayatollah Khomeini first in 1972, in Najaf, and later in France where Khomeini spent his last days in exile. In 1980, rejected a division between the essence and attributes of God. Abu Bani-Sadr became the first president-elect of the Islamic l-Hudhayl found no contradiction between the author- Republic of Iran with 75 percent of the vote. He did not ity of God and His doing good actions with wisdom, since it is unthinkable represent any organization or political party. In contrast, his absence of that God does evil or injustice with a total organized and made advances in the parliamentary election, create the best and the most convenient (aslah) circumstances for His and in the spring of 1980 they dominated the parliament. In creatures. 1980 and 1981 effective power shifted to the IRP parliamen- Abu 'l-Hudhayl's atomistic ontology and highly philotary majority who named Prime Minister Raja I ignoring sophical terminology shaped the mind of later Mu'tazilites, Bani-Sadr's candidates for the cabinet. He later lost his and his systematic reflections on theological topics make him presidency to conservative rivals in the IRP, as a result of a

one of the most influential thinkers of Mu tazilite thought at parliamentary vote of incompetence and impeachment. Later the beginning of its classical age. he fled the country and once again joined the exiled opposition in Paris.

See also Mu tazilites, Mu tazila.

See also Iran, Islamic Republic of; Revolution: Islamic

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Teaching of Abu'l-Hudhayl al-Allaf." *Le Museon* 82 (750–C. 850) (1969): 451–506.

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school. Born in Basra around 750 C.E., he lived in the neighborhood of foragers (allafun), where he spent the early part of

M. Sait Özervarli

his life. He was a student of Uthman al-Tawil, who was one of the disciples of Wasil b. Ata, the founder of al-Mu tazila.

He moved to Baghdad in 818 and lived a long life, as various dates between 840 and 850 are given for his death. Abu 'l- ABU 'L-QASEM KASHANI

Hudhayl opposed some views of his contemporary theologi- (1882–1962)

ans, such as the skeptic dualism of Salih b. Abd al-Quddus, the determinism of Dirar b. Amr, the physics of Abu Bakr al- Born in Tehran, Abu 'l-Qasem Kashani studied in Najaf and Asamm, and the ethical theory of Bishr b. Ghiyas al-Marisi. became a mujtahid (religious scholar) at the age of twenty-

He also engaged in polemical discussions with the followers five. He began his political activities in Najaf against the of other religions, especially those of the ancient Iranian British domination of Iraq. In 1916, Kashani's father was

10

Islam and the Muslim World

Ada

killed in an uprising and British authorities condemned law, it is the Qur'an as God's revealed word that is rated as the Kashani to death in absentia. He fled to Iran in 1921 and first primary source. Prophet Muhammad's sunna, that is, his began teaching and preaching in Tehran. conduct, authentic sayings, acts, and behavior that he approved is rated as the second primary source. In addition to Kashani was imprisoned in the 1930s because of his pro- these two sources there other sources (or legal principles) German activities. In 1949, after an attempt on the Shah's such as the consensus (ijma') of Muslim jurists or scholars and life, he was exiled to Lebanon. In June 1950, he returned to analogical reasoning (qiyas)—these combined then constitute Iran, was elected to the Majlis, and became its Speaker. what have become the normative formal sources of Islamic law. During the crisis over the nationalization of Iran's oil However, notwithstanding the accepted normative hierarchy and the ensuing conflict with the British (1950–1953), archy of what constitutes formal sources, Islam's encounter Kashani made and broke alliances with the Fedaiyan-e Islam with other host cultures has compelled Islamic legal theory to and the National Front of Dr. Mohammad Mosaddeq. He evaluate the status of custom. For example, through such was instrumental in the assassination of the prime ministers encounters, ada, that is, the hitherto ambiguous source, has Abd al-Husayn Hazhir and Husayn Ali Razmara. throughout the history of Islamic legal theory served as a Kashani was an anti-British, anticolonialist, anticommunist, flexible legal principle that helps Islamic law to evolve and constitutionalist, nationalist, and pan-Islamist religious- thus meet the challenge of changing circumstances and times. political leader. Although Kashani's opinions about Iranian This assertion finds ample support in Muslim juristic thinkingnationalism, the role and function of the sharia, and attitude ing. For example, a reflection on the founding jurists of the toward the West differed from his clerical predecessors and two main Sunni schools of Islamic law, namely, the Maliki successors, political activities of the Shiite ulema after World and Hanafi schools, shows how various legal rules that were

War II were greatly inspired and influenced by his views and passed by the founders of these schools were based on the activities. Indeed, many of his ideas were elaborated by strength of communal practice and norms. A good example here is leaders of the revolution of 1978 and 1979, including Ayatollah the ruling passed by Imam Malik b. Anas (d. 795 C.E.) that a lah Khomeini, and formed the foundation of the Islamic woman cannot contract herself in marriage. On the government. same question, the Hanafi jurist, Imam Abu Hanifa (d. 767 C.E.) gave a different ruling that allowed a mature woman to See also Feda iyan-e Islam; Iran, Islamic Republic of; contract herself. What is crucial to note here, though, is not Majlis; Mosaddeq, Mohammad. so much the question of which of the two opinions is better, but rather the fact that the basis of the two legal rulings is BIBLIOGRAPHY primarily informed by social reality and what is popular Akhavi, Shahrough. "The Role of Clergy in Iranian Politics, communal practice. Noel James Coulson in his seminal 1949–1954." In Mosaddiq, Iranian Nationalism, and Oil. article titled "Muslim Case Law" has presented a cogent Edited by James Bill and Roger Louis. Austin: University argument in which he demonstrates that the opinion of Malik of Texas Press, 1988. reflects the dominant view of marriage and the position of Faghfoory, Mohammad H. "The Role of the Ulama in women within a predominantly patriarchal tribal society of Twentieth Century Iran with Particular Reference to Medina. And by contrast, Abu Hanifa's judgment mirrors the Ayatullah Hajj Sayyid Abulqasim Kashani." Ph.D. diss., cosmopolitan nature of Kufa where women enjoyed a slightly University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978. more accommodating environment than in Medina.

Mohammad H. Faghfoory Although often denied, the impact of ada in Muslim legal theory is also evident in Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi i (d. 819 C.E.), founder of the Shafi i school. For instance, the force of

ADA communal praxis and the ethos of Egypt obliged al-Shafi i to change a range of legal rulings that he sanctioned while in Like all legal systems and theories, Islamic law and its legal Baghdad before his migration to Egypt. theory are not free from ambiguity and tensions. Nowhere is In addition to the aforementioned early jurists, the effi- such ambiguity more pronounced than in the treatment of

cacy of *ada* is also stressed by Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi (d. 1388) *ada* or custom (alternatively called *urf*) in Islamic legal theory. whom Wael Hallaq in his *A History of Islamic Legal Theories* Generally, the term *ada* is derived from Arabic, and regards as representing the “culmination” of maturity in means local customs, recurring habits, and social mores of the Islamic legal theory. A critical reading of Shatibi’s legal people. In the context of the epistemology of Islamic law, philosophy illustrates that *ada*, though often measured under especially as it relates to what constitutes formal sources of the concept of *maslaha* (public good), does occupy a central law, classical Islamic jurisprudence does not recognize cus- position in his legal thought. For Shatibi, Islamic law in its tom as a formal source. In the normative structure of Islamic early phase, that is, in the prophetic era of Muhammad,

Islam and the Muslim World

11

Adab

simply confirmed most of the pre-Islamic Arabian customs Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* practiced by the people before their acceptance of Islam. For dence. Selangor, Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications, 1989.

example, Islamic laws like *diya* (blood money), rituals of hajj Libson, Gideon. “On the Development of Custom as a (pilgrimage), and interestingly even the *Jum’a* (Muslim Fri- Source of Law in Islamic Law.” *Islamic Law and Society* 4, day congregational prayers), though taking a strict Islamic no. 2 (1997): 131–155.

identity, were initially practices that were predominant in Masud, Khalid M. *Islamic Legal Philosophy: A Study of Abu pre-Islamic Arabia. As habitual and popular customs these Ishaq al-Shatibi’s Life and Thought. Delhi: International were rehabilitated by Islamic law and confirmed as Islamic Publishers, 1989.*

practice. Ziadeh, Farhat. “*Urf and Law in Islam.*” In *The World of Islam: Studies in Honor of Philip K. Hitti*. Edited by J. Moving away from the formative classical period into the Kritzek and R. Winder. London: Macmillan, 1959.

modern period, especially from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, examples gleaned from Africa and Asia also show

Tahir Fuzile Sitoto

that the predominance of custom not only shaped and influenced *shari’a*, but custom became a law operating on its own right independent of *shari’a*. What is discernible here is that custom in the modern context ceases to be merely a creative ADAB

legal tool whose utility is only limited to make Islamic law adaptable to changing circumstances, but as “customary law” The term *adab* fundamentally denotes a custom or norm of it becomes part of a dual legal system that is on par with conduct. In the early centuries of Islam, the term came to shari a. Again, Coulson provides a good example when he convey either an ethical implication of proper personal qualipoints out how in both Africa and Asia local practices, ties or the suggestion of the cultivation and knowledge of a range of sensibilities and skills. In its plural form, *adab* especially as they pertain to land tenure, were mostly “reguacquired the meaning of rules of conduct, often specified for a lated by customary rules” (p. 261). These either compleparticular social or occupational group, like the aadaab (pl.) of mented shari a or simply subsumed it. For instance, in the the legist or the prince. In addition, *adab* specified the Indian subcontinent this is illustrated in the popular “shari a accomplishments that made one polished and urbane, an act of 1937” that was initially designed to cater to all Muslims expert in the arts not subsumed under the category of religin the region. However, as it turned out, a majority of ious learning. Often, in recent times, *adab* has meant simply Muslims preferred to be exempted from shari a thus giving literature in the narrow sense. primacy to customary laws over the former. Underlying the concept of *adab* is a notion of discipline Finally, it can be concluded that social exigencies, espeand training, indicating as well the good breeding and refinercially in the sociocommercial spheres, have compelled a ment that results from such self-control and training. In all its majority of Muslim jurists, albeit reluctantly, to recognize uses, *adab* reflects a high value placed on the employment of ada as a reliable legal tool. This recognition has come largely the will in proper discrimination of correct order, behavior, through what these jurists normally refer to as “creative legal and taste. The term implicitly or explicitly distinguishes devices.” In particular, it is through these creative legal tools, cultivated behavior from that deemed vulgar, for example, of which custom is one of the central principles, that popular from pre-Islamic custom. The term’s root sense of proper religious practices that would otherwise be rejected by shari a conduct and discrimination, of discipline, and moral forma- tion, find acceptance. Thus maxims such as: “What is known tion, especially fostered in the Sufi tradition, has been brought through custom is legally binding” and “what is evident to the fore in many modern reform movements. In that sense, through custom is as authentic as the text or shari a” became adab is

often coupled with akhlaq (“manners,” “ethics”) and is acceptable principles in Islamic legal theory. now understood to be within the reach of ordinary people and not only educated or holy specialists.

See also Africa, Islam in; American Culture and Islam; Law; South Asia, Islam in; Southeast Asian Culture See also Arabic Literature; Ethics and Social Issues. and Islam.

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Barbara D. Metcalf

12

Islam and the Muslim World
Africa, Islam in

political activist by accepting a post in the government of ADHAN Afghanistan.

Over the next thirty years he traveled to or resided in Istanbul, Cairo, Paris, London, Tehran, and St. Petersburg, frequently being forced to relocate because of his an oral rite linked to mosques, daily prayer, sacred identity, reformist views and political activities. Afghani is commonly and birth rites. The adhan and the iqamah are usually called viewed as the nineteenth century’s chief ideologue of panoutside and inside mosques, respectively: The former signals Islamism. But his ideas, many of them expressed through the prayer times, and the latter the beginning of congregational journal al- Urwa al-wuthqa (The firmest grip; a reference to prayer. The adhan given in public signals the presence of Qur an 2:256, 31:22), which he copublished with Muham-Islam, and gives members of a largely decentralized faith a mad Abduh, never amounted to a coherent ideology. More sense of belonging. The adhan functions as a disjuncture than anything else, Afghani was driven by opposition to between the sacred and the profane, between the Friday

European imperialism in Muslim countries, which he argued prayer, for instance, and the world of trade. It also distinguishes Islam from other religions: When Muslims needed some means to announce the prayer, they asked for a horn, a Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa;

Christian symbol, but were providentially directed to the adhan, instead. Finally, the adhan is chanted into the right ear of a newborn and the iqama into the left ear. See also Pan-Islam.

The adhan consists of invocations and attestations: Four Hourani, Albert. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798–1939. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983. BIBLIOGRAPHY

glorify God, two attest to His Oneness, two attest to Muhammad being Messenger, two call to prayer, two call to success, Keddie, Nikki R. An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political

two glorify God, and one declares His Oneness. The Shi'ites and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani." Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

add: Ali is the friend of God, and prayer is the best of deeds. For a while some mosques in Europe replaced the muezzin who called the adhan with a tape recorder, while in Turkey, in Sohail H. Hashmi

1948, the government decreed that the adhan be given in Turkish. Both these efforts ultimately failed.

See also Devotional Life; Ibadat; Masjid. AFRICA, ISLAM IN

Islam has an important past and present within Africa. It has BIBLIOGRAPHY

been present in Africa since the very early days of the faith, Parkin, David, and Headley, Stephen C., eds. Islamic Prayer and it constitutes the practice of roughly half the population across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque. of the continent, or some 250 million people. While most of Surrey, U.K.: Curzon, 2000.

the Muslims live in the northern half, important communities can be found in South Africa, Malawi, and other parts of Muneer Goolam Fareed southern Africa. This history and this importance are often misunderstood in the West and in the Mediterranean centers of the Islamic world. Scholars and the intelligent lay public do AFGHANI, JAMAL AL-DIN not naturally identify Africa with Islam.

(1839–1897) Indeed,

Africa is usually equated with sub-Saharan or "black" Africa in most definitions. Egypt and the Maghreb Jamal al-Din Afghani, one of the most influential Muslim are lumped

with the Middle East in the language of the reformers of the nineteenth century, was most likely born in World Bank, U.S. State Department, and most ministries of Asadabad, Iran, into a Shi'ite family. Throughout his life, foreign affairs, as well as in this encyclopedia. The defining however, he emphasized his Afghan ancestry, perhaps to characteristic of Islam is often the Arabic language, as the first broaden his appeal to Sunni Muslims. Little concrete information is available about his early life, but he probably ment, and the media, as well as identification with the Arab received a traditional Islamic education in Iran and Iraq. world and thus the origins of Islam. This is not a clear During a visit to India around 1855, he was exposed to definition, however, since Berber languages are still widely Western scientific and political thought for the first time. His spoken in the Maghrib and the Sahara, while Arabic is spoken stay in India coincided with the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 (the by much of the Sudan and important minorities across sub-Indian revolt against the East India Company), and his Saharan Africa. attitudes toward European and particularly British imperialism may have begun to form then. Around 1866, Afghani This article focuses on sub-Saharan Africa and deals with began his peripatetic career as a Muslim intellectual and Muslim societies rather than "Islam" in one area or another.

Islam and the Muslim World

13

Africa, Islam in

These societies, throughout history and to the present, dem- able to coexist with Christians and other non-Muslim communities all of the varieties of the faith that one might expect: munities most of the time. orthodox practice, radicalism, Sufism, and many creative combinations with local, non-Islamic practices. Muslims in Gateways of Islam in Africa Africa have practiced the jihad of the sword from time to The History of Islam in Africa (2000) identifies two main time, but they have also demonstrated a great deal of tolerance of other practices—"pagan," Christian, and other. The African coast, which became accessible to sailors and merchants Maliki school of law has traditionally been dominant in north chants coming down the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, just as and west Africa, while the Shafi'ite pattern has prevailed it had been for previous centuries for Southeast Asians. The other is along the Red Sea and the Swahili coast.

Egypt, and by extension the Maghreb and the Sahara.

Northeast Africa	The
first Muslims on the East African coast followed in	
The earliest Muslim presence in Africa actually antedates the	the wake of
a lot of other maritime travelers from the Near	
event known as the hijra, when Muhammad left Mecca for	East,
South, and Southeast Asia. They used an old, well-	
Medina in 622 C.E. At a time when the Prophet was already	tested
technology of sailing close to the coast, down the Red	
beginning to feel the hostility of his Meccan compatriots, he	Sea or the
Persian Gulf, and then along the Indian Ocean.	
sent a large portion of his followers—about one hundred	Primarily
Arab, they were interested in acquiring ivory, gold,	
according to the principal hadith—to the Christian emperor	other
metals, leather goods, and some slaves. They interacted	
of Aksum (ancient Abyssinia), an important state in northeast	with the
fishing and agricultural peoples along the coast who	
Africa, for safekeeping in 615 and 616 C.E. This is sometimes	spoke the
language that today is called Swahili, which takes its	
called the first hijra. Muhammad called for this community to	name from
the plural of sahil, and literally means “people of	
return after he established himself in Medina, and there is	the
coast.” Over time, roughly the last one thousand years,	
little evidence of any ongoing Muslim group in Aksum or any	the Swahili
language evolved to include a considerable Arabic	
other part of Ethiopia at this time. But the brief exile demon-	vocabulary,
in addition to some Malay and other infusions,	
strates the presence at that time of Ethiopians, including	within a
basic Bantu lexicon and language structure.	
Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, in Mecca and other areas	
around the Red Sea, as well as the good relations between the	The
language was the basis for a culture, and both were	
early Arab Muslims and people in northeast Africa.	built
around small towns along the ocean, running about two	
thousand miles from Mogadishu in the north (today’s Somalia)	
Reasonably good ties continued after Muslim communi-	to Sofala in
the south (today’s Mozambique). Most of the	
ties emerged in northeast Africa close to the Red Sea. Most of	towns were
autonomous city-states, confined essentially to	
these communities lived in the lowland and eastern areas, but	islands or
the coast, with very small hinterlands devoted to	
some spread into the mountainous region called Abyssinia,	farming.
The inhabitants of these city-states were committed	
which was dominated by Aksum and then a series of other	to the
vocations of agriculture, fishing, shipbuilding, and	
states that privileged Christianity and the Orthodox Church.	trade. They

lived in the cosmopolitan world built around the Relations between the two faith communities worsened when Indian Ocean and practiced Islam, but acknowledged local gods and customs. The more wealthy Swahili often claimed paternal origins among the Arabs or Persians. They used Islamic forms in the architecture of their homes, as well as for mosques and others. Muslims responded to this in the movement led by the Ahmad ibn Gran, a cleric and warrior from the coastal region the pilgrimage obligation, which was easier to perform than from other parts of the African continent. The terms “crusade” and “jihad” in the registers of the two faiths, has often been taken as characteristic of Ethiopia and The most prosperous period for the Swahili city-states ran roughly the Horn of Africa. Hostile confrontations have certainly from 1250 to 1500 C.E. Lamu, located in an archipelago occurred: for example, cases of forced conversion of Muslims ago along the northern coast of modern Kenya, Mombasa, a larger city by expansive Christian emperors in the late nineteenth century, or the conflict over the brief tenure of Lij Iyasu as which forms part of Tanzania, were among the best-known and most Menilik’s successor as emperor of Ethiopia between 1913 and active cities. The most prosperous was probably 1916. Lij Iyasu came from a family that included both Kilwa, an island off the southern coast of Tanzania. It was tied in to the Muslims and Christians, and he sought to bring some Muslim interior trade, including the commerce in gold that tapped into lims into positions in his brief government. He failed because of his own inexperience, the strong Christian and church predilections of the court, and the conflict between the Axis The main location of the Swahili language, culture, and people, and Allies during World War I. But Ethiopia’s population and of the practice of Islam, was concentrated on this East today is close to 50 percent Muslim, and Muslims have been African littoral until very recent times. Most of the

14

Islam and the Muslim World

Africa, Islam in

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Algiers

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 Con
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 Islam in Africa
 N
 Earliest centers of
 Islamic activity
 Routes of penetration
 of Islam
 Trans-Saharan
 trade routes
 River routes

Other city 10°S

0° 10°E

Islam penetration routes into Africa. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

Muslims were Sunni, but some belonged to the Kharijite interior who were largely non-Muslim. The spread of Islam persuasion through their connections with Oman, a small into the interior, and of the Swahili language and culture, did state at the southeastern end of the Arabian peninsula. The not begin until the late eighteenth century, under the impetus literate elite, and especially the “professional” Muslims, un- of Omani Arabs, who made Zanzibar their base. The Omani derstood and wrote Arabic, but Islam was typically taught sultans controlled a significant portion of the Swahili region orally through Swahili explanations. The recourse to expla- in what we could today call Tanzania and Kenya, primarily nation in the local language was common practice through- for commercial reasons. They continued to trade in ivory and out Africa and many parts of the Islamic world. Beginning gold, but now added a significant commerce in slaves. Some about three hundred years ago some scholars and writers were sent to the Middle East and South Asia, while others began to adapt the Arabic alphabet to the language, and were used at the coast to produce cloves and grain for export. thereby create a written or ajami literature alongside the The Zanzibari system resulted in more active contact beolder oral one. The written corpus contained the same tween coast and hinterland, and the spread of Islam and the stories, chronicles, and poetry as the one that had been Swahili culture to the entrepôts and towns of the interior. transmitted orally down the generations. These networks laid the basis for the widespread practice The Swahili Muslims did not emphasize the spread of of Islam in East Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth Islam into the interior, by preaching, colonization, or the centuries. The main agents of islamization were merchants military jihad. They were generally content to practice their and teachers, not the reform-minded scholars who became so faith, ply their trades, and interact with the people of the prominent in West Africa. The Omanis themselves were

Islam and the Muslim World

A mud brick mosque in Timbuktu, Mali, built in the European medieval period. Timbuktu was founded by a nomadic tribe called the Tuareg, who only kept loose control of it. Eventually, it became a part of the Muslim empire of Sudan, and functioned as a major trading post that connected North Africa with West Africa and thereby facilitated the spread of Islam. © WOLFGANG KAEHLER/CORBIS

Kharijites, but most of the older Swahili communities as well became very important in the Saharan and sub-Saharan as many of the slaves were Sunni. Relations across these interior of West Africa from an early time, and for many doctrinal lines were not difficult. The jihadic tradition re-centuries was the motor force of Islamic practice. maintained a minor theme, except when it came to resistance to European domination. North Africans often called sub-Saharan Africa the Bilad al-Sudan, the “land of the blacks.” Geographers and historians have The “Egyptian” or North African gateway is usually used this term and divided it into western, central emphasized in treatments of islamization in Africa. The and eastern portions. The eastern or Nile section corresponds to the modern nation of Sudan, while the western Saharan Africa. It was not an obstacle to trading caravans, but portion corresponds to most of the West African Sahel. it was to armies. Indeed, there is only one example—the Moroccan expedition of 1591—of a military force successful. The greatest amount of literature about Islamic practice, fully crossing the desert and winning victories on the south-generated by internal and external observers, deals with the ern side. Arabs used the expression sahil or “coast” to apply to West African region. Scholars have used this material to the two edges of the desert. The Arab and Berber Muslims of create a threefold pattern of islamization. Islam was first a North Africa established networks of trade on both sides of minority religion, practiced essentially by traders; it then became the desert and rhythms of caravan trade that resembled the the practice of Muslim courts; and finally, either by movement of ships along the Indian Ocean coast of East processes of military jihad or Sufi orders, or both, it became Africa. By 1000 it is possible to identify indigenous as well as the practice of those living in the rural areas, farmers and North African Muslim communities in the towns of West pastoralists. It was at this point that it became the dominant Africa connected to the trans-saharan trading networks. In religion, in the last two to three centuries. This formula can contrast to the pattern in East Africa, merchant capital be

useful, if it is applied selectively and discretely to the

16

Islam and the Muslim World

Africa, Islam in

different parts of the Sahel and to areas further south in the this belt,
along the Swahili coast, and in the East African
continent. interior.

Sufi practice was not challenged by reform movements, akin to the Salafiyya or
the Wahhabiyya, until the

The eastern Sudan or Sahel, what is called the Sudan mid-twentieth
century.

today, is something of an exception to this rule. Adjacent to
the Nile River, it lay along a natural axis of advance from Indeed,
Sufism was the principal vehicle by which Islamic
Egypt to the south. Egyptian travelers and armies, whether in practice
spread from city to countryside in the Sudan or
ancient or Islamic times, had often advanced up the Nile, Sahel. In
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was
and communities in the region sometimes returned the fa- accompanied
by reform movements, led by scholars who
vor. Once the Muslims had established control of Egypt, increasingly
complained of the lax, mixed, or corrupt practice
they confronted the Nubian kingdoms that had adopted of the faith
in the cities, courts, and countryside. Increasingly
Monophysite or Orthodox forms of Christianity as the state these
scholars, usually with Sufi affiliations of their own,
religion in earlier centuries. Muslims and Christians then resorted to
the jihad of the sword and led military movements
worked out a pact, called baqt, by which the weaker Christian to replace
the regimes that they criticized. The most successstates paid a small tribute
and allowed trade through their ful of these movements, in terms of its
breadth, depth, and
areas in exchange for noninterference in their affairs. This literary
heritage, was the one led by Uthman dan Fodio in
arrangement endured for several centuries. It was endan- Hausaland in
the early nineteenth century. It resulted in the
gered by the limited participation of some Nubian armies in Sokoto
Caliphate, a regime that dominated most of the
the European-led Crusades of the twelfth century, and finally northern
part of Nigeria as well as the southern fringe of
ended by the Mamluks in the fifteenth century. After this today's
Niger. Many Muslims of northern Nigeria today see
period Arabic became the dominant language of the northern the
caliphate as a kind of social charter for the present day and
Nile valley and the lingua franca of the wider region. have pushed
for the establishment of shari a (Islamic law).

West African Patterns

The

strongest fusion of Sufi identity and militant reform

In the western and central Sudan the process was different. mid-nineteenth century with the mobilization led

The early Muslim communities were merchants who lived in a scholar and pilgrim whose origins were in

good relations with and on the sufferance of non-Muslim

Umar made the pilgrimage to Mecca, was initiated

courts. These early Muslims were Arab and Berber but they highest ranks of the Tijaniyya order by a Moroccan

were soon joined by Soninke, Mandinka, and other communities of local origin. By the time of the empire of Mali (fl.

career of teaching and writing. In 1852, however, 1200–1400), some ruling classes had adopted Islam, although

campaigns of recruitment, he launched a jihad of not necessarily to the exclusion of local or “ethnic” religious

sword against the non-Muslim states of the Upper and practices. Mali in particular is remembered for the pilgrimage

and the Upper Senegal Rivers. He particularly

of Mansa Musa in 1324 and for the visit that Ibn Battuta paid Bambara Kingdom of Segu, which he defeated in

to the court of his brother and successor, Mansa Sulayman, in 1861. He also had some encounters with the French

1352 and 1353. The court of the Songhay Empire (fl. c. expansive governor named Faidherbe in Senegal, and

1450–1591) is also remembered for adherence to Islam. given him and his Tijaniyya affiliation an aura of

Indeed, Askiya Muhammad (1493–1528) is remembered not to European conquest. At the end of his life Umar

just for his pilgrimage but also for his discussions with the Muslim state of Masina or Hamdullahi, princifamous jurisconsult al-Maghili and

for some serious efforts to pally because of their aid for the “pagan” Bambara of Segu.

spread the faith in the Niger Buckle (the area around Timbuktu conflict between two Muslim armies and communities,

and Gao) in the early years of his reign. The state of Bornu, in

Pulaar or Fulbe culture, caused great consternation in

the area of Lake Chad in the central Sudan, is remembered African Islamic world. It also led to Umar’s death in

for an early adoption of Islam at the court as well as for its

the premature limitation of the ambitious movelongevity (about one thousand years, into the nineteenth ment that he launched.

century).

The greatest expansion of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa

In the last 250 years Islam has spread much more widely the colonial period, particularly under the

came in the

by Umar Tal,

Senegal.

into the

in Medina,

pursue a

after some

the

Middle Niger

targeted the

1860 and

and an

this has

resistance

attacked the

This

both of

the West

1864 and to

took place in

throughout northern Africa thanks to Sufi orders and reform movements. The oldest order was the Qadiriyya, but its network for some time consisted principally of an elite group of scholars across the Sudan, the Sahara, and North Africa. A Christian identities of the rulers and the mission-Qadiriyya revival and spread in the late eighteenth century typically accompanied them. It has often meant was followed by rivalry with the Tijaniyya and other orders approximation to the styles of dress, architecture, and with strong bases in North Africa and the Holy Cities. The women characteristic of the Middle East. Europeans competition increased in the nineteenth century, all across the other hand, sought to develop institutions and

overrule of
French
these
secular or
aries who
closer
roles of
rulers, on

Islam and the Muslim World

17

Africa, Islam in

practices for dealing with their Muslim subjects. They co-prosperity they brought through trade. They were not opted portions of the Islamic legal and educational systems, transforming the Dar al-kufr in which they lived tried to control the pilgrimage, and sought to create “colo- al-Islam.

of the
about to try
into a Dar

nial” forms of Islam. The best-known creation was Islam noir, the “black Islam,” which was supposed to characterize French time the juula colonies developed a theological rationale for their relations with non-Muslim ruling classes West Africa. The European colonial authorities often styled and subjects on the basis of the teachings of Suwari. He made themselves as “Muslim powers” and made comparisons with the pilgrimage to Mecca several times and devoted his intelpractices in India, Indonesia, and other areas.

Over

lectual career to reflection upon the situation of Muslim

By the time of independence in most sub-Saharan coun- minorities. Drawing upon Middle Eastern jurists and theolotries in the 1960s, Muslim communities had established gians, he reformulated the obligations of the faithful. Muscloser ties with the faithful in the Middle East, and particu- lims must nurture their own learning and piety, and thereby larly in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The centrality of these areas, furnish good examples to the non-Muslims who lived around combined with the pilgrimage and institutions such as Al- them. They could accept the jurisdiction of non-Muslim Azhar University, encouraged this process. At the same time authorities, as long as they had the necessary protection and

conditions to practice the faith. In this position Suwari the Arab Muslim communities made significant human and followed a strong predilection in Islamic thought for any material investments in sub-Saharan Africa. This investment government, albeit non-Muslim or tyrannical, as opposed to stimulated some criticism of Sufi and other African Muslim none. The military jihad was a resort only if the faithful were practices, particularly in the Sudan, Nigeria, and adjacent threatened. In essence, Suwari esteemed that God would areas. In other regions the “Arab” and Saudi influence was bring non-Muslims to convert in His own time, and it was not not as pronounced, and patterns such as the “maraboutic” (a the responsibility of the Muslim minorities to decide when synonym for a cleric, derived from the term “almoravid”) ignorance or unbelief would give way to faith. domination of Islam characteristic of Senegal were maintained. In practice, of course, the Muslims and non-Muslims did The Suwarian Pattern not function in isolation. Across the many times and places of One of the most intriguing and original creations of Muslims the woodlands and forest, they were in constant contact with in Africa is the Suwarian tradition. This term, coined by the each other, and conceived of the relationship as two estates: historian Ivor Wilks, goes back to a certain Al-Hajj Salim the merchant estate, which was Muslim, and the ruling Suwari, a learned cleric from the Middle Niger region who classes, which were “pagan” or at least “ignorant” from the lived around 1500. The Suwarian tradition expresses the standpoint of Islam. But the ruling classes typically esteemed the rationale used by Muslims who lived as minorities in “pagan” the merchants and their religion, and sought the baraka or regions, particularly the communities of merchants who blessing that Muslims might bring to the political realm. This originally left the western Sudan for regions of woodland and esteem was reflected in a number of ways, for example, in the forest to the south, in search of gold and other items of trade. demand for amulets produced by clerics for their “pagan” This began in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when hosts. A British traveler in the early nineteenth century, the Empire of Mali was at its height and sent out colonies of Joseph Dupuis, gives an account of this demand in the Kingdom of traders, juula, who retained their ties with the state, the Asante (today’s Ghana) in his Journal of a Mandinka language, and their Muslim identity. It continued Residence in Ashantee: into the twentieth century.

Juula came to be an ethnic, linguistic, and religious designation for these people, who typically lived in demarcated neighborhoods within the main commercial towns and oris a source of great emolument, as the article is in public organized trade between the forest areas of the south and the demand from the palace to the slave's hut; for every Sahel to the north. They left the realm of "politics" to their (not by any means exempting the Muslims) wears local hosts. They constituted a Muslim minority within a strung around the neck. . . . Some are accounted non-Muslim majority, corresponding to the first "phase" of efficacious for the cure of gunshot wounds, others for islamization mentioned above. They worshiped, educated thrust or laceration of steel weapons, and the their children, distributed their property, and in almost every barbs of javelins, or arrows. Some, on the respect conducted their lives as would Muslims anywhere in hand, are esteemed to possess the virtue of Africa or the rest of the world. They were no less learned nor the wearer invulnerable in the field of battle, and hence are worn as a preservative against the casualpious than believers elsewhere, and they did not compromise ties of war. their faith. But they could not afford to, and generally did not want to, change the religious identities of their hosts, who this class of charms, they have other cabalistic welcomed their presence and accorded them favors because for averting the evil of natural life: These may

The well man them the poisoned other rendering Besides scraps

18

Islam and the Muslim World African Culture and Islam

also be subdivided into separate classes; some, for criticism in the last two centuries from instance, are specific nostrums in certain diseases of the reform and the closer integration of subhuman frame, some for their prevention, and some are Saharan Africa with the Middle East. calculated either to ward off any impending stroke of fortune, or to raise the proprietor to wealth, happiness Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi; Ahmad Ibn Idris; and distinction. (London, 1824, 1966, appendix, page xi) Suwari, al-; Suyut, al-; Tariqa; Zar.

under increasing movements of See also Ahmad Hajj Salim

The relationship between leading merchants and rulers is BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 positions which many Muslims throughout the world have French
 Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880
 taken when they found themselves in situations of inferior to 1920.
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 numbers and force, took advantage of their networks for
 trade, and enjoyed generally good relations with the local
 David Robinson
 authorities because of the goods and prosperity that they
 could attract.

Some Muslims have searched for wisdom and inspira- AFRICAN CULTURE
 AND ISLAM
 tion within African societies. They have established links
 with indigenous healing practices, divination systems, and Islam, an
 Afro-Asiatic faith, has long been known to be a
 cosmologies. They have created worlds of mediating spirits religion of
 great synthesis that has interacted with local
 and possession cults, such as the bori of Hausaland or the cultures,
 enriching them and being enriched by them. It has
 gnawa of Morocco. These fused religious worlds have come impacted on
 African society in various ways for almost a

Islam and the Muslim World

19

African Culture and Islam

millennium, if not longer, adding to the fabric of these put it, for
 the African, the ethnic group is the matrix in which
 cultures. his religion
 takes shape, the meaning of myth communicated,
 and a person's sacramental relation to nature experienced.
 Spread of Islam in Africa This means
 that when the symbols of the ethnic group are

Islam made its presence felt in much of Africa (the East coast and Horn of Africa as well as West Africa) mainly through appear to reorganize the group and to compensate trade and migration. In West Africa, for instance, Islam was loss. More specifically, becoming a Muslim and introduced from North Africa by the Berbers through the universal umma involves offering prayers in a trans-Saharan trade as early as the ninth century. Later, frequented by members of other ethnic groups, trading networks developed among local African groups such Muslim behavior patterns and dress code in some as the Mande (Dyula/Wangara) whose area of operation using a certain language (e.g., for quite a long time spanned a wide area extending from as far west as Senegal to the case of East Africa). The Kano Chronicle, a northern Nigeria in the east. This trade network, or diaspora, Hausa kings of sixteenth or seventeenth century was closely associated with the diffusion of Islamic studies, first written down in the nineteenth century including mysticism in the later centuries, and enabled Islam sources were largely oral, brings out clearly the struggle to penetrate peacefully beyond the Sahel—the semiarid region between the two religious systems, the Islamic and the region of African between the Sahara and the savannahs—into traditional one, after the symbolic tree is cut down and a the savannah area. In the coastal trading communities of East Africa the process of interaction between the Middle Eastern immigrants, mainly south Arabians, and the dominant African Culture and Islam can groups created a new urban ethos in which Islam blended forms and symbols of the indigenous system are with the indigenous local culture to produce Swahili Islam. The cross-cultural trade in many parts of Africa, apart from In the artistic and architectural domains, for reinforcing cultural self-identity and nurturing religious commitment, there has been a unique blending of Islamic structure in which commerce, Islam, and the indigenous system supported the urban network between the local religious practices and the universal ritual prescriptions of Islam the next step was to cast the ritual prescriptions and those of universal Islam. iconography of African ancestral pillars, shrines,

challenged forms may for any joining this mosque adoption of cases, and Kiswahili in record of inspiration whose mosque built Indigenous The old often not a new form. instance, fostered a pluralist culture and African representation. Once a reached imagery and

and so on into Islamized form. Where Islam was introduced Islam in Africa therefore was primarily an urban religion such items as charms, amulets, certain types of clothing, and (with an urban ethos) that fostered commitment to its religious goods were incorporated into local societies. More important, the local altar-shrine was transformed into the identity, universal and transethnic in scope. Islamic penetration in such a way that the physical configuration repetition in the rural areas, on the other hand, made piecemeal presented a qualitative leap into verticality. Thus, as Labelle

infiltration over a long period of time with significant gains Prussin notes, the single, towering pyramidal earthen cone awaiting a much later period. The religion therefore entered became the mihrab (it also served as a minaret) with its system of much of Africa peacefully through the agency of trade and projecting wooden pickets extending out of this massive structure. later gained status after the migrant community (purveyors of The ends of these wooden pickets served as a scaffold for the written word and the visual symbols of Islam) was integrated into the political setup before finally the ruling elite ancestral conical structure pillar (the Voltaic tradition) was embraced the faith and appropriated its symbols for political now redirected to a new focal center, that of Mecca. In certain purposes, cases, as Prussin and Rene Bravmann have observed, some of the mosques that were built in Mali had mihrabs that evoked The intensity of Islam varied from one region of Africa to the image of an African mask (which traditionally represents another and was influenced by a number of factors, including powerful forces). This is how the mosques were constructed by the Mande the length of interaction between Islam and the traditional of West Africa with Islam clearly inspiring the religion, the compatibility or incompatibility of the worldviews use of certain architectural features in the spatial configuration of the two religious systems, and the level of resilience of the tradition. The Islamic architectural tradition (mediated through indigenous integrative symbols to sustain traditional structures of the local religion. Islam has its written scripture, a imagery or style represented by the thatched domes of the prescribed ritual, a historical and systematized myth, and a Senegal-Guinea area for mosques and maraboutic (referring supra-ethnic religious identity. Its interaction with African to a Muslim scholar or saint in North Africa or parts of West Africa) traditional religions is therefore governed by the tension Africa)

shrines following the example of the domed cities of
 between its supra-ethnic universality of its umma and the Tripoli and
 Cairo. Islamic-type designs were also emulated
 ethnocentrism of African traditional religion. As Dean Gillard and led to
 the adoption of arabesque wall patterning instead

20

Islam and the Muslim World African Culture and Islam

This was the period when the learned Muslims, as in West
 African kingdoms, played a key role in administration and
 diplomacy. Eventually, however, a number of these African
 rulers adopted Islam and in doing so may partly have undermined the basis of
 their legitimacy as guardians of African
 ancestral religious traditions. Nevertheless, they did not
 completely renounce ties with the African traditional religion, which continued
 to be the religion of many of their
 subjects. This arrangement assisted in maintaining order
 although it did not please some West African Sufi leaders of
 the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who launched their
 jihads (reform movements) of Islamic revivalism (some of
 which had mahdist/messianic overtones) to establish Islamic
 states. The theme of Islamic revivalism will be discussed later.

Colonialism

Colonialism facilitated the growth of Islam in areas of Africa
 as far apart as Tanzania (Tanganyika) in East Africa and
 Senegal in West Africa through the activities of Muslim
 brotherhoods (Sufi orders), traders, and others. For some
 African groups the loss of power with the onset of colonial
 rule made them gravitate toward Islam, which was seen as an
 alternative to the prevailing colonial order. The difficulties of
 a new life under the colonial system, which uprooted the
 African from his traditional universe, presented Islam with an
 opportunity to provide a new framework as meaningful and
 all-embracing as the old African one. This, for instance,
 A mud brick mosque in Mopti, Mali, in Northwest Africa. Africa is happened
 with Amadou Bamba's Murid brotherhood in
 home to more than one billion Muslims. © CHARLES AND JOSETTE Senegal,
 which converted thousands of people whose earthly
 LENARS/CORBIS kingdoms
 had been destroyed by colonialism. In 1888 Bamba
 established Touba/Tubaa as a great holy city (some say) to
 rival Mecca, and he was buried there in 1927. Every year
 of the attached African charms. This calligraphy allowed for a
 hundreds of thousands of his followers visit his tomb on the
 new system of spatial organization. More than this, Islamic

anniversary of his death. For the uprooted African who joined script was used in decorative ways even in non-Muslim areas such as modern-day Ghana, where in the nineteenth century the faith, the Muslim supra-ethnic umma provided a solidarity the Asantehehene, head of the Asante confederacy, wore clothes and a sense of belonging not very different from that of the village/ethnic one. Moreover, while the Islamic pre-filtered through Asante political/religious structure such that scriptures replaced the indigenous ones, in matters of work both in terms of ideas and in the realm of the arts it provided a ship, however, the Muslim ritual prayer did not completely dislodge the traditional rituals of seeking to appease the communicated. ancestors.

In fact, the Muslim religious leaders and teachers came to perform the same kind of role as the African healers Islam, which for many centuries coexisted well with traditional and medicine men in carving out the domain of popular religion. tional African religion, gradually over time attempted to replace it as the dominant faith of some regions without major clashes. What made this possible was the fact that the Indigenization of Islam

Islamic faith was much more adaptable in Africa with very Yet, despite Muslim efforts to purge African elements from minimal requirements for new members who at the very least their faith, their religion continued to display a level of were expected to change their names after reciting the testimony of faith. The observance of Islamic duties along with these regions of West Africa. How else would one explain the the understanding of the faith were supposed to follow later. continued presence of, for instance, the bori cult in northern Nigeria? For the first generation of Muslims, introduction to Islamic There, women tend to follow the traditional cults cultural values was what came first whereas Islamization itself even with the sustained impact of Islam in Hausaland for centuries, could take generations to realize. At this level there was accommodation to social and political structures of authority. ous Fulani reformers of the nineteenth century such as

Islam and the Muslim World

African Culture and Islam

Shaykh Uthman dan Fodio? There must be a level of affinity acknowledging the entanglements and creative encounters

between the two religious systems that allows this to happen. between and within cultures? It remains to be seen what the outcome of For instance, the belief in mystical powers (jinn/invisible supernatural creatures) this clash will be. It is clear though that underlysupernatural creatures) allows Islam to be accommodated to ing the conflict between them are struggles for power and the African spirit world that is so important to understanding control of the Muslim community by these competing groups. the African religious universe. In fact, the ancestral beliefs have been recombined with Muslim practice to form a new Gender and Islam in Africa “folk” religion with emphasis on, say, saint veneration (which What type of cultural interface has taken place between Islam and Africa in the area of gender relations? More specifically, popular Islam and Sufism reinforce) that approximates local what has been the role of Islam with respect to the status of ancestor veneration. women in the regions of Africa where Islam has been intro- The practice of curing illnesses attributed to occult forces duced? Did Islam introduce patriarchy in Africa? Many provided an opportunity for the Muslim healing system to African societies were patriarchal (polygamous as well) even flourish and allowed for the services of Muslim healers/holy before their encounter with Islam. Nevertheless, where Islam was men (who provided additional healing choices to local practi- introduced and its values incorporated in the socioecotioners) to be in high demand. The appearance of new nomic and political structures of these societies (especially epidemic diseases such as smallpox and cholera, which arose those with a propensity for state/empire building) a hierarin the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in hinterland East chical social organization resulted in which there were clear Africa (and which the local people could not adequately deal demarcations of male and female spheres of activity. This, of with), led the people to turn increasingly to the Muslim course, did vary from society to society. For instance, the healing system. Muslim prayers and amulets were more Yoruba women of southwestern Nigeria continued to be market women even after the coming of Islam whereas their popular than Muslim secular remedies in this atmosphere of Hausa counterparts in northern Nigeria tended to lead more suspicion (which took the form of sorcery and witchcraft secluded lives. It is significant to note that the Mahdiyya accusations). Apart from the fact that Muslim amulets were movement, which was established in 1941 in Ijebul-Ode in believed to embody the words of the Supreme Being and not southern Nigeria by the southern Muslim scholar, Muhamthat of the intermediary

powers (making them therefore
 mad Jumat Imam, emphasized the education of women, their
 more potent, as the Asante believed), Muslim literacy played
 attendance of mosques together with men, and their inclusion role as a potential
 source of healing. Furthermore, Sufi
 sion in public affairs (hence no Qur'anic basis for the practice
 masters who had attained a closeness to God through follow of purdah, or female
 seclusion. By way of comparison, among
 ing the path of spiritual enlightenment were believed to have
 the Tuareg-Berbers of the Sahara (who tend to be matriarchal special powers that
 made their prayers efficacious. This
 chah) their unveiled women continued to enjoy far more
 baraka (blessing power that heals) was passed on in families
 freedom of movement than their Arab counterparts in
 and explains why the scholarly Sufi lineages of the Sahara
 North Africa.
 have played a pivotal role in mediating Islam between North
 and West Africa. The Sufi
 dhikr (chant) practices and the spirit possession
 cults (bori among Hausas in West Africa and zar in Ethiopia
 While the influence of the tariqa (Sufi orders) has been and Sudan)
 have offered women possibilities for autonomous
 undermined to some extent in some parts of Africa such as spiritual
 expression and for creation of networks of mutual
 Tanzania, the commitment to Sufistic engagement with faith support.
 Mysticism in particular has opened the room for the
 nevertheless continues to be strong in West Africa and acceptance
 of female authority (for instance, Sokna Magat
 especially in Senegal, although even there it is facing the Diop of the
 Murids) or religious leadership located within the
 challenge of the Salafi reformers. Sufism, far from being a female
 realm. Moreover, the Qadiriyya order accepted the
 predominantly rural phenomenon that would fade away as female
 leadership of Shaykha Binti Mtumwa (a former slave
 Muslim societies became increasingly modernized, has con- or person of
 low status) who founded a branch of the order in
 tinued to thrive and to engage African Muslims of the urban Malawi and
 was successful in attracting many women. There centers as well. Yet for some
 educated young African Muslims fore, both possession cults and Sufi
 brotherhoods have al who are discomfited by magical practices, saint veneration,
 lowed women to establish a sphere of action in hierarchical
 hierarchy, and the authoritarianism of some Sufi orders, the societies
 where control of the state is a male domain. These
 Salafi message has seemed attractive. orders have
 incorporated women in both East and West
 Africa, especially in the area of education, fund raising, and
 The Salafi reform is itself at some level quite conservative the like,

although women have a much larger scope in Senegal and traditional; to the extent that this is true, Salafi reform than in Nigeria in leadership of brotherhoods. and Sufi traditionalism are constantly engaged in an overlapping movement of interaction. Will they creatively synthe- During the period of economic hardships in the last size from the values of their common Islamic heritage while several decades, issues of cultural authenticity have become

22

Islam and the Muslim World African Culture and Islam

rooted in Islamic identity in opposition to what has been Muslim judges to apply Islamic civil and family law except in perceived as Western cultural domination. These women criminal matters, which were tried by European courts. In the reject Western feminism, which they see as an extension of postcolonial period the scope of Islamic law, where it is Western cultural domination worldwide, a domination that applied, is limited to religious issues and civil cases; the makes Western values and ideas be the normative values that modern trend, with its emphasis on equal rights of citizens, is everyone else should strive for. The role of these women has to have laws that apply across the board without recognizing expanded as liberalization of the political process and the any distinctions based on religion or gender. emergence of multiparty politics have led them to establish organizations and to embrace a particular agenda, including Recognition of Islamic laws in many African states after the Muslim dress code, and involvement in cultural politics. independence has created tensions and political controversy The Islamists and radical reformist activists are engaged in especially when the secular elites have sought to forge a contesting existing gender relations and social justice. They uniform system of law or at least have attempted to modify use the text (scripture) as their framework whereas the secular Muslim personal law (in aspects such as marriage for girls) to activists' frame of reference is based on certain abstract bring it in line with the inherited Western law and African concepts such as egalitarianism, humanism, human rights, customary practices. There has been a wide variety of reand pluralism, concepts that have emerged from Western sponses to the dilemma of how much scope to give to discourses on the subject. religious laws. Mozambique, for instance, has made attempts to recognize traditional and religious marriages (thus doing The roles of men and women are constantly changing due the basic

minimum) whereas Sudan has made shari a the law
 to urbanization, education, and cross-cultural contacts. For of the land.
 The call by Muslim groups in northern Nigeria
 some women these changes have generated new freedom and for
 nationalization of Islamic law (to apply beyond northern
 opportunities for self-improvement.
 Nigeria) has unleashed the shari a debate, a source of tension
 Islamic Law and Politics in national
 politics in a country where at the very least only
 As a political force, Islam united much of Africa in the past half or
 slightly more than half the population is Muslim. In
 and was willing to accommodate local (including legal) prac- African
 Muslim societies in general, however, it has been
 tices. Nevertheless, as the level of Islamization deepened the noted that
 there is often an antistate discourse underlying the
 learned Muslim scholars began to call for a strict interpreta- call for
 Islamic law by Muslim groups, which seek to foster
 tion of the shari a (Islamic law), which they saw as different their
 religious and cultural autonomy in societies (with failed
 from the African legal or customary practices. Some obvious political
 institutions and secular ideologies such as socialism)
 areas of difference included, for instance, Islamic emphasis on in which
 state and secular institutions have failed to respond
 individual ownership of land (and property inheritance through to their
 needs.
 the male side of the family) whereas in various African
 societies land belonged to the community. Also, the way
 Coexistence of Islam and African Religion
 The coexistence of Islam and African traditional religion has
 Islamic law was interpreted (some have suggested) tended to
 give men considerably more power over property matters cultural and
 linguistic implications as well. The Arabic lanthan perhaps was the case in
 some African societies. Scholars, guage has provided abstract concepts,
 particularly religious
 however, need comparative data across a number of African ones, that
 reveal Islamic modes of thought and expression.
 societies to make a meaningful comparison. Islamic
 influence is, in fact, revealed both at the explicit and
 suggestive levels in languages as different as the Berber
 Unlike African customary law, which is unwritten, Islamic dialects, Hausa,
 Swahili, and Somali to name just a few. These
 law (which covers both public and private life) is written and languages
 have absorbed the Islamic worldview (though at
 provides an extensive framework within which Muslim qadis some level
 languages such as Swahili have been progressively
 (judges) analyze legal issues and deduce new laws to handle secularized
 over time during and after the colonial period,

new situations in the umma. Islamic law emphasizes the rights making them more neutral).

or obligations of individuals whereas African customary law (in which economic and social relations, especially in “state-Islamic culture has generally held the written word in such less” societies, were regulated by customs maintained by high esteem that wherever Islam has reached in Africa versocial pressure and the authority of elders) is based on kinship sions of its script have been adopted in those regions of

ties in matters of marriage and property. It extends to com- sustained contact. Moreover, Islamic penetration of Africa introduced Arabic as the language of religious discourse among conduct of political leaders or those entrusted with authority. In their encounter with other legal systems European colo- states, and historical writing during the period of the Muslim kingdoms. nial powers left these systems functioning in some societies Good examples of important records that were produced (for instance, Sudan and Nigeria as part of the Britain’s self- by Timbuktu scholars were the monumental Tarikh serving policy of indirect rule) while in others they allowed al-Fatash and Tarikh al-Sudan. Both East and West Africa

Islam and the Muslim World

23

Aga Khan

have also produced Afro-Islamic literature (from the panegyrics Chande, Abdin. “Radicalism and Reform in East Africa.” of the Prophet to poetry) based on the local languages, which In The History of Islam in Africa. Edited by Randall Pouwels and have absorbed a lot of Arabic loanwords in the spheres of and Nehemia Levitzion. Athens: Ohio University Press, religion, politics, and commerce. In some of these areas, 2000. however, the written word has competed with the oral litera- Clark, Peter. West Africa and Islam. London: Edward Arnold Ltd., ture especially among such clan-based people as the Somali. 1982.

Dunbar, Roberta Ann. “Muslim Women in African His- tory.” In In the linguistic dimension it is often assumed that when The History of Islam in Africa. Edited by Randall Arabic and an African language such as Swahili, Berber, Pouwels and Nehemia Levitzion. Athens: Ohio Univer- sity Hausa, Fulani, Harari, Somali, and others come into contact Press, 2000. the latter will invariably be influenced by the former. It is, of Gilland,

Dean S. African Religion Meets Islam: Religious Change course, undeniable that as a result of contact with Arabic Northern Nigeria. Lanham, Md.: University Press of these languages (which are related in their ethos to Arabic) 1986.

have absorbed many Arabic loanwords. In fact, some had in Kenneth, ed. Faces of Islam in African Literature. the past a written tradition in Arabic script. Nevertheless, Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1991.

there is an unstated assumption that these languages have Owusu-Ansah, David. Islamic Talismanic Tradition in Nineborrowed from Arabic rather passively without contributing tenth Century Asante. Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen, 1991.

anything back. This may explain the fact that while there are a Randall, and Levitzion, Nehemia, eds. The History number of studies that trace Arabic loanwords in various in Africa. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000.

African languages, fewer comparable studies, if any, have the influence of Swahili on the Arabic dialects spoken in Oman or south Yemen (Hadhramaut). Labelle. Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa.

This influence should be expected given that the Red Sea Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California separates the Arabian peninsula from Africa and this proximity resulted in a profound interaction in a number of spheres. Lamin. Piety and Power. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis The Arabs, by their own tradition, recognize African ancestry through Ishmael's mother Haggar, who was Egyptian. Also, Westerlund, David, and Rosander, Eva Evers, eds. African Arabs recognize the active presence of Africans in the evolution of pre-Islamic Arabic culture and the important role that Islamists. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997.

Ethiopia and Ethiopians played in the early history of Islam. Abdin Chande

How will both Islam and African indigenous traditions fare in the twenty-first century in the era of globalization? Can both systems penetrate Western secular culture, whose secular institutions and ideologies have not functioned well in Africa? Are African religious traditions destined to die out as socioeconomic changes (not to mention the colonial experience) have disrupted the cultural nexus in which these traditions Nizari Ismaili Muslims. The title was first granted by

in

America,

Harrow,

Pouwels,

of Islam

Pouwels,

Prussin,

Press,

Sanneh,

Books,

Islam and

AGA KHAN

Aga Khan is

Shi'a

tions have thrived? This is rather unlikely as African indigenous the Iranian ruler Fath Ali Shah to Imam Hasan Ali Shah cultures have demonstrated much resilience even as their (1804–1881), who also served as governor of Qum, Mahallat, followers enter the fold of either Islam or Christianity (Ali and Kirman. Forced to leave Iran, he settled eventually in British-ruled India. His son, Shah Ali Shah, Aga Khan II Mazrui's triple heritage) and the African ancestors are poised (1830–1835), was imam for four years and was succeeded to raise their heads once again in the synthetic and syncretic after his death by his eight-year-old son who became well religious universe. With one quarter of the world's 1.2 billion known internationally as Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, Aga Muslims living in Africa (making Muslims, half the conti-Khan III (1877–1957). He guided the community into the nent's population, the most numerous followers of any religtwentieth century by locating social welfare, educational, ion) the final chapter of the unfolding global resurgent Islam economic, and religious institutions within the framework of is yet to be written.

a structured community constitution to promote better or- See also Africa, Islam in; Bamba, Ahmad; Timbuktu; ganization and governance. His leadership played a crucial Toubia; Zar. role in enabling the community, some of whose members had migrated from India to Africa, to adapt successfully to historical change and modernity.

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24

Islam and the Muslim World
Ahl al-Bayt

cultural and geographical diversity, acknowledge the spiritual authority of the imam and have responded actively to his guidance. This has enabled them to build further on inherited institutions and to create common purpose in their endeavors through well-coordinated local, national, and international institutions.

Aga Khan IV also created the Aga Khan Development Network, to promote a humanitarian, intellectual, and social vision of Islam and tradition of service to society. Its international activities have earned an enviable reputation for their

commitment to the development of societies, without bias to national or religious affiliation, and to the promotion of culture as a key resource and enabling factor in human and social development. The Award for Architecture and the Trust for Culture promote concern and awareness of the built environment, and cultural and historical preservation. Various institutions of higher education, such as the Aga Khan University, Central Asian University, and the Institute of Ismaili Studies promote scholarship and training in a wide variety of fields.

The Aga Khan's leadership and vision continue to be reflected in the increasingly significant global impact that these community institutions and the network are having in the fields of social, educational, economic, and cultural development.

See also Khojas; Nizari.

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became the leader of the Shi a Nizari Isma ili Muslims of India in London: Kegan Paul International, 1998.

the late nineteenth century at the age of eight. As the Indian subcontinent evolved politically in the beginning of the twentieth Daftary, Farhad. The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines.

century, Aga Khan spoke out for education, social change, and Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

women's rights. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, THE

Azim Nanji

important role as a statesman in international and Muslim affairs. He was president of the League of Nations from 1937 to 1938 and also played an important role in the political evolution of the Indian subcontinent. Deeply committed to AHL AL-BAYT

social reform and education among Muslims of Africa and Ahl al-bayt, or "people of the house," is a phrase used with Asia he assisted in the creation of several institutions such as schools, hospitals, and the East African Muslim Welfare

reference

to the family of the prophet Muhammad, particu-

Society. He was also an eloquent advocate for the education larly by the Shi a. In early Arabian tribal society, it was a

of women and the advancement of their social and public role. designation for a noble clan. It occurs only twice in the

In addition to other writings and speeches, he wrote two Qur an, once in regard to Ibrahim's family (11:73), but more

books, India in Transition (1918) and his Memoirs (1954). He

significantly in a verse that states, “God only wishes to keep
died in 1957 and is buried in Aswan, Egypt. uncleanness
away from you, O people of the house, and to
purify you completely” (33:33). The context suggests that this
Aga Khan IV, Shah Karim al-Husayni, was born in 1936 statement
pertains to women in Muhammad’s household, a
and was educated in Europe and at Harvard University. view held
by Sunni commentators. Some authorities have
During his leadership, a worldwide community emerged applied it
more widely to descendants of Muhammad’s clan
successfully through complex and turbulent changes. The (Banu
Hashim), the Abbasids, and even the whole community
Ismailis, who live in some thirty countries and represent of
Muslims. Since the eighth century C.E., however, the Shi a
Islam and the Muslim World

25

Ahl-e Hadis/Ahl-al Hadith

and many Sunnis have maintained that Qur an 33:33 refers such as
Sayyida Zaynab (Ali’s daughter; Cairo) and Fatima
specifically to five people: Muhammad, Ali b. Abi Talib
al-Ma suma (daughter of the seventh imam; Qom, Iran).
(Muhammad’s cousin), Ali’s wife Fatima (Muhammad’s
Nizari Isma ilis (Khojas) make pilgrimages to their living imam, the
daughter), and their two children, Hasan and Husayn. Ulema
Aga Khan, also a direct descendent of the Prophet’s
invoke hadiths in support of this view, as seen in Tabari’s
household.
Jami al-bayan (c. tenth century C.E.). Thus, in South Asia,
they are called “the five pure ones” (panjatan pak). They are
Contemporary heads of state in several Muslim countries
also known as “people of the mantle” (kisa) in remembrance have
claimed blood-descent from the family of the Prophet to
of the occasion when the Prophet enveloped them with his obtain
religious legitimacy for their rule: the Alawid dynasty
mantle and recited this verse. of Morocco
(1631–present), Hashimite dynasty of Iraq
(1921–1958) and of Jordan (1923–present), and many of the
Belief in the supermundane qualities of the ahl al-bayt and ruling mullahs
in Iran, including the Ayatollah Khomeini (r.
the imams descended from them form the core of Shi ite
1979–1989), whose tomb has become a popular Iranian
devotion. They are the ideal locus of authority and salvation Shi ite
shrine. Even former President Saddam Husayn of Iraq
in all things, both worldly and spiritual. As pure, sinless, and (r.
1979–2003) has claimed descent from ahl al-bayt.
embodiments of divine wisdom, they are held to be the

perfect leaders for the Muslim community, as well as models
 Hadith; Imam; Imamate; Karbala; Mahdi; Sayyid;
 for moral action. Many believe that they possess a divine light
 Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); Shi'a: Ismaili.

See also
 Sharif;

through which God created the universe, and that it is only
 through their living presence that the world exists. Twelver

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Shi'ite doctrine has emphasized that the pain and martyrdom
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 the
 Hague:

with their suffering. Moreover, they anticipate the messianic
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 return of the Twelfth Imam at the end of time, and the
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Family in

During the middle ages, Nizari Ismaili da'is in northern
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 India even identified the ahl al-bayt with Hindu gods (Brahma,
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Schubel,

rare

the five heroes of the Mahabharata epic. The Shi'ite ritual
 calendar is distinguished by holidays commemorating events

Juan Eduardo Campo

in the lives of the holy family, and it is common for the "hand
 of Fatima," inscribed with their five names, to be displayed in
 processions and to be used as a talisman.

AHL-E HADIS/AHL-AL HADITH

Sunnis also revere the ahl al-bayt, attributing to them
 many of the sacred qualities that the Shi'a do. This is
 Hadis emerged as a distinctive orientation among
 especially so in Sufi tariqas (brotherhoods), most of which
 ulema in the late-nineteenth-century milieu of retrace their spiritual lineage
 to Muhammad through Ali. Reformist thought, publication, debate, and
 internal proselytization

The Ahl-e

Indian

Several tariqas hold special veneration for the holy five and
 other reformers, they fostered devotion to the

ing. Like

the imams, such as the Khalwatiyya, the Bektashiyya, and the
 Muhammad and fidelity to shari'a. Unlike them, they

prophet

Safawiyya, which established the Safavid dynasty in Iran
 jurisprudential taqlid (imitation) of the classic law

opposed

(1502–1722). In many Muslim communities, high social
 in favor of direct use of hadith. They also opposed the

schools

status is attributed to those claiming to be sayyids and sharifs, entire

institution of Sufism, a stance that further marginalized blood-descendants of the ahl al-bayt. Indeed, many Muslim scholars and saints are members of these two groups, and (d. 1763), and they encouraged simplification of their tombs often become pilgrimage centers. ceremony and the practice of widow remarriage. Their practices in the canonical prayer (including uttering “amen” aloud

Although the Saudi-Wahhabi conquest of Arabia (ninth to early twentieth centuries) led to the destruction of many ahl al-bayt shrines (including Fatima’s tomb in Medina), elsewhere their shrines have attracted large numbers of pilgrims in modern times. These include those of Ali (Najaf, Iraq), Husayn (Karbala, Iraq and Cairo, Egypt), Ali al-Rida (the eighth imam; Mashhad, Iran), and also of women saints Arabia. Within India, they turned to princes for

26

Islam and the Muslim World

Ahl al-Kitab

support, most famously with the marriage of Maulana Siddiq Hasan Khan (1832–1890) to the ruling Begum of Bhopal. After the Mihna, the Ahl al-Hadith led an anti-Siddiq Hasan supported the classic interpretations of jihad, movement that forced advocates of rationalist without the apologetic glosses of the day. Despite his writing underground. In the centuries following the initial to the contrary, he was suspected of disloyalty, as was another the Ahl al-Hadith, a middle ground emerged that major figure in the movement, Sayyid Nazir Husain (d. 1902), who was briefly arrested as a “Wahhabi,” as supporters tradition. The Ahl al-Hadith formed a school of legal thought of the Arab Muhammad Abd al Wahhab (1703–1792) were after Ahmad Ibn Hanbal that continued to pursue called. Suspicion of the Ahl-e Hadis abated by 1889, marked methods that focused less on uses of reason and more on by the success of a campaign to drop the word “Wahhabi” in tradition. The Hanbali fixation on tradition led to a series of official British colonial correspondence. reform movements that have sought to “revive” the moral

and ethical standards of the first generations of Muslims. The
 The armed Lashkar-e Tayyiba, affiliated with the Ahl-e contemporary
 influence of Ahl al-Hadith ideology continues
 Hadis in Pakistan, is alleged to have been active both within to be
 important for a number of diverse groups. Organiza-
 Pakistan and Kashmir since the 1990s. tions such
 as the Indonesian Muhammadiyah and the Islamic
 Society of North America, as well as the violent al-Qa ida and
 See also Deoband; Fundamentalism.

Islamic Jihad, each bases its ideologies on ideas that emerged
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R. Kevin Jaques

AHL AL-HADITH

The Ahl al-Hadith (people of the traditions) appear to have
 developed out of a pious reaction to the assassination of AHL AL-KITAB
 Caliph Yazid b. Walid (d. 744). Prior to Yazid’s assassination,
 scholars who emphasized hadith (traditions of the prophet The term ahl
 al-kitab, or people of the book, refers to
 Muhammad) as the primary source for interpreting the Will followers of
 scripture-possessing religions that predate the
 of God were disorganized and fairly removed from the Qur an, most
 often Jews and Christians. In some situations
 widespread emphasis on applying varying levels of reason to other
 religious groups, such as Zoroastrians and Hindus, have
 the Qur an. Yazid’s assassination was interpreted by more been
 considered to be people of the book. Some Qur anic
 conservative groups as a revolution against the predestined verses also
 reference the Sabeans, who are usually understood
 plan of God. Whether or not the early Ahl al-Hadith were to be one of
 several gnostic Judeo-Christian sects such as the
 aligned with the Umayyad caliphate, as were many of the Mandeans,

the Elchasaites, or Archontics. Muslims recognize the Jabriyya (advocates of predestination), it is clear that many of these holy books possessed by the Jews (al-Tawrah: Torah; understood Yazid's assassination as a sign of the general decay of the Muslim community, the al-Zabur: Psalms) and Christians (al-Injil: Gospel) as legitimate revelations. However, they believe that some portions to the uncontrolled use of personal opinion by the Ahl al-Ra'y of these scriptures were abrogated and superseded by the (people of considered opinion). After the Abbasid revolution of the Qur'an and the Christians and Jews corrupted others. (c. 720–750), the Ahl al-Hadith developed into the main group opposed to the dominance of the rationalist theology. The Qur'an provides an ambivalent picture of the people of the Mu'tazilites. During the religious inquisition or Mihna of the book, sometimes praising and sometimes condemning (833–850) many of the Ahl al-Hadith were imprisoned for them. Muslims are said to worship the same God as the refusing to agree to the doctrine of the Created Qur'an. people of the book, who were likewise honored with divine Members of the Ahl al-Hadith, such as Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. revelations (Q 2:62). However, the people of the book are 855), became important religious and social leaders due to also criticized for certain faults and sometimes referred to as

Islam and the Muslim World

27

Ahl al-Kitab

unbelievers (Q 5:18, 9:29–35). These differences in tone Islamic literature from the eleventh through eighteenth seem to be connected with the circumstances in which Qur'anic centuries generally deals with ahl al-kitab within the context of their revelations were delivered. In Mecca the Prophet's message of their dhimmi status. Although dhimmis were understood to be inferior was directed against the idolaters who opposed him, and to Muslims, some Jews and Christians managed to attain high Muhammad believed that the Jews and Christians, as fellow positions in Islamic states. A few, such as John of Damascus monotheists, would recognize him as a prophet. After his arrival in Medina, however, it became apparent that most with Muslims. Islamic polemical literature associated with Jews and Christians were not going to submit to Islam. As a scholars such as Ibn Hazm of Córdoba (d. 1064), Ibn al-Jawzi, the Meccan suras generally express more favorable Arabi (d. 1148), and al-Ghazali (d. 1111) repeated earlier criticisms opinions of the people of the book, and the Medinan suras

of Jews and Christians, posited different theories to more negative images. explain the corruption of their scriptures, and assigned blame for this calamity to well-known figures such as the Old Testament prophet Ezra, the Christian apostle Paul, and the Byzantine emperor Constantine. The people of the book having received multiple prophets, the Qur'an criticizes them were also accused of concealing biblical prophecies foretelling the coming of Muhammad and the triumph of Islam. Sufi teaching falsehoods (Q 2:78, 3:79), and with immoral practices, such as the poetry of Jalal al-Din Rumi, look to Jesus and other biblical saints as models but contain similar criticisms of Jews and Christians. All these texts reflect a belief in Muhammad as the bearer of God's crowning revelation, of their sins, the Qur'an asserts that God cursed the Jews (Q 2:63-65, 3:75, 4:153-156, 160-161, 5:56-64, 7:163-166). Because the partial revelations of the biblical Scriptures. Those Jews who did not submit to Islam faced the same eternal punishment as polytheists and other unbelievers during modern times, substantial changes in the relationship between the Islamic world and the West led to shifts in (Q 2:80f).

Muslim attitudes toward the people of the book. From the early 1800s, Islamic modernists acknowledged that Muslims and Christians are generally portrayed sympathetically in the early suras. They are described as being the closest friends to Islam, but they continued to assert Islam's superiority as a religious system. Muslims, while Jews and idolaters are said to be hostile to Islam (Q 5:82). However, the Qur'an disagrees with Christian values upon Islamic populations, but westernizing Muslim governments failed to achieve the promised prosperity. With book recognizes Jesus' prophethood (Q 3:45-53), it denies the breakdown of the dhimmi system and the rise of nationalism that he was divine or was crucified (Q 4:157-158, 5:116-117). Islam, ethnic and religious violence has erupted throughout the Muslim world. It also rejects the Christians' doctrine of the Trinity and their teaching that Jesus was the Son of God (Q 4:171-172, 19:35), Palestine, where many Muslims see the establishment of

accusing proponents of these doctrines of being unbelievers, Israel as a Western colonial project. During the late twentieth century, Islamic revivalists (or “Islamists”) increased their influence and largely rejected the “compromises” of the modernists. The Islamists advocate a return to the glorious Muslim representations of ahl al-kitab in hadith and early Islamic civilization of the past, with its division of the world into dar al-islam and dar al-harb (“house of war”; i.e., that part of the world not ruled by Islamic government) and returning of the book initially represented the majority population in non-Muslim minorities to their former dhimmi status. the expanded Muslim empire. On the whole, this literature presents ahl al-kitab in a negative light. Many hadiths seem to imitate them. Hadith literature also lays the groundwork for the practice of assigning protected status (known as

See also
Christianity and Islam; Islam and Other Religions; Judaism and Islam; Minorities: Dhimmis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

dhimmi status) to people of the book who submitted to Heribert. Islam, Judaism, and Christianity: Theological Muslim political authority. This arrangement made it possible for Jews and Christians to practice their faiths while living in Muslim societies. Although treated as second-class citizens, non-Muslim communities were largely able to coexist peacefully with Muslims for centuries, without experiencing the active persecution that minority religious groups often encountered in Europe.

Busse,
and
Goddard,
Grey
Bible
Press,

28

Islam and the Muslim World
Ahmad Ibn Idris

Lewis, Bernard. The Jews of Islam. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984. by Imam Nur b. al-Mujahid, al-Ghazi’s nephew and succes-

Ridgeon, Lloyd, ed. *Islamic Interpretations of Christianity*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001.

See also Africa, Islam in; Ethiopia; Jihad.

Watt, William Montgomery. *Muslim-Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions*. London: Routledge, 1991.

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Roman Loimeier

AHMAD IBN IBRAHIM AL-GHAZI
(1506–1543)

Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Ghazi is known in Ethiopian Christian literature as Ahmad Gran, “the left-handed,” political leader of an Islamic jihad movement in sixteenth-century Ethiopia. Idris was a Sufi teacher who influenced the formation of many

AHMAD IBN

He rose to power in the context of a century-old struggle for reforming Sufi brotherhoods in the nineteenth century.

Ahmad b.

domination in Ethiopia between the Christian emperors who reigned in Ethiopia's central and northern highlands and the

tion of many

Although he never formed tariqa (brotherhood) of his rulers of a number of Muslim emirates in that region's eastern

century.

own, Ibn Idris was a key figure in the development of Sufi high- and lowlands. In the 1510s and 1520s, the emperor thought in the nineteenth century. Being firmly based in

Libna Dingil (r. 1508–1540) had managed to overcome the traditional Sufism, in the line from Ibn Arabi, Ibn Idris

resistance of the Amir of Adal, Garad Abun, as well as of Iman promoted the idea of tariqa Muhammadiyya—focusing the

promoted the

idea of tariqa Muhammadiyya—focusing the Mahfuz, the Amir of Zaila. Sufi

experience on following the example of and having mystical encounters with the Prophet—while vehemently

Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Ghazi grew up in the province of rejecting blind imitation (taqlid) of earlier scholars. Accord-

Hubat south of Adal's capital city of Harar and had married ing to his teaching, it is the responsibility of each generation

Bati Del Wanbara, a daughter of Imam Mahfuz. In the of Muslim scholars to discover the Muslim path by relying

desperate situation of 1527, he was able to unite, under his directly on the sources of divine revelation and not be

leadership a number of Somali war bands as well as the forces restricted to what earlier and fallible human authorities have

of the Muslim emirates to defeat an Ethiopian army. With

decreed.

the support of Ottoman artillery, al-Ghazi's army was subsequently able, in 1529, to inflict a crushing defeat upon Ibn Idris was born in Maysur, a village near Larache in

Ethiopia's united army. Thereupon, he decided to embark on Morocco, and received his basic training in the reformist

a jihad with the aim to conquer Ethiopia as a whole. scholarly

milieu in Fez of the late eighteenth century, before

moving through Egypt to Mecca in 1799. He stayed in Mecca

Al-Ghazi led a number of campaigns, recorded by his during the

Wahhabi occupation, unlike many colleagues, and

companion, the Yemenite scholar Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. had an

ambivalent relationship to the Wahhabis; he shared

Abd al-Qadir, under the title Kitab Futuhat al-Habasha al- some of

their reformist views but rejected their recourse to

Musamma Bahjat az-Zaman. Al-Ghazi's Muslim armies were anathema

and violence against other Muslims. After a later

able to conquer, between 1529 and 1535, almost all the disturbance

in Mecca, he left in 1828 and settled in Sabya, the

Ethiopian Christian territories, from Showa in the south to capital of

Asir, then a part of Yemen, where he stayed for the

Tigray in the north. Ethiopia's transformation into a Muslim remainder

of his life. Several of his students formed imporimamate was, however,

preempted by the intervention of tant Sufi brotherhoods to

disseminate his ideas, among them

the Portuguese in 1541. Also, Ethiopia's new emperor, the

Sanusiyya of the Sahara, the Khatmiyya and Rashidiyya/

Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559), managed to reorganize the

Dandarawiyya of Sudan, Egypt, and the Indian Ocean re-

Christian forces and to stop al-Ghazi's advance. gions, and

the Salihyya of Somalia.

In a battle near Woyna Dega, in Dembya province, al- See also Africa, Islam in; Tariqa; Tasawwuf; Wahhabiyya.

Ghazi was killed by a Portuguese fusilier. The Muslim empire

of Ethiopia subsequently disintegrated as quickly as it had BIBLIOGRAPHY

been conquered, and most Christians who had converted to O'Fahey,

Rex S. Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the

Islam after 1529 converted back to Ethiopian Christianity. In Idrisi

Tradition. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University

the aftermath of al-Ghazi's death, Emperor Galawdewos was Press,

1990.

Islam and the Muslim World

29

Ahmad Gran

Radtke, Bernd; O'Kane, John; Vikør, Knut S.; and O'Fahey, Raj.

Although his personal dynamism, including the fear he
 Rex S. The Exoteric Ahmad Ibn Idris: A Sufi's Critique of the inspired
 through the issuing of death prophecies, was respon-
 Madhahib and Wahhabis. Leiden: Brill, 2000. sible for his
 notoriety among his Punjab enemies, it also drew
 Thomassen, Einar, and Radtke, Bernd, eds. The Letters of many
 initiates, mainly from Sunni Islam. On his death, a
 Ahmad Ibn Idris. London: Hurst, 1993. disciple,
 Maulvi Nur al-Din, became his khalifa (successor;
 1908–1914).

Knut S. Vikør

The movement took stronger institutional form on 27
 December 1891, when Ghulam Ahmad called the first annual
 gathering at Qadiyan, subsequently the center for all Ahmadi
 AHMAD GRAN See Ahmad Ibn activities.
 Newspapers were soon established, including Al-
 Ibrahim al-Ghazi Hakam (1897)
 and The Review of Religions (1902). Directed by
 Ghulam Ahmad that Ahmadis should demand separate categorization from Sunnis in
 the 1901 census, and that non-
 Ahmadi Muslims were kafirs (unbelievers), that intensified
 Sunni hostility. The community nevertheless prospered.
 Although scorned for their allegedly low social origins, many
 AHMADIYYA

Ahmadis were of middle-class professional status (landowners, entrepreneurs,
 doctors, and lawyers). Those of lower

The Ahmadiyya movement was founded by Mirza Ghulam
 origins took advantage of opportunities offered within the
 Ahmad in the Punjab province of British India in 1889, at a
 community to raise their educational level and hence status.
 time of competition for converts among new Muslim, Hindu,
 Many Ahmadi women were well educated. Numbers rose to
 Sikh, and Christian reform and missionary movements. Divi approximately nineteen
 thousand in Punjab by 1911, rising to
 sions among Sunni Muslims on appropriate responses fol about twenty-nine
 thousand by 1921. Careful marriage ar lowing the failure in 1857 of a widespread
 rebellion against

rangements, as well as missionary activity, helped increase the
 the British were reflected in the growth of new religious
 membership, which then spread outside India, particularly in
 movements in the north west, particularly at Deoband and
 Africa and Southeast Asia, through well-organized overseas
 Aligarh. Ghulam Ahmad's claims to be the recipient of
 missionary programs.

esoteric spiritual knowledge, transmitted to him through
 visions, attracted attention in such a setting. Doctrinally, he A split
 in 1914 divided the movement in the Punjab but

aroused hostility among Sunnis mainly because of his own did not obstruct progress, for those who remained at Qadiyan, claim to prophethood. His definition of jihad as concerned and the new, Lahore-based, secessionary branch, continued with “cleansing of souls,” rather than with military struggle, to use similar missionary and disciplinary methods to consolidate was less controversial at a stage when most Muslims had date their communities. Differing mainly on understandings accepted the practical necessity of acquiescence to British rule. of Ghulam Ahmad’s status, the Qadiyanis retained the caliphate. Some have viewed the insights that drew disciples to him as leadership, whose incumbents (since 1914 the sons and grandsons) are sufistic in essence, though his denunciation of rivals caused sons of Ghulam Ahmad) have reinforced belief in the founder’s detractors to question the spirituality of the movement. prophetic claims. The Lahoris, organized as the Ahmadiyya Anjuman-e Ishaqat-e Islam, regarded Ghulam Ahmad as the In 1889, shortly after publishing his first book *Al-Barahin* “mujaddid [reformer] of the fourteenth century,” and are less al-Ahmadiyya (Ahmadiyya proofs; 4 vols, 1880–1884), Ghulam easily distinguishable from Sunni Muslims, except in holding Ahmad began to initiate disciples. His claims two years later Ghulam Ahmad to have been the “promised messiah.” The that he was both masih (messiah) and mahdi (rightly guided crucial difference over prophethood has maintained the separation), and subsequent claims to powers of prophethood, rate identities of the branches wherever Ahmadiyya has since caused outrage among Muslims, which was expressed in spread, although missionary work among non-Muslims, extracts and newspapers and in fatawa condemning him for specially overseas, tends to stress common ground in Islam. denying the doctrine of khatm al-nabuwwa (finality of Muhammad). While Ghulam Ahmad’s direct successors, notably his son, the second mad’s prophethood). Public controversies also marked relations with his non-Muslim rivals, notably the Arya Samaj with Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, have contributed the most influential publications to Qadiyani proselytism, the especially after he claimed to be an avatar of Krishna, and with Lahoris received notable intellectual and missionary leadership from Protestant Christian missionaries in the Punjab. Christians ship from Maulana Muhammad Ali in the Punjab, and Khwaja Kamal objected to his view that Jesus had died naturally in Kashmir, al-Din in London. and that Ghulam Ahmad was the promised “second messiah.” He cultivated good relations, however, with the British colonies. During

the period of overt nationalist struggle in India in
nial authorities who appreciated his advocacy of loyalty to the the 1920s
and 1930s some Lahoris began to support wider

30

Islam and the Muslim World

Ahmadiyya

Members of the Muslim Ahmadiyya group, including their leader, Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad Khalifatul Masih IV, left, begin the Initiation ceremony at an international Ahmadiyya convention in Germany in 2001. In the late nineteenth century, Ahmadiyya's founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, started this branch of Islam after claiming to be a prophet who received spiritual visions. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Indian-Muslim agendas. Even though Zafrullah Khan was continual pressure on the community culminated in the made president of the Muslim League conference in 1931, National Assembly's declaration of the Ahmadis as nonmost Qadiyanis maintained their strong pro-British stance Muslim in 1974. The military rule of Zia ul-Haq, which while clashing verbally and violently with some militant favored Islamization policies on a narrowly Sunni basis, Sunni movements, notably the Ahrars. Yet both groups' proved disadvantageous to all minorities: His Ordinance XX of April 1984 prohibited Ahmadis from calling themselves Muslim. protection against possible recriminations from Muslims. Subsequent prohibitions, notably on publishing, while colonial rule lasted. and on calling their places of worship mosques, have severely restricted Ahmadi religious life in Pakistan. The head of the Independence and Partition brought new problems for Rabwa community, the fourth khalifa, Mirza Tahir Ahmad, both groups. When the Gurdaspur district was allotted to migrated to London in the mid-1980s, after which many South India many Qadiyanis migrated to Pakistan, where they South Asian Ahmadis have settled outside the subcontinent, established a new headquarters at Rabwa. Pakistan has not thereby strengthening the generally economically prosperproved congenial to the interests of either branch, although ous Ahmadi missionary communities, belonging to both Zafrullah Khan was made Pakistan foreign minister and branches, which were already established in many parts of others initially gained important posts in the civil service, Africa, in Fiji, and in Southeast Asia, as well as in North army, and air force. Latent antagonism escalated during the America and Europe. Although both branches report growth,

constitution-making controversies of the late 1940s, coming there are
no reliable statistics on numbers and distribution.
to a head in 1953 when anti-Ahmadiyya riots, encouraged by Both
branches continue to publish prolifically, but there has
ulema seeking the constitutional declaration of Ahmadis as been
little scholarly evaluation of academic and institutional
non-Muslims, resulted in many deaths. Although the govern-
developments, most accounts using the general term Ahmadi
ment fell and a judicial inquiry condemned the attacks, to
describe both branches.

Islam and the Muslim World

31

Ahmad Khan, Sayyid

See also Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam; Pakistan, Islamic that future
generations transformed into a movement for the
Republic of; South Asia, Islam in. creation of
Pakistan as a separate state for South Asian
Muslims.

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ernism; Modern Thought; Pakistan, Islamic Republic
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David Lelyveld

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AHMAD, MIRZA GHULAM

Avril A. Powell

(LATE 1830s–1908)

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was born into a landowning Sunni family at AHMAD KHAN, (SIR) SAYYID Qadiyan in Gurdaspur district, Punjab, northwest India. He (1817–1898) initiated disciples into his Ahmadiyya movement in 1889, after announcing that messages received in visions Sayyid Ahmad Khan was an educational and political leader designated him the mujaddid (renewer of Islam) for the age. of Muslims who were living under British rule in India. He He also claimed to be the masih-i maw ud (promised Mesdeveloped concepts of religious modernism and community siah), and the mahdi (rightly guided one), and to have powers identity that mark the transition from Mogul India to the of miracle and prophecy. Most Sunni Muslims deemed such a denial of rise of representative government and the quest for self- khatm al-nubuwwa (finality of Muhammad's prophethood) determination. Born and educated in Delhi in the surviving heretical, but his movement grew to nearly remnant of the Mogul regime, Sayyid Ahmad embarked on a twenty thousand adherents in his lifetime. He was succeeded career in the British subordinate judicial service, the lower- in 1908 by the first khalifa of the Ahmadiyya movement, level law courts where Indian judges presided and cases were Maulawi Nur al-Din.

conducted in Indian languages, and was posted in a series of See also Ahmadiyya.

north Indian towns and cities. During these years he published historical and religious texts and was one of the

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pioneers of the printing of Urdu prose. He remained loyal to the British during the 1857 revolt, and worked to reconcile Ahmad, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam. *Islami usul ki filasafi*. (1896). Indian, Muslim, and British institutions and ideologies. In Translated by Muhammad Zafrulla Khan as *The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam*. Tilford, Surrey, U.K.: Islam

1864, he founded the Scientific Society in Ghazipur (shifted International Publications Ltd., 1996.

the following year to Aligarh), which was devoted to translating practical and scientific works into Urdu. In 1869, he Friedmann, Yohanan. *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi*

Religious Thought and its Medieval Background. Berkeley, traveled to England to write a defense of the life of the Los Angeles, and London: University of California Prophet and to examine British educational institutions. Press, 1989.

While in England, he conceived the idea of founding a residential college primarily for Muslims and devoted the rest

Avril A. Powell

of his life to the cause of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, which was founded in 1875. During this period, he became a prolific writer on religious, social, and political issues. In 1887, he announced his opposition to the A ISHA (614–678 C.E.)

Indian National Congress on the grounds that representative government was not in the best interests of Muslims. Knighted A isha bint Abi Bakr was the favorite wife of the prophet by the British in 1888, he left a legacy of political separatism Muhammad and a significant religious and political figure in

32

Islam and the Muslim World

Akbar

early Islam. The daughter of Umm Ruman and one of the historical antagonisms between the two. Many Shi'ite Muslims Prophet's companions, Abu Bakr (the first caliph of Islam) lims reviled A'isha, whereas Sunni Muslims embraced her as after the death of the Prophet), she married Muhammad at a a revered wife of the Prophet. Tradition holds that she was young age. Her intelligence, beauty, and spirited personality consulted on theological, legal, and other religious issues, and are well recorded in historical sources. was also known for her poetic skills. She is buried at al-Baqi in Medina.

The hadith tradition records a unique level of intimacy shared by the Prophet and A'isha. They bathed in the same See also Ali; Bukhari, al-; Fitna; Muhammad; Shi'a: water, he prayed while she lay stretched out in front of him, Early; Sunna.

he received revelation when they were under the same blanket, and he expressed a desire to be moved to A'isha's

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chambers when he knew his death was approaching. Affection and playfulness also characterized their relationship. Abbott, Nabia. A'ishah: The Beloved of Muhammad. Chicago:

University of Chicago Press, 1942.

They raced with each other and enjoyed listening to the singing of Ethiopian musicians together. The Prophet re- Mernissi, Fatima. The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist lated that when A'isha was pleased with him, she would swear Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam. Reading, Mass: "By the God of Muhammad" and when she was annoyed with Addison Wesley, 1992.

him she would swear "By the God of Abraham." She regularly Spellberg, Denise A. Politics Gender and the Islamic Past: The

engaged the Prophet on issues of revelation and religion. Legacy
of A isha Bint Abi Bakr. New York: Columbia
Recognizing her intelligence and perceptiveness, he told the
University Press, 1994.

Muslims “Take two-thirds of your religion from al-Humayra,” .
the term of affection referring to the rosy-cheeked A isha.
Sa diyya Shaikh

A scandal once surrounded A isha, who was mistakenly
left behind during a caravan rest stop on an expedition with
the Prophet. She returned to Medina escorted by a young
man who had found her waiting alone. Amid the ensuing
gossip and speculation about A isha’s fidelity, one of the
AKBAR (1542–1605)

Prophet’s companions, Ali, advised Muhammad to divorce
Jalal al-Din Akbar was born in 1542 as his father Humayun
her. This caused her to bear deep resentment against Ali,
fled India before the forces of the Afghan warlord Sher Shah
which manifested itself in her later opposition to him as
Sur. After thirteen years of exile, his father returned to rule
Muhammad’s successor. Finally a Qur’anic revelation exon-
India, but died in a fall in a matter of months. Akbar came to
erated her of all suspected wrongdoing, proclaiming her
the throne at the age thirteen in 1555. He ruled until his own
innocence. This same revelation established the punishment
death in 1605.

for false accusations of adultery.

In the lifetime of the Prophet she, together with Muham- Akbar’s
reputation as the true founder of the Mogul
mad’s other wives, was referred to as “Mother of the Believ- empire
rests partly on his own reign of fifty years and partly
ers.” She is known to have transmitted approximately 1,210 on the
writings of Abu ’l-Fazl, a loyal companion who was
traditions (hadiths), only 300 of which are included in the Akbar’s
ardent supporter. Abu ’l-Fazl’s A in-i Akbari and Akbarnamah
canonical hadith collections of Bukhari and Muslim. She is
presented the image of Akbar as a political
said to have transmitted hadith to at least eighty-five Mus- genius.
Abu ’l-Fazl saw Akbar as the “perfect man” (insan-i
lims, as well as to have corrected inaccuracies in the hadiths kamil) of
Sufi lore: a master of both the temporal and spiritual realms.
reported by some of the Prophet’s male companions.
He, therefore, inflated Akbar’s reputation whenever
possible.

After the death of the Prophet, she was critical of the third
caliph, Uthman, but also called his killers to accountability In
practical terms, Akbar adopted some of the administraduring the caliphate of

Ali. Together with the Companions tive practices of the defeated Sher Shah. As the influence of Zubair and Talha, she mobilized opposition to Ali, culminating in the Battle of the Camel (656 C.E.). The name of the his grandfather and father's aging courtiers declined, Akbar was free to recruit a new corps of advisors, like Abu 'l-Fazl. These advisors depended on his patronage for their own status. seated on her camel in the middle of the battlefield. This status. During Akbar's reign, India saw an influx of silver bullion as struggle over succession marked the development of a major Indian European traders began massive purchases of Indian civil war (called fitna) in Islam, which ultimately contributed to one of the most significant religious and political divisions commerce, cloth. Because of the cash nexus created by increased Akbar was able to manage a system in which officials in the Muslim world. The representations of A isha in received salaries either directly from the imperial treasury subsequent Shi'ite and Sunni polemics reflected some of the or through assignments of the government's revenue

Islam and the Muslim World

33

Akhbariyya

allotment from the capitol of the province for specific dis- hadith in these books should not be examined by the traditriacts. The central authority gained an unprecedented degree tional means of establishing historical accuracy. Furtherof control over state officials. Akbar's reputation was further more, the Akhbariyya maintained that these traditions were enhanced as the British came to rule India. They saw him as a never ambiguous in meaning, and were in no need of intermodel for their own style of rule: religiously neutral, but strict pretation. In this sense, the Akhbariyya can be viewed as in his assertion of central power. literalist, or even fundamentalist.

See also Empires: Mogul; South Asia, Islam in. The Akhbariyya drew on the diverse areas of Safavid Twelver intellectual life. There were Akhbaris who were

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influenced by mysticism and philosophy, such as Muhammad Alam, Muzaffar, and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, eds. The Mughal Taqi al-Majlisi (d. 1659/1660) and Muhsin Fayd al-Kashani (d. 1680), State 1526–1750. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998. as well as the stricter, more legalistic manifestations of Shi'ism, such as Mulla Muhammad Tahir Qummi (d.

1686) and al-Hurr al-Amili (d. 1693). What they shared was a Gregory C. Kozlowski common attitude toward the manner in which the shari'a

might be known. They were, then, in the main a movement of law, and often referred to themselves as a madhhab (school of AKHBARIYYA law). As

an intellectual force, the Akhbariyya died out in Iran

and Iraq in the early nineteenth century, though they contin-

Akhbariyya was a movement in Twelver Shi'ism that emphasized for a short time thereafter to be influential in India. Even

sized a return to the sources of the law (Qur'an and hadith). today,

there continue to be scholars who follow a methodol-

Hadith in Twelver Shi'ism include accounts of the sayings ogy

similar to Akhbarism in the Shi'ite world, particularly in

and actions of the imams (normally termed akhbar). The the

Persian Gulf area and southern Iran.

Akhbariyya styled themselves as followers of the imams

(through the akhbar) that record their rulings, rather than the See also

Law; Mu'tazilites, Mu'tazila; Shi'a: Imami

interpretations of these texts by later scholars. The origins of (Twelver).

the Akhbari movement are a debated point both within the

Twelver tradition, and among Western commentators. The

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Akhbaris themselves, however, see their movement as the Gleave,

Robert. Inevitable Doubt: Two Theories of Shi'i Jurisprudence. Shi'ism, which

was later corrupted by scholars who prudence. Leiden: E. J. Brill,

2000.

had imitated Sunni methods of jurisprudence. Their oppo-

Tabataba'i, H. Modarressi. "Rationalism and Traditionists, termed Usulis

(or in some texts, mujtahids), considered

alism in Shi'i Jurisprudence." *Studia Islamica* 59

the Akhbaris an innovative movement (ibid.), arising in the

(1984): 141–158.

sixteenth century with the work of Muhammad Amin al-

Astarabadi (d. 1626). There is evidence to support both

interpretations of the movement's origins. Early Muslim

Robert Gleave

heresiographical works, such as Shahrastani's *Kitab al-milal*

wa al-nihal (c. 1127), talk of the division of the imamiyya into

mu'taziliyya and akhbariyya. Whether these early Akhbaris

can be linked to the later, better-defined, movement is

AKHLAQ

unclear.

Akhlaq, the plural form of khuluq, refers to innate disposition

In biographical works, Astarabadi is normally described or character

and, by extension in Muslim thought, to ethics.

as the founder of the movement, though Astarabadi viewed In the

Qur'an the term is used to refer to the prophet himself as its "reviver." He was followed by a number of Muhammad's exemplary ethical character (68:4). The Qur'an scholars who explicitly identified themselves with the also emphasizes the significance of ethically guided action as Akhbariyya. What united these scholars was a call for the the underpinning for a committed Muslim life. Qur'anic return to the sources in a belief that the meaning of the ethics emphasize in particular the dignity of the human being, imams' words and actions was readily available, but had been accountability, justice, care and compassion, stewardship of lost by centuries of excessive interpretation. They identified society and the environment, and the obligation to family life this excessive interpretation with the introduction of the and values. Faith and ethics are thus intertwined in the doctrine of *ijtihād* into Shi'ite legal thinking by al-Allama al-Qur'an and linked further to the Prophet as a moral exemplar. Hilli (d.1325). Akhbaris also criticized other juristic practices linked with the theory of *ijtihād*. In particular, they viewed the In elaborating and further developing ethical thought, "canonical four books" of Twelver Shi'ite hadith as containing only "sound" (*sahih*) traditions. They believed that the expressions: philosophical, theological, legal, and literary.

34

Islam and the Muslim World

Ali

These expressions were framed within a context of vigorous

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intellectual debate and in interaction with the legacies of Cook, Michael. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong* in many ancient traditions, including the works attributed to Islamic Thought. New York: Cambridge University Press, Aristotle and Plato, and Iranian, Indian, Jewish, and Christian thought. Izutsu, Toshihiko. *Ethno-Religious Concepts in the Quran*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966

The Muslim philosophical tradition of ethics developed an intellectual framework for rationally grounded moral action. Some of the key thinkers who contributed to this were

Azim Nanji

al-Farabi (d. 950), Ibn Miskawayh (d. 1030), Ibn Sina (d. 1037), and Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1273/74). Their works in turn influenced other major figures, including the Sunni scholar al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who did not always agree with AKHUND

See Molla

them. The philosophical tradition, in common with other early groups such as the Mu tazila and the Shi a, emphasized reason and logic in arguing for a universal ethical framework. Ethical action in their view did not oppose religiously grounded ethics, rather it sought to enhance their meaning and appre-

ALI

(600–661) ciation by philosophical reasoning and took account of personal and social, as well as political, virtues. Al-Farabi’s classic Ali ibn Talib, born in Mecca about 600 C.E., was the cousin al-Madinah al-Fadilah (The excellent city) explores the ideals and son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad, father of the of a political community that produces the greatest good for Prophet’s grandsons Hasan and Husayn, and fourth caliph all its citizens. (656–661) of the Muslim umma (community of believers).

Muslim legal tradition also developed a framework for At a very young age, Ali was adopted by Muhammad, who guiding individual and social behavior. In Muslim law (shari a) brought him up like his own son. When Muhammad received the jurists classified acts according to their moral value, ranging the divine revelation, Ali was still a very young boy. He was the from obligatory, meritorious, indifferent, disapproved, and the first male to accept Islam, and to dedicate all his life to the the forbidden. All actions thus fell within these normatively cause of Islam. Ali’s courage became legendary because he led and juristically defined categories and provided religiously several important missions.

defined prescriptions that could be enacted at a personal as well as a social level to followers by scholars trained in At the Prophet’s death, the community split into two major jurisprudence and religious sciences.

groups contending for political succession. During a gathering of the ansar (helpers), Abu Bakr was elected first Mystically grounded ethics as developed in the Sufi tradi- caliph. A group led by Ali and his supporters (Zubayr, Talha, tion emphasized the necessity of an inner orientation and Miqdad, Salman al-Farsi, and Abu Dharr Ghifari, among others) awareness for guiding human action, leading to greater inti-

held that Ali was the legitimate heir of the Prophet. To macy, knowledge, and personal experience of the divine. To preserve the unity of the Muslim umma, Ali is said to have kept a Ethical acts were linked to spiritual development, and Sufi low profile and concentrated his efforts on religious matters. teachers wrote manuals, guides, and literary works to illus-

The first version of the Qur an was attributed to him

trate the way—tariqa—which represented, in their view, the by some of his contemporaries. In the period preceding his inner dimension of outward acts.

caliphate, Ali, known for his learning in Qur'an and sunna,

In the modern period, as Muslims have come into greater had given

advice on secular and spiritual matters. On several

contact with each other and with the rest of the world, their

occasions, he disagreed with Uthman (the third caliph) and

ethical legacy, while still continuing to be influential in its

criticized him on the application of certain Islamic principles.

traditional forms, is also being challenged to address emerg-

Following Uthman's murder, the ansar invited Ali to

ing issues, changing needs, and social transition. Muslim

accept the caliphate and he agreed only after a long hesitasholars are

debating and formulating responses to a variety

tion. All through his brief governing period, Ali faced strong

of issues, prominent among which are the ethical bases of

opposition. First he was opposed by A'isha, Muhammad's

political, social, and legal governance; the ethics of a just

wife, but the strongest opposition came from Mu'awiya, who

economic order; family life; war and peace; biomedical ethics;

human rights and freedoms; the ethics of life; and the broader had his

stronghold in Syria. Two companions of the Prophet,

question raised by globalization, degradation of the environ- Talha

and Zubayr, already frustrated in their political ambience, and the uses and

abuses of technology. tions, were further

disappointed by Ali, in their efforts to

secure for themselves the governorships of Basra and Kufa.

See also Adab; Ethics and Social Issues; Falsafa. Thus

they broke with him and asked to bring Uthman's

Islam and the Muslim World

Ali

murderers to trial. Ali appointed Abd Allah b. Abbas governor of Basra, and

went to Kufa in order to gain support

against Mu'awiya. He formed a diverse coalition, comprised

of men like Ammar b. Yasir, Qays b. Sa'd b. Ubada, Malik

Ashtar, and Ash'ath b. Qays Kindi.

Ali opened negotiations with Mu'awiya, hoping to gain

his allegiance. Mu'awiya insisted on Syrian autonomy under

his own leadership. Thus he mobilized his Syrian supporters

and refused to pay homage to Ali, on the pretext that his

people had not participated in his election. After a few

months of confrontation, Amr b. As advised Mu'awiya to

have his soldiers raise parchments inscribed with verses of the

Qur'an on their spearheads; the goal was to bring about the cessation of hostilities between the people of Iraq, who formed the bulk of Ali's army, and the people of Syria. Ali saw through the stratagem, but only a minority wanted to pursue the fight. Hence he ended the fight and sent Ash'ath b. Qays to find out Mu'awiya's intentions. Mu'awiya suggested that each side should choose an arbiter; together, the two men would reach a decision based on the Qur'an. This decision would then be binding on both parties. Amr b. As, the Syrian representative, and Abu Musa Ash'ari, the Iraqi representative, met to draft an agreement, but in the meantime Ali's coalition began to collapse. The arbiters and other

Although many Muslims forbid representing the Prophet and his eminent persons met at Adruh in January 659 to discuss the family in images, this fresco depicts Ali ibn Abi Talib, fourth caliph selection of the new caliph. Both parties agreed to the choice of Islam, and the cousin and brother-in-law of Muhammad.

of Ali and Mu'awiya and were willing to submit the selection Muhammad raised Ali like a son, and Ali became the first male to accept Islam. Here, Ali holds the body of an imam killed during of the new caliph to an electorate body (shura). In the public political power struggles after Muhammad's death. © SEF/ART

declaration that followed, Abu Musa kept his part of the RESOURCE, NY agreement, but Amr b. As deposed Ali and declared Mu'awiya caliph.

his grave. Under the Safavid Empire, his grave became the

Meanwhile, Mu'awiya had followed an aggressive course focus of much devoted attention, exemplified in the pilgrim of action by making incursions into the heart of Iraq and

age made by Shah Isma'il I (d. 1524) to Najaf and Karbala.

Arabia. By the end of 660 Ali, who was regarded as caliph

Today a gold-plated dome rises above Ali's tomb. The

only by a diminishing number of partisans, lost control of

interior is decorated with polished silver, mirror work, and

Egypt and Hijaz. He was struck with a poisoned sword by a

ornamental tiles. A silver tomb rises over the grave itself, and

Kharijite named Abd-al-Rahman b. Muljam while praying in

the courtyard has two minarets. The recitation of special

a mosque at Kufa. Ali died at the age of sixty-three and was prayers over

Ali's grave is considered particularly beneficial

buried near Kufa in late January 661. Ali's death brought to in view of

Ali's role as intercessor on the Day of Judgment.

an end the era of Rashidun, the four "rightly-guided" caliphs. Sunni

polemicists have often accused the Shi'ites of prefer-

The Sunnis believe that the order of merit corresponds to the ring

pilgrimages to the tombs of Ali and other imams over

chronological historical order of succession of the four first the

pilgrimage to Mecca.

caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali). The Shi'ites preferred Ali over the first three caliphs; they never accepted It is important to note that Ali's position became important to Mu'awiya or any later caliphs, and took the name shi'at Ali, tant to different groups of Muslims starting from the early or Ali's Party. period. For the Shi'a, he is said to have participated in the Prophet's ascension (mi'raj) to heaven and acquired several Several places are mentioned as Ali's shrine. But most honorific titles. The Ayyatollah believed in the divinity of Shi'ite scholars are in agreement that Ali was buried in Muhammad and Ali, and gave preference in divine matters to Ghari, west of Kufa, at the site of present-day Najaf. These Ali. Among Sufis he is renowned as a great Sufi saint for his scholars explained the discrepancies among the various reports of piety and poverty as well as the possessor of esoteric knowledge by maintaining that Ali himself requested to be buried there. The early Shi'ite traditions regarded Ali as the most in a secret place so as to prevent his enemies from desecrating the judicious of the Companions and the Prophet nicknamed him

36

Islam and the Muslim World

Ali

Abu Turab (Father of Dust) because he saw him sleeping in Most High was this: "O Apostle, declare all that has been the courtyard of the mosque. Some sources agree that Ali was been sent down to thee from thy Lord. No part of it is to be a profoundly religious man, devoted to the cause of Islam and withheld. God will protect you against men, for the rule of justice in accordance with the Qur'an and the sunna. he does not guide the unbelievers" (5:71). Because of this positive command to appoint Ali as his successor, One of the basic differences between Shi'ism and Sunnism and perceiving that God would not countenance further concerns the question of the respective roles of Ali (and the further delay, he and his company dismounted in this other imams) on the one hand, and Muhammad on the other. unusual stopping place. The day was hot and he told Shi'ism shares with Sunnism the belief that Muhammad, as them to stand under shelter of some thorn trees . . . seal of the prophets, was the last to have received revelation when the crowd had all gathered, Muhammad walked up on to (wahy). Classical Shi'ite doctrine holds that Ali and the other up on to the platform of saddles and called Ali to stand at his right. After a prayer of thanks he spoke to the

imams were the recipients of inspiration (ilham). But it is only people, informing them that he had been forewarned the legislative prophecy that has come to an end, that is, the of his death, and saying, "I have been summoned to the previous prophets such as Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad of God, and I shall soon depart to God, to be mad, the last of the legislative prophets, introduced a new concealed from you, and bidding farewell to this world. religious law while abrogating the previous one; the guidance I am leaving you the Book of God [Qur'an], and if you follow of humanity must continue under the walaya (Institution of this you will not go astray. And I am leaving you also the the Friends of God) of an esoteric prophecy (Nubuwa batiniyya). members of household [ahl al-bayt], who are Thus Ali, the first imam, is designated as the foundation not to be separated from the Book of God until they meet me (asas) of the imamate. He is the possessor of a divine light at the drinking fountain of Kawthar." He then (nur) passed on from Muhammad to him, and later from him called out, "Am I not, more precious to you than your own on to the other imams. The Sunnis believe that the Prophet lives?" They said "Yes." Then it was that he took Ali's did not explicitly name his successor after his death; the hands and raised them so high that he showed the Shi'ites, on the contrary, hold that he explicitly named his whites of his armpits, and said, "Whoever has me as his master successor Ali at Ghadir Khumm, an oasis between Mecca (mawla) has Ali as his master. Be friend to his friend, and Medina. O Lord, and be an enemy to his enemies. Help those who assist him and frustrate those who oppose him." According to the Shi'a, a passage in the Qur'an (2:118) (Donaldson, p. 5) shows that the imamate is a divine institution; the possessor thereof must be from the seed of Ibrahim: "And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words, and he fulfilled This sura concluded the revelation: "This day I have perfected them. He said, 'Behold, I make you a leader [imam] for the your religion for you, and have filled up the measure of my favors upon you, and it is my pleasure that Islam be your that the true caliph can only be one of the Quraysh tribe, but religion" (5:5). The event of Ghadir Khumm is not denied by based on this verse the Shi'a maintain that the divinely appointed leader must himself be impeccable (ma sum). The Sunnis, Muhammad wanted only to honor Ali. They underprimeval creation of Ali is

therefore a principle of the Shi'ite stood the term mawla in the sense of friend, whereas the Shi'a faith. According to them, as expressed by Muhammad Baqir recognized Ali as their master; the spiritual authority of Ali Majlisi (d. 1698), Muhammad explicitly designated (nass jali) was passed afterward to his direct descendants, the rightful Ali as his successor by God's command: guides (imams). The successor of the Prophet, for the Sunnis, is his khalifa (caliph), the guardian of religious law (shari'a), while for the Shi'ites, the successor is the inheritor (wasi) of When the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were combined his esoteric knowledge and the interpreter, par excellence, of pleted, the Prophet, attended by Ali and the Muslims, the Qur'an. Since Muhammad was the last Prophet who left Mecca for Medina. On reaching Ghadir Khumm, he [the Prophet] halted, although that place had never closed the prophetic cycle, the Shi'a believe that humanity before been a halting place for caravans. The reason for still needs spiritual guidance: the cycle of imamate must the halt was that verses of the Qur'an had come upon succeed the cycle of prophecy. Another tradition gives us him, commanding him to establish Ali in the Caliphate. some insight into the key role of Ali, based on the status of Before this he had received similar messages, but had Aaron: "O people, know that what Aaron was to Moses, Ali is not been instructed explicitly as to the time for Ali's to me, except that there shall be no prophet after me." appointment. He had delayed because of opposition (Poonawala and Kohlberg, p. 842). The imamate is a cardinal that might occur. But if the crowd of pilgrims had gone principle of Shi'ite faith. It is only through the imam that true beyond Ghadir Khumm they would have separated and the different tribes would have gone in various knowledge can be obtained. Ali, as the Wasi, assisted Muhammad in his task. This is why Muhammad ordered them to hammad in his task. The Prophet received the revelation assemble here, for he had things to say to Ali which he (tanzil) and established the religious law (shari'a), while Ali, the repository wanted all to hear. The message that came from the the repository of the Prophet's knowledge, provided its

Islam and the Muslim World

37

Aligarh

spiritual exegesis (ta'wil). Thus the imamate, the heart of carried Noah in the ark, I am Jonah's companion in the belly Shi'ism, is closely tied to Ali's spiritual mission. For Sunnis, of the

fish. I am Khadir, who taught Moses, I am the Teacher
the imamate is necessary because of the revelation and is of David
and Solomon, I am Dhu al-Qarnayn” (Poonawala
considered a law among the laws of religion. For them, the and
Kohlberg, p. 847). According to another tradition (Amirimamate is not part of
the principles of religion and belief, Moezzi, p. 30), Muhammad and Ali
were created from the
whereas for Shi ites, the imamate is a rational necessity and an same divine
light (nur) and remained united in the world of
obliged grace (lutf wajib). the
spirits; only in this world did they separate into individual
entities so that mankind might be shown the difference
From the beginning, Shi ite Islam has emphasized the between Prophet
and Wali. It is only through him that God
importance of human intellect placed in the service of faith. may be
known.

The origins of the encouragement given to intellect goes
back to Ali the commander of the faithful (amir al-mu minin). See also
Caliphate; Imamate; Shi a: Early; Succession.

According to a saying attributed to him, there is an intimate
bond between intellect and faith: “Intellect [aql] in the heart
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is like a lamp in the center of the house” (Amir-Moezzi, p. 48).

Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. The Divine Guide in Early
The heart’s eye of the faithful can see the divine light (nur)
Shi ism. Translated by David Streight. Albany, N.Y.: State
when there is no longer anyone between God and him; it is
University of New York, 1994.

when God showed Himself to him, since aql is the interior
Corbin, Henry. History of Islamic Philosophy. Translated by
guide (imam) of the believer.

Liadain Sherrard and Philip Sherrard. London: Kegan
Paul International, 1993.

In early Sufi circles, Ali was especially renowned for his
piety and poverty. He is said to have dressed simply. His Donaldson,
Dwight M. The Shi ite Religion. London:
biographies abound in statements about his austerity, rigor- Luzac,
1933.

ous observance of religious duties, and detachment from Hollister,
John. The Shi a of India. London: Luzac, 1955.

worldly goods. He is also described as the most knowledge- Jafri, S.
H. M. The Origins and Early Development of Shi a
able of the Companions, in terms of both theological ques- Islam.
London and New York: Longman, 1979.

tions and matters of positive law. Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd (d.
Momen, Moojan. An Introduction to Shi i Islam: The History
910) considered Ali as his “master in the roots and branches and

Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

hardship" (Poonawala and Kohlberg, p. 846). With the growth of Sufi doctrine in the tenth and eleventh centuries, increasing emphasis was placed on Ali's possession of a knowledge

Poonawala, Ismail K., and Kohlberg, Etan. "Ali b. Abi Taleb." In Vol. 1, Encyclopaedia Iranica. London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

directly from Ali. The investment of the cloak as a symbol of the transmission of spiritual powers is closely associated to Ali: the two precious things shown to Muhammad during the

Diana Steigerwald

mystical ascent (mi'raj) were spiritual poverty and a cloak that he had placed on Ali and his family (Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn).

ALIGARH

Sufi orders flourished particularly in Central Asia and Persia; Muslim scholars became imbued with Shi'ite speculative theology and Sufism. One of the earliest representatives of this trend was Ali b. Mitham Bahrani (d. 1281), who saw in intellectual history of South Asian Muslims since the mid-nineteenth century. The importance of Aligarh For them Ali's mission is seen as the hidden and secret aspect initially under the leadership of Sayyid Ahmad Khan of prophecy. This underlying idea is based on the Khutbat al-Madina (1817–1898). Through a series of organizations and institutions, the "Aligarh movement" (the social, cultural, and political movement founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan) sought Majesty. I am the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden. I am the Face of God. I am the mirror of God, the associated with British rule, the rise of nationalism, supreme Pen, the Tabula secreta. I am he who in the Gospel conditions of modernity. In 1865, Aligarh became the is called Elijah. I am he who is in possession of the secret of headquarters of the Aligarh Scientific Society, and, in 1875, God's Messenger" (Corbin, p. 49). Or this next one: "I

the university established there in 1920. Aligarh was the first

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- headquarters of the Muslim League, a party established in 1906 to secure recognition of Muslims as a separate political community within India, a concept that ultimately led in 1947 to the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan as a separate nation-state for South Asian Muslims. After partition, the Aligarh Muslim University remained one of a small group of national universities in India. Graff, Violette. "Aligarh's Long Quest for 'Minority' Status: (Amendment) Act. 1981." *Economic and Political Weekly* 25, no. 32 (1980): 1771–1781.
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- In its early years, the Aligarh College attracted patronage and recruited students from Muslim communities throughout India, both Sunni and Shi'a, as well as significant numbers of Hindus. Aside from some short-lived efforts to include Arabic studies and Urdu as a language of instruction, the college followed the standard British imperial curriculum. David Lelyveld
- Official British patronage became more significant after 1887, when Sayyid Ahmad Khan called for Muslim opposition to the newly founded Indian National Congress. In the twentieth century, Aligarh became an arena for opposing political tendencies among Muslims, including supporters of Indian nationalism and international socialism, as well as of Muslim Christians and Jews and in Arabic translations of the separatism. Aligarh graduates achieved prominence as writers, jurists, and political leaders. At the same time, Aligarh was the target of much opposition, particularly for its association with the generic pan-Semitic designation for "God" or "deity" (Israelite/Canaanite El, Akkadian ilu) and is particularly close to the common Hebrew term Elohim and the
- ALLAH
Allah is the Arabic equivalent
the term
but by
Bible. A
cognate

Aligarh Zenana Madrasa provided separate education for frequent Eloah. It is thus, strictly speaking, not a proper girls, and became the Aligarh Women's College in 1925. a title.

When Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan died in 1898, his successors initiated a campaign to establish an autonomous, all-refers to the one true God of monotheism. This is how India educational system for Muslims under the auspices of occurs in the shahada or "profession of faith," the an affiliating university. The university established in 1920, earliest, and most basic of Islamic creeds, in the first however, was confined to Aligarh and remained under British which the believer affirms that there is no "god" (ilah) control. In response, Mohandas K. Gandhi and two Aligarh "God" or "the god" (Allah). However, the shahada itself graduates, the brothers Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, led imply that Allah was already known to the first a noncooperation campaign that established an alternative the Islamic revelation, and that they were called nationalist institution, the Jami a Milli a Islamiya, outside the repudiate other deities. And this is precisely the campus gates and subsequently relocated to Delhi. In the given in the Qur an. "If you ask them who created final years before independence and partition, Aligarh stu- the Qur an informs the prophet Muhammad regarddents toured India on behalf of the Pakistan cause, though ing his pagan critics, "they will certainly say 'Allah.'" (43:87; others devoted themselves to the ideal of a united and 10:31; 39:38). Pagan Arabs swore oaths by Allah (as secular India. witnessed at 6:109; 16:38; 35:42).

Zakir Hussain, the first postindependence vice chancellor Pre-Islamic Arabs believed in supernatural intercessors of Aligarh Muslim University, and later president of India, (10:18; 34:22), for whom they appeared to claim succeeded in preserving the university's Muslim identity as a from Allah. (See, for example, 6:148.) Indeed, Allah way of preparing Muslims for full participation in national their view) to have headed a pantheon of prelife. A center for Urdu writers and historians of Mughal India, Islamic deities or supernatural beings, not altogether unlike many of them Marxists, the university has so far been able to over the Canaanite pantheon, and, like El, he seems fend off efforts to undermine its role as an national center for been rather distant and aloof. While the data are

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Indian Muslims. fragmentary
 and open to some question, pre-Islamic Arabs
 seem to have paid more attention to Allah's daughters and to
 See also Ahmad Khan, (Sir) Sayyid; Education; Mod- the jinn
 (or genies) than to him. Even the Qur'an seems to
 ernism; Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; South Asia, concede
 genuine existence to a divine retinue (as at 7:191–195;
 Islam in; Urdu Language, Literature, and Poetry. 10:28–29;
 25:3). However, just as the Canaanite gods are

Islam and the Muslim World

39

Allah

This tilework at the tomb of Baba Qasim in Isfahan, Iran, spells Allahu Akbar, or "God is Great." Allah, the Arabic name for God, appears frequently in Islamic art and architecture in calligraphic script. © ROGER WOOD/CORBIS

replaced by an angelic court in Israelite faith, Islam rejects the and the
 Qur'an is centered on absolute "submission" (Islam)
 independent deities of pagan Arabia in favor of a very much to his
 will.
 subordinated "exalted assembly" (see 37:8; 38:69) that exists
 to carry out the decrees of the one true God, who is, says the The
 Qur'an describes God as "Allah, one; Allah, the
 Qur'an, nearer to the individual human than that person's
 eternal refuge. He does not beget nor is He begotten, and
 jugular vein (50:16). In this, as in other respects, Islam regards there is
 none equal to Him" (112:1–4). In subsequent Islamic
 itself as a restoration of the religion taught by earlier prophets thought,
 such straightforward denial of divine family life
 but marred by successive human apostasies (see 42:13).
 (probably aimed at both the pre-Islamic pantheon and Christian concepts of God
 the Father and God the Son) was
 The Qur'an identifies Allah as the creator, sustainer, and expanded
 into a much broader doctrine of the divine unity,
 sovereign of the heavens and the earth. (See, for example, denoted
 by the non-Qur'anic word tawhid ("unification" or
 13:16; 29:61, 63; 31:25; 39:38; 43:9, 87.) Following the
 "making one"). Philosophers and theologians debated such
 scriptural text, Muslims characterize him by the ninety-nine
 questions as whether God's attributes were identical to God's
 "most beautiful names" (7:180; 17:110; 20:8), which serve to
 essence, or whether, being multiple, they must be additional
 identify his attributes. (Eventually, repetition of and meditation in a sense
 external in order not to compromise the utter
 tion upon these names became an important practice in the

and absolute simplicity of the divine essence. They debated tradition of Sufi mysticism.) They portray a being who is selfhow the undeniably manifold cosmos had emerged out of the sufficient, omnipotent, omniscient, eternal, merciful yet just, pure oneness of God. The issue of whether God's speech (i.e., benevolent but terrible in his wrath. The picture of Allah in the Qur'an) was coeternal with him, or subsidiary and crethe Qur'an employs distinctly anthropomorphic language ated, rising to political prominence in the second and third (referring, for example, to the divine eyes, hands, and face), centuries after Muhammad. The overwhelming personality which, virtually all commentators have long agreed, are to be depicted in the revelations of Muhammad became the Necestaken figuratively. sary Existent (wajib al-wujud), and the obvious dependence of Allah has revealed himself throughout history via mes- life on his will (particularly apparent in the harsh desert sages to various prophets by means of both the seemingly environment of Arabia) was taken to point to the utter routine processes of nature and the periodic judgments and contingency of all creation upon a God who brought it into catastrophes directed against the rebellious. He will reveal being out of nothing. Perhaps not unrelated was the rise to himself even more spectacularly at the end of time when, as dominance in Islam of a doctrine of predestination or deterjudge of humankind, he pronounces doom or blessing upon minism, which had obvious roots in the Qur'an itself (as, for every individual who has ever lived. The faith of Muhammad example, at 13:27; 16:93; 74:31). In the meantime, though,

40

Islam and the Muslim World

American Culture and Islam

while the philosophers were elaborating a view of Allah this interface is the influence of Muslims and Islamic culture tending to extreme transcendence, Sufi theoreticians were on American culture and the American public's perception of emphasizing his immanence and experiential accessibility Muslims and Islam.

and, in practice, often breaking down the barrier between The Muslim community itself is multilayered. A sizable Creator and creatures—and occasionally shocking their felportion of the Muslim community consists of those who do low Muslims.

not attend a mosque, associate with other Muslim organiza- tions, and The famous "Throne Verse" (2:255) offers a fine sum- mary of basic Islamic teaching regarding God: "Allah! There in do not practice Islam. This group has little interest

maintaining Islamic culture and, therefore, they are the most willing to assimilate into American culture. For many of them, their identity as American is paramount. This article does not focus on this group, but instead focuses on those earth. Who is there who can intercede with him, except by his Muslims who identify and associate with Muslim groups. leave? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, while they comprehend nothing of his knowledge The Muslims who do associate with mosques and Muslim organizations are composed of immigrants (the majority being first generation), the children of immigrants (largely second Most High, the Supreme.” The depth of Muslim devotion to second generation) and converts (largely African American Allah is apparent virtually everywhere in Islamic life, includ- with significant numbers of Caucasian and Hispanic American even the use of elaborate calligraphic renditions of the cans). The dynamics of the interface of American and Islamic word as architectural and artistic ornamentation. culture in these groups differ. First-generation immigrants bring to America a set of customs shaped by the Muslim See also Asnam; Qur an; Shirk. world, and these customs are affected by the American environment. Converts, already acculturated when they adopt

BIBLIOGRAPHY Islam, modify their American culture to fit into the new environment of Islam. The children of immigrants, raised in Ghazali, al-. *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*. Translated by America, are acculturated to two cultures and they must Michael E. Marmura. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2000.

Rahbar, Daud. *God of Justice: A Study in the Ethical Doctrine of American Culture’s Impact on Muslims* the Qur an. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. In the early decades of the Muslim presence in America

Watt, W. Montgomery. *Islamic Philosophy and Theology: An Extended Survey*. 2d ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985. by the dominant paradigm of the melting pot, allowed for the inclusion of many American cultural practices (e.g. dancing Williams, Wesley. “Aspects of the Creed of Imam Ahmad ibn the twist in the youth associations and Saturday night bingo Hanbal: A Study of Anthropomorphism in Early Islamic in the

mosque). Also, converts to the major heterodoxical Discourse.” International Journal of Middle East Studies 34, Islamic groups, such as the Nation of Islam and the Moorish no. 3 (2002): 441–463. Science

Temple, mixed freely Islamic and American practices (e.g. chairs in the mosque, hymns, and fasting during Christmas).

Daniel C. Peterson

All of that changed beginning in the 1970s when large waves of newly-arrived, Islamically self-confident immigrants opposed the earlier immigrants’s “Americanized” mosques,

ALMORAVIDS See Moravids and convert groups began trying to incorporate “authentic”

Islam into their practice. The new paradigm of ethnic pride and multiculturalism gave greater acceptance and legitimacy to the “foreignness” of Muslim practice, and the new powerful trend of Islamic revivalism gave motivation to Muslims to

retain their Islamic practice. The overtly American cultural AMERICAN CULTURE AND ISLAM practices disappeared in mosques and Muslim organizations.

The interface between American culture and Islamic culture Thirty years later, the Muslim community has aged and in the American Muslim community is a multifaceted issue. mellowed, and a new consensus is emerging that American Understanding this interface entails exploring the influence Muslims should adhere to those aspects of Islam that are truly Islamic as of American culture on the Muslim community and how opposed to old-world cultural practices, and then American Muslims view American culture. Another aspect of allow the adaptation of those aspects of American culture that

Islam and the Muslim World

41

American Culture and Islam

while in America the mosque is a center of activities with community dinners and festivals with games and gifts for children. American marriages are often events for the entire mosque community, as opposed to the extended family.

The role of the imam in America has likewise changed dramatically. In the Muslim world the imam is simply the prayer leader, but the imam in America serves more as a pastor—much of his time spent in counseling, administering the mosque, and serving as spokesman for the mosque to the wider community.

Marriage. Muslim marriage customs in America have changed

but not significantly. One major shift is that the signing of the marriage contract is sometimes a public event and not a private family affair as in the Muslim world. The public signing event resembles an American wedding ceremony with some differences—the bride and groom sit and often face the congregation. Signing the contract and the traditional wedding banquet (walima) in America often occur on the same occasion, which is not always the case in the Muslim world. Marriage gifts are often brought to the wedding banquet, which is the American custom, as opposed to the Muslim world where gifts are more often brought before the banquet.

Arranged marriages among Muslim immigrants are still common but in many cases the marriage is only half arranged: the son/daughter picks a mate and then informs the parents who begin the process of arranging the marriage. Muslim youth in America are certainly more involved in choosing a mate than their counterparts in the Muslim countries. One of the results is that interethnic marriages are slowly increasing. © CATHERINE KARN/CORBIS

One of the persistent legal questions in the immigrant community occurs when the son or daughter desires to marry a good Muslim of another ethnic group, and the parents are not contradictory to Islam. This is a new paradigm that prohibit the marriage. More and more imams are taking the side of the youth and pressuring the parents to relent. The coming the assimilation of certain American cultural practices traditional dowry (mahr) in America is usually a very reasonable amount whereas in the Muslim world the dowry is often high because of its role in reinforcing status and class. For many individuals, especially those who do not have a family in America, Muslim matchmaking services are very popular. The matrimonial sections in Muslim magazines are widely used and Internet services, such as MuslimMatch.com and Zawaj.com, offer an array of services. The mosque. The greatest impact of the American environment on the Muslim

community has been the transformation of the role of the mosque and the imam. Muslims have adopted a congregational model for the mosque as a self-governed community center, which is unlike the Muslim African American mosques over one-third of world where the mosque is simply a place of prayer, and the are women. These percentages are extremely low family and other institutions perform key cultural tasks. In America the mosque is a center for educating children, women have no role in the mosque, this is a socialization, and major cultural events like marriages and difference. Women are most active in administerfunerals. For example, celebrating the major Muslim holidays ing the weekend school and other social events. Two-thirds in the Muslim world is largely tied to the extended family of mosques allow women to sit on their governing board, but

42

Islam and the Muslim World American Culture and Islam

Mosques in the United States have developed as self-governed community centers, providing sites for educating children, socialization, and major cultural events. This is unlike the mosque's role in the Muslim world it is simply a place for prayer. © G. JOHN RENARD/CORBIS

only one-half have had women sit on their board in the last present in Muslim youth groups, except that Imam five years. Many Muslim women, who are unhappy with the Deen Muhammad's organization provides limited progress of American mosques, have moved outside the occasions where dancing is permitted. Imam Muhammad is mosque to organize. On the local level, women have estab- and successor to Elijah Muhammad, founder of the lished numerous study groups. On the national level Muslim of Islam. In 1975, when Imam Muhammad took the women's groups have been established, such as Muslim of the Nation of Islam, he transformed the organization Women's League, North American Council for Muslim "mainstream" Islamic group. The organization has Women, and Muslim Women Lawyer's Committee for through many name changes, and the present name Human Rights (KARAMA). Some Muslim organizations 2002 is American Society of Muslims. It is the largest

have become more inclusive of women: In 2000 the Islamic African American Muslim group. Society of North America elected for the first time a female vice president, and there are a significant number of Muslim The loser in all this is not so much Muslim religious practice student associations, dominated by second-generation immigrants but ethnic cultural practice. Many youth are shedgrants, that have female presidents. The clear trend is that maintaining their ethnic identity but maintaining a Muslim identity women's involvement is growing. that supercedes all other identities. Muslim youth are, therefore, less interested in how Islam is practiced back in their Youth. Youth bear the greatest pressure to assimilate American parents's home countries and more interested in identifying a can culture, and as a result many immigrants and African legitimate Islamic tradition that is scripturally based and Americans have ceased to practice Islam. The issue of the relevant to life in America. Muslim youth best exemplify the new assimilation of Muslim youth is, therefore, a major problem paradigm of retaining core Islamic practices while adoptin the eyes of most Muslims. The Muslim youth who have ing American culture. maintained their association with the Muslim community evince outward aspects of American culture such as dress, Holidays and patriotism. The Muslim community in America sports, food, and entertainment—Muslim youth groups have does not practice any of the American holidays as a group. their own “Islamic” rap music, and comedy shows—but they Thanksgiving probably receives the most recognition from have fit it all within the boundaries of Islam. Dancing is still Muslims as a holiday. Christmas and Easter are tied closely to

Islam and the Muslim World

43

American Culture and Islam

Christianity and therefore unacceptable. The national holi- Shaheen has estimated that only 5 percent of movies that include days such as the Fourth of July and Memorial Day have not Muslims or Arabs show a human image of them. Since the had any official recognition except in the American Society of late 1970s the image has been that of terrorists— from Black Muslims under the leadership of Imam Muhammad. Patri- Sunday (1977) to Iron Eagles (1986) to The Siege (1998). otic symbols such as the flag and patriotic rhetoric are largely Nevertheless signs of change have appeared as some of the more absent from mosques and Muslim gatherings, except again positive images of Muslims and Islam in movies have for Imam Muhammad's organization. However, this is slowly

appeared in the 1990s—Robin Hood Prince of Thieves
 changing, especially after the terrorism attacks of 11 September 2001. Many national Muslim advocacy groups have extended Fourth of July greetings, and the Islamic Society of America. Negative stereotyping is reflected in the poor approval
 North America displayed American flags on their platform rating for
 Muslims in the American public, although significant changes
 during their annual conference. Individual Muslims do observe
 have occurred since 11 September 2001. Before
 serve some of these holidays: Some have family dinners with 11 September
 2001 the public's approval of Muslims hovered
 turkey on Thanksgiving and even fewer have Christmas trees around 25
 percent, but ironically with President George W.
 and let their children trick-or-treat on Halloween. Bush's
 strong endorsement of mainstream Islam, approval
 ratings shot up to a high of 47 percent in October 2001 but
 Muslim perception of American culture. The vast majority have since
 begun to dip (Waldman and Caldwell).
 Muslims recognize the good of American culture—
 political and religious freedom, self-reliance, and business Sufism. The
 most popular Muslim poet in America is Rumi
 practices—but they are critical of aspects of American culture and with
 this popularity has come some appreciation for
 culture, especially the moral laxity in sexual mores, and alcohol Sufism. Sufi
 groups starting with Hazrat Inayat Khan's Sufi
 and drug consumption. In one study over one-third (37%) of Order in the
 West in the early 1900s and more recently a
 Muslims agreed that America is immoral, while over half group led by
 Shaykh Nazim al-Haqqani has had moderate
 (54%) disagreed. Mosque leaders are even more disturbed: 67 success in
 attracting Americans, largely white. Although Sufi
 percent agree that America is immoral compared to 33 groups are a
 small percentage of the total Muslim population
 percent who disagree (Bagby). in America,
 their more positive image has translated into
 greater acceptance in certain circles of intellectuals and
 The Muslim community is virtually unanimous in believing New Ager.
 that Muslims should be involved in the civic and political
 life of America—93 percent of Muslims (Zogby) and 89 African
 American community. While Islam might have
 percent of mosque leaders (Bagby) agree that Muslims should been
 invisible in Caucasian America, the impact of Islam on
 be involved in politics. Isolation from American society is African
 American peoples has been substantial. The Nation
 firmly rejected. Yet a large portion of American Muslims feel of Islam
 (1930–1975), although a heterodoxical movement

that Muslims are unwelcome in the public sphere: 57 percent within Islam, still brought the idea of Islam to millions of of Muslims believe that the attitude of America toward African Americans. Malcolm X, who left the Nation of Islam Muslims is unfavorable since 11 September 2001 (Zogby); 56 to embrace a more mainstream understanding of Islam, is percent of mosque leaders feel that American society is an icon in African-American history. The minister Louis hostile to Islam (Bagby). Farrakhan, who resurrected the Nation of Islam in 1979, has maintained great popularity in the African-American community, Influences of Islam on American Culture munity, especially among its youth. Imam W. Deen Muham- Muslims and Islam are no longer invisible in America—they mad has garnered much respect due to his interfaith efforts. have been given recognition and, in some respects, accept- In light of this history, Islam has signified black pride and ance by major shapers of culture. militancy for African Americans.

Presence of Islam. President Ronald Reagan was one of the Muslims have also played a key role in the 1990s effort to first U.S. presidents to mention mosques alongside churches bring about a gang truce throughout the nation. Louis and synagogues as part of the religious fabric of America. Farrakhan and Imam Jamil Al-Amin (former H. Rap Brown) were active Mention of Muslims with the other religions is commonplace in the gang summits that started in 1992 to broker a cease-fire now, especially after President George W. Bush visited a between the rival gangs known as the Bloods and the Crips. mosque and pronounced Islam a religion of peace soon after The decline in gang violence through the 1990s can be linked to these gang truces. of the fasting day) dinners at the White House during Ramadan have become regular occasions since the mid-1990s. African American culture. Islam has also impacted African American culture. One obvious manifestation is the adoption Perception of Muslims in the media. Movies have been less of Muslim names, undoubtedly an influence of the celebrities kind to Muslims and Islam. Ugly stereotyping of Muslims and sports figures who are Muslim or have Muslim parents— and Arabs in particular has a long history in Hollywood. Jack Muhammad Ali, Kareem Abdul Jabbar, Ahmad Rashad, Tupoc

Shakur, and others. From the 1970s to the present, the names Edward E. Islam in Black America: Identity, Liberation, and Difference in African-American Islamic Thought. American names. One of the top African American female names is now Aaliyah, obviously the result of the popularity of the singer by the same name. Country” Has Become the World’s Most Religiously Diverse Nation. New York: Harper San Francisco, 2001.

Other cultural manifestations occur in the hats and garb of African Americans, especially when they want to express their Americanization Path? New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Yazbeck, and Esposito, John L. Muslims on the number of Muslims in prisons, the impact of Islam might also be detected in popular African American culture in the baggy in the Middle East, 1945–2000. Berkeley: Univerpants look and even in hugging among men, which is now a common form of greeting. The fact that major gangs call McCloud, Aminah Beverly. African American Islam. New York: Routledge, 1995.

black nationalism of the Nation of Islam. Shaheen, Jack G. Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a Hip-Hop. In entertainment Islam has had a tremendous impact on hip-hop culture. The ideology of the Nation of I. Islam in America. New York: Columbia Univer- Islam and the Five Percenters, both heterodoxies within Press, 1999.

Islam, have had the greatest influence, but some rappers have Steven, and Caldwell, Deborah. “Americans’ Surbeen influenced by mainstream Muslim leaders such as Imam prising Take on Islam: A New Poll Shows That Ameri- Muhammad and Imam Jamil Al-Amin. Public Enemy and Not Turned Anti-Islam.” Beliefnet. 9 Janu- Chuck D, Ice Cube, Queen Latifah, Big Daddy Kane, and Sister Souljah are just a few names that mention in their lyrics (2 February 2003).

Minister Farrakhan or the ideas of the Nation of Islam and International and Project Maps. “American Muslim the Five Percenters. Other rappers such as Mos Def, Q-Tip,

Curtis IV, tion, and Albany: Eck, Diana L. A New Religious America: How a “Christian Country” Haddad, Yvonne the Press, Interests city of California Press, 2000. People. Smith, Jane sity Waldman, cans Have ary 2002. 9732.html Zogby Poll

(Nov/Dec 2001).” Project Maps. 19 December 2001.

Everlast, Styles of Beyond, Devine Styler, and Jurassic 5 have <http://www.projectmaps.com/pmreport.pdf> (2 February 2003). A few rap groups such as Native Deen market themselves exclusively to the Muslim community.

Ihsan Bagby

Communication. Muslim youth and certain Muslim groups have enthusiastically embraced the Internet. Major Web sites exist for news, information, books, and Islamic resources, AMERICAS, ISLAM IN THE such as IslamiCity.com, IslamOnline.com, Ummah.com, and SoundVision.com. Web sites of Muslim Student Association The Islamic presence in pre-Columbian times is a point of contention, tions are also numerous and full of useful information and with some writers asserting that Arab and West African resources. Muslims who are on the fringes of mosques and Muslims settled in the Americas between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries; others dispute these assertions, Web. Muslim women in particular have benefited immensely tions, citing a lack of archaeological and other historical evidence. from the presence of a cyber-sisters community. Ideological groups are also quite active on the web. Many Muslims sometimes bemoan the proliferation of these sites and the The undisputed spread of Islam in the Americas started in the early emergence of the cyber mufti who have few links to the the early sixteenth century with the arrival of a small number of Moriscos Muslim community. Many mosques, however, are far behind (Muslims forced to adopt Christianity who may have the curve—many do not have computers and others do not have maintained their faith in secret) from Spain, and misuse them for communication. lions of enslaved West Africans. It is estimated that 15 to 20 percent of the twelve to fifteen million Africans deported See also Americas, Islam in the; Farrakhan, Louis; through the Atlantic slave trade were Muslim. Their prayers, Malcolm X; Muhammad, Warith Deen; Nation of fasts, refusal of pork and alcohol, circumcision, collecting of zakat, Islam. mosques, Quranic schools, and importation of Qur'ans from Africa and Europe have been documented for countries BIBLIOGRAPHY as diverse as Peru, Brazil, the United States, Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Bagby, Ihsan; Perl, Paul M.; and Froehle, Bryan T. The and Cuba. Manuscripts written in Arabic have

Mosque in America: A National Portrait. Washington, D.C.: Council of American-Islamic Relations, 2001. Muslims from Nigeria led a series of revolts in several countries, most notably in Bahia, Brazil, where they have been recovered

Islam and the Muslim World

45

Andalus, al-

between 1807 and 1835. There is evidence that the African Ali. Muslim Minorities in the World Today. London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1986. Kettani, M.

Muslims succeeded in converting both enslaved and free people to Islam, and accusations of Islamic proselytism among Native Americans surfaced in the sixteenth century. West

Sylviane Anna Diouf

Africans maintained Islam in America during four centuries of slavery, but could not transmit the religion to the generations who were born in the Americas. With the end of the international slave trade in the late 1860s, Islam disappeared as an overtly practiced religion among people of African descent. However, cultural and linguistic traces remain today. ANDALUS, AL-

Al-Andalus is the geographic term used to denote those areas of modern Spain that came under Muslim control in the Middle Ages.

In the nineteenth century, Islam emerged again in the Americas with the arrival of Asian and Arab Muslims. After particular territory located in southern Spain. Al-Andalus or the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1834, Muslim Spain (both terms will be used interchangeably), with

Muslim indentured laborers from India were introduced to its famous mosques, irrigated gardens, developments in po-

Trinidad and Guyana, along with the much larger numbers of etry, philosophy, and science, is often referred to as the

Hindus. Between 1890 and 1939 the Dutch brought inden- cultural golden age of Islam. The actual Muslim presence

tured Muslim workers to Dutch Guiana (Surinam) from their there lasted 781 years (711–1492 C.E.) and its influence on

colony in Indonesia. They now represent 75 percent of the everything from architecture to science is still palpable. For

Muslim population of Suriname, the country with the highest the sake of convenience, what follows is divided into three

percentage of Muslims (about 25%) in the Americas.

parts: history and main developments, cultural achievements,

By the end of the nineteenth century, religious and politi- and the Jews of al-Andalus.

cal unrest, along with economic transformations in the Otto- History and Main Developments

man Empire, led to the emigration of Syrians and Lebanese, Prior to the arrival of the Muslims, Spain was under the who established themselves throughout North and South control of the Visigoths, who maintained firm control of the America. Among them was a minority of Muslim Lebanese region with the help of a rigid church hierarchy. In 711, Arab and Syrians who migrated, concentrating their settlements in and Berber forces, under the leadership of Tariq b. Ziyad, Brazil—which counts the largest Muslim population in Latin defeated the Visigothic King Rodrigo at the River Barbate. America—Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, and Canada. In The Arab armies tried to move as far as France but were South and Central America most were traders, while in eventually repelled in 732 by Charles Martel. During the first Canada, the majority were farmers.

decades after 711, al-Andalus functioned as a frontier outpost In the twentieth century new Muslim populations settled with the Umayyad caliph in Damascus appointing its goverin the Americas. After World War I, a small number of nor. Around the year 750, however, a dynastic struggle in the

followers of the Indian-founded Ahmadiyya sect settled in East led to change in rule from the Umayyads to the Abbasids. South America and the Caribbean; and Albanians and Significantly, in 756, an Umayyad prince by the name of Abd Yugoslavs migrated to the Canadian prairies. Palestinians al-Rahman I arrived in Spain. He was able to gain sufficient started to arrive after 1948 and again, in successive waves, political support there, thereby creating an independent and following the Middle Eastern wars of 1967 and 1973. sovereign state, referred to as the Marwanid dynasty, based in Cordoba.

Today, Islam continues to spread throughout the Americas through the natural growth of the existing Muslim popu- The high point of the Marwanid dynasty occurred during

lation, conversions, and continued immigration from Muslim the rule of Abd al-Rahman III, who reigned for fifty years nations. Statistics are unreliable, but there are an estimated (912–961). This coincided with a period of stability after he

1.4 million Muslims living in Latin America and the Car- had subdued revolting factions and stopped the advances of the

ibbean, 253,000 in Canada, and about 6 million in the the neighboring Christians—something his predecessors had United States. been unable to accomplish. He was also responsible for the construction of the monumental royal city, Madinat al-

See also American Culture and Islam; United States, Zahra , just outside of Cordoba. Under his rule, Cordoba

Islam in the. became a true cosmopolitan center, rivaling the great cities of the Islamic East and far surpassing the capitals of Western Europe. After the death of Abd al-Rahman III, the central caliphate gradually fragmented into a number of smaller kingdoms in the Americas. New York: New York University Press, 1998. (muluk al-tawa if).

46

Islam and the Muslim World
Andalus, al-

The fourteenth-century Alhambra Palace and Fortress in al-Andalus in southern Spain shows the influence of the nearly eight hundred-year Muslim presence there which began early in the Middle Ages. © PATRICK WARD/CORBIS

The history of al-Andalus in the eleventh-century is one Alhambra, with its open courts, fountains, and irrigated gardens, of gradual diminishment as various Christian monarchs at- is today one of the best preserved medieval castles in Europe. tempted to encroach upon the area held by the Muslims, an In 1492, under the leadership of King Ferdinand of Aragon area that they felt compromised the national and religious and Queen Isabella of Castile, the Reconquista was unity of Spain. This reconquering (Spanish, Reconquista) completed. All those who were not Christian (i.e., Muslims and Jews) became so vigorous that the various Muslim kingdoms had no were expelled from Spain.

choice but to seek help from the Almoravids, a dynasty based in North Africa. The result was that al-Andalus, for all intents Cultural Achievements and purposes, lost its independence, becoming little more From a cultural and philosophical perspective, the achievethan an annex of a government situated in North Africa. ments associated with the inhabitants of al-Andalus are unrivalled. The Marwanid capital, Cordoba, alone had over In 1147, the puritanical Almohades, another dynasty based seventy libraries, which encouraged many great architects and in North Africa, invaded Spain. This dynasty was determined scientists to settle there. The caliphs and rich patrons, in turn, to put an end to the religious laxity that they witnessed among established schools to translate classical philosophic and the Andalusian intellectual and courtier classes. They de-

scientific texts into Arabic. Although the center at Cordoba
 mandated, inter alia, the conversion of all Christians and Jews gradually
 fragmented into a number of kingdoms, there
 to Islam. It was during this period that many Jews left Spain:
 nevertheless ensued a rich intellectual, cultural, and social
 the majority went north to Christian territories. According to landscape
 that was grounded on the notion of adab, the polite
 some modern commentators, the Almohade invasion sig- ideal of
 cultured living that developed in the courts of
 naled the end of one of the most fascinating and eclectic eras medieval
 Islam. The adab (pl., udaba) was an individual
 of world history. defined
 by his social graces, literary tastes, and ingenuity in
 manipulating language.
 By the thirteenth century, al-Andalus was essentially comprised of Granada and
 its immediate environs. Here the One of the main developments
 within Andalusian litera-
 Nasrid dynasty, with its royal palace in the al-Hamra ture was
 the muwashshah. The muwashshah, which seems to
 (Alhambra), ruled as quasi-vassals of the Christian king. The have
 originated in the ninth century, is a genre of stanzaic

Islam and the Muslim World

47

Andalus, al-

poetry whose main body is composed in classical Arabic with place.
 Legend has it that the Jews not only welcomed, but also
 its ending written in vernacular, often in the form of a physically
 helped, the Muslims conquer the oppressive Visigoth
 quotation (kharja). The main themes were devoted to love, rulers. The
 cooperativeness of the Jews and their ability to
 wine, and panegyric; eventually, this genre proved popular integrate
 into Andalusian Arab society subsequently created
 among Sufis (e.g., ibn Arabi). The muwashshah was also an
 environment in which Jews flourished. Arabic gradually
 a popular genre among non-Muslims, especially among replaced
 Aramaic as the language of communication among
 Hebrew poets. Jews: By
 adopting Arabic (although they would write it in
 Hebrew characters, and today this is called Judeo-Arabic),
 Al-Andalus is also associated with some of the most
 Jews inherited a rich cultural and scientific vocabulary. It was
 famous names of Islamic intellectual history. Unlike the great
 during the tenth century, for example, that Jews first began to
 majority of philosophers in the Muslim East, the overarching
 write secular poetry (although written in Hebrew, it emconcern of Andalusian
 Islamic thinkers was political science.

played Arabic prosody, form, and style).

Questions that they entertained were: What constitutes the perfect state? How can such a state be realized? What is the relationship between religion and the politics? And, what “who’s who” list of Jewish civilization. Shmuel ha-Nagid (993–1055), for example, who finds himself in an unjust state, became the prime minister do? Another important feature of Islamic philosophy in al-Granada. His responsibilities included being in Andalus was an overwhelming interest in intellectual mysticism, which stressed that the true end of the individual was becoming one of the most powerful Jews between the contact (ittisal) between the human intellect and the times and the present day. His poetry recounting Divine Intellect. battles is among the most expressive of the tradition. The fact Philosophy in al-Andalus reached a high-point with Ibn Bajja (d. 1139). His Tadbir al-mutawahhid (Governance of the solitary) examines the fate of a lone individual who seeks truth Other famous Hebrew poets included Moshe ibn in the midst of a city that is concerned primarily with financial (d.1138) and Judah Halevi (d.1141), whose sacred gain and carnal pleasures. Such an individual must, according to liturgy. Al-Andalus was also the to Ibn Bajja, seek out other like-minded individuals and avoid of the most famous Jewish philosopher: Moses discussing philosophy with non-philosophers. Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185) picks up this theme in his philosophical novel Hayy ibn between religion and philosophy by arguing that the Yaqzan. The goal of this work is to show that the unaided based not on superstition, but rational principles. human intellect is capable of discovering Truth without the In sum, al-Andalus was not only a region, but also replete with divine revelation. Ibn Tufayl, according to tradition, sent a way of life that Muslims and Jews look back at with was also responsible for encouraging the young Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) to write his commentaries on the works of Aristotle. With its rich contributions to science, literature, architecture, and interfaith relations, al-Andalus played a commentaries to virtually the entire Aristotelian corpus. role in Islamic history.

These commentaries, in their Latin translations, were the
See also European Culture and Islam; Judaism and
staple of the European curriculum until relatively recently.
Islam.

Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, was also a prominent feature
of the intellectual and cultural life of al-Andalus. In fact, one
BIBLIOGRAPHY

of the most important Sufis, Ibn Arabi (d. 1240), was born in Ashtor,
Eliayahu. The Jews of Moslem Spain. Philadelphia:
Murcia in southeastern Spain. After a mystical conversion as a Jewish
Publication Society of America, 1973–1979.

teenager, he set out on a life of asceticism and wanderings. Brann,
Ross. The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and
Ibn Arabi essentially interpreted the entire Islamic tradition Hebrew
Poetry in Muslim Spain. Baltimore, Md.: Johns
(jurisprudence, the Qur an, hadith, philosophy) through a Hopkins
University Press, 1991.

mystical prism.

Ibn Arabi. Sufis of Andalusia: The Rûh al-quds and al-Durrat alfâkhira of Ibn
Arabî. Translated by R. W. J. Austin.

The Jews of al-Andalus

Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

The culture of al-Andalus would also have a tremendous
impact on non-Muslim communities living there. The adab Ibn Bâjja.
Tadbîr al-mutawahhid/El régimen del solitario. Edited
ideal (mentioned in the previous section) proved to be very and
translated by Miguel Asín Palacios. Madrid: n.p., 1946.

attractive to the local population (both Jewish and Christian), Ibn Tufayl.

Hayy ibn Yaqzân: A Philosophical Tale. Translated
who adopted the cosmopolitan ideals of Islamicate culture, by Lenn
E. Goodman. Los Angeles: Gee Tee Bee, 1983.

including the use of Arabic. Within the history of Jewish Kennedy,
Hugh. Muslim Spain: A Political History of al-civilization, al-Andalus (Hebrew,
ha-Sefarad) holds a special Andalus. London: Longman, 1996.

48

Islam and the Muslim World

Angels

Menocal, María Rosa; Scheindlin, Raymond P.; and Sells, From the
soles of his feet to this head, Israfil, angel of the
Michael, eds. The Literature of al-Andalus. Cambridge, Day of
Judgment, has hairs and tongues over which are
U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000. stretched

veils. He glorifies Allah with each tongue in a
Watt, W. Montgomery. A History of Islamic Spain. Edin- thousand
languages, and Allah creates from his breath a
burgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965. million angels

who glorify Him. Israfil looks each day and each night toward Hell, approaches without being seen, and Aaron Hughes weeps; he grows thin as a bowstring and weeps bitter tears. His trumpet or horn has the form of a beast's horn and contains dwellings like the cells of a bee's honeycomb; in these the souls of the dead repose.

ANGELS

Mika il was created by God five thousand years after The word "angel" appears frequently in the Qur an, having Israfil. He has hairs of saffron from his head to his feet, and his entered the Arabic language (in pre-Islamic times) as a loan wings are of green topaz. On each hair he has a million faces and in each from Aramaic or Hebrew, possibly via Ethiopic, and so face a million eyes and tongues. Each tongue indicates Christian as well as Jewish cultural influences. In speaks a million languages and from each eye falls seventy thousand any case the word has always been accepted as an exact tears. These become the Kerubim who lean down equivalent of the Greek angelos, angel or messenger, used in over the rain and the flowers, the trees and fruit. pre-Christian times to define the functions of certain "messengers of the gods" such as Hermes or Iris (the rainbow). Jibra il was created five hundred years after Mika il. He The remarkable homogeneity of "Abrahamic" Jewish/ has sixteen hundred wings and hair of saffron. The sun is Christian/Islamic angelology cannot convincingly be traced between his eyes and each hair has the brightness of the moon and to a "Mosaic" source but derives very obviously from stars. Each day he enters the Ocean of Light 360 times. Zoroastrian influences on Judaism during the Babylonian Exile. When he comes forth, a million drops fall from each wing to become angels who glorify God. When he appeared to the Despite the unanimity of the Qur an, hadith, and sunna Prophet to reveal the Qur an, his wings stretched from the on the doctrine of belief in angels, a certain ambiguity arises East to the West. His feet were yellow, his wings green, and when these beings are considered in both theology and he wore a necklace of rubies or coral. His brow was light, his metaphysics. How precisely does angelic nature situate itself face luminous; his teeth were of a radiant brightness. Between between earth and heaven, between human and divine? It his two eyes were written the words: "There is no god but God, and may be said that monotheism simply cannot do without a Muhammad is the Prophet of God." means of immanence, lest the gulf of God's transcendence end by severing all possible relations between the two levels The angel of death, Izra il, is veiled before the creatures

of reality. Put simply, the angels provide a third term, a million veils. His immensity is vaster than the metaphorical bridge or ladder between earth and heaven. The East and West are between his hands like a Thus the Prophet spoke of each raindrop having its angel, all things have been set, or like a man who has and of the angels as messengers bearing God's revelation to between his hands that he might eat him, and he eats humans, and human prayers to God. The task of angelic he wishes; and thus the angel of death turns the theology consists in justifying this metaphysical "need" with- this way and that, just as men turn their money in their out detracting from God's omnipotence and unity. sits on a throne in the sixth heaven. He has four faces, one before him, one on his head, one behind him, and The standard Islamic angelology is based on both Qur'anic one beneath his feet. He has four wings, and his body is and extra-Qur'anic tradition; for instance "the Spirit" (al- with innumerable eyes. When one of these eyes ruh) is mentioned in the Qur'an, but is identified by tradition creature dies.

with Metatron, the Jewish angel "nearest to the Throne." The angel of death is mentioned (Q. 32:11) but not named; from Greek philosophy, especially neo-Platonism, tradition knows him as Isra'il. Jibril (Jibra'il) (Gabriel) is Islamic tradition elaborated a cosmic angelology based on the named three times, Mika'il (Mikail) (Michael) once. Israfil, Spheres—as for instance in the many versions of the who will blow the trumpet at Resurrection, appears neither in mir'aj or Night Ascension into the Heavens, where the Qur'an nor hadith, but became very popular—and sym- the ritual of prayer from the angels in their ranks. bologically necessary to form a quaternity of great archangels, first carried by the Buraq, a strange hybrid of mule, under the Spirit and above the countless ranks of the heavenly peacock, and then accompanied by Jibra'il.

host. Munkar and Nakir, the angels who weigh or question greatest angel, however, cannot accompany Mu'thi the souls of the dead in their graves, are likewise absent from hammad to "the Lote Tree of the Farthest Limit" (that is, the canonical sources but much discussed by established authori- vision of theophany). This symbolizes the theological ties and universally accepted by believers. The following angels, although more perfectly spiritual than might represent a traditional Islamic angelography: in fact ontologically less central. God orders the

of God with a
heavens, and
dish on which
been put
of him what
world
hands. He
one beneath his
covered
closes, a
In part
Islamic
celestial
Prophet's
he learns
He is at
angel, woman,
Even this
the souls of the dead in their
the Lote Tree of the Farthest
beatific
premise that
humans, are

Angels

This Persian miniature depicts Adam among the angels. According to the Qur'an, God demands that the angels worship Adam, even though they are closer to the divine than Adam is. When the angel Iblis refuses to bow to Adam, Iblis falls from God's grace and becomes Satan. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

50

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabia, Pre-Islam

angels to bow and worship Adam (in a legend probably constructed, evocations and seances performed. Like their adapted from the heretical Christian "Adam and Eve Books") medieval and Renaissance counterparts in Europe, Islamic even though Adam is created of clay and the angels of hermeticists sought and practiced the "angelic conversation." light. The angel Iblis refuses to acknowledge the divine in At its highest level of sophistication this magical angelology the human, and thus falls from grace and becomes Satan. aims at no benefit other than existential participation in the (The sufi al-Hallaj therefore praised Iblis as the only true divine or angelic consciousness. "By philosophy man realizes monotheist!) As an angel Iblis should be "made of" light, but the virtual characteristics of his race. He attains the form of in some versions he is described as a great jinni and therefore humanity and progresses on the hierarchy of beings until in of a fiery nature. The jinni constitute a different class of crossing the straight way (or 'bridge') and the correct path, he supernatural beings, also attested in the Qur'an; some of becomes an Angel" (Brethren of Purity [Risalat al-jami'ah]). them were converted to true faith by Solomon or Muhammad himself. An artistic representation of Muhammad's ascent to heaven appears in the volume one color plates.

Abd al-Karim al-Jili (a Sufi influenced by Ibn Arabi) describes the angelic Spheres thus: The first heaven is that of See also Mi'raj; Religious Beliefs.

the Moon. The Holy Spirit is here, "so that this heaven might have the same relation to earth as spirit to body." Adam

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dwells here in silvery-white light. The second heaven is that Corbin, Henry. *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*. Translated

of Mercury (identified with the Egyptian Hermes and the Manheim. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University prophets Idris and Enoch). Here the angels of the arts and 1969.

crafts reside bathed in a gray luminousness. The third heaven, Mansur. The Tawasin. Translated by A. A. atthat of Venus, is created from the imagination and is the Tarjumana. Berkeley, Calif.: Diwan Press, 1974.

locale of the World of Similitudes, the subtle forms of all Rumi, Maulana Jalaluddin. The Mathnawi. Translated by earthly things, the source of dreams and visions. The prophet Nicholson. London: Luzac & Co., 1978.

Joseph lives here in yellow light. The heaven of the Sun is Wilson, Peter Lamborn. Angels. London: Thames & Hudcreated from the light of the heart; Israfil presides over a host son, 1980.

of prophets in a golden glow. The heaven of Mars, of the death-angel Izra il, is blood-red with the light of judgment. That of Jupiter is blue with the light of spiritual power Peter Lamborn Wilson

(himma) and is lorded over by Mika il. Here reside the angels of mercy and blessing, shaped as animals, birds, and men; others appear, in Jili's words, "as substances and accidents which bring health to the sick, or as solids and liquids that ARABIA, PRE-ISLAM

supply created beings with food and drink. Some are made half of fire and half of ice. Here resides Moses, drunk on the "Arabia" has been variously applied in both modern wine of the revelation of lordship." The seventh heaven (first ancient times to refer to a vast territory stretching from to be created from the substance of the First Intelligence) is of the Fertile Crescent in northern Syria to the tip that of Saturn, and consists of Black Light, symbolic of fana , of the Arabian Peninsula and from the borders of the Euphrates annihilation in the divine Oneness. to the

fertile regions of the Transjordan. For the ancients, this vague term, "Arabia," referred to the dwelling places of The grandeur of this cosmic vision is given a metaphysical of South Semitic speakers lumped together dimension by the Persian philosopher Ibn Sina (Avicenna) term "Arab." For speakers of Hebrew and Aramaic, who, speaking of the angels, says, "The soul must grasp the Arab (arab) carried the semantic notion of the desert beauty of the object that it loves; the image of that beauty wilderness (arabah), since the Arabs they encountered increases the ardor of love; this ardor makes the soul look primarily the nomadic and seminomadic desert dwellers

upward. Thus imagination of beauty causes ardor of love, engaged in long-distance commerce, animal husbandry, or supplying love causes desire, and desire causes motion” on the level cavalry troops to imperial armies. The result is that ancient both of the Spheres (which are drawn in love toward their textual references to Arabia and its inhabitants, the Archangel-Intellects) and of human souls (who are drawn in Arabs, are both inconsistent and imprecise in terms of geolove toward their guardians or personal angels). graphic boundaries, ethnic identity, and language use. The meager textual evidence available to us shows us that many of On the fringes of Islamic orthodoxy such mystical the northern Arabs used Aramaic and Hebrew as well as varieties of angelology shaded into occultism. Elaborate concordances of Arabic in pre-Islamic times. After the rise of Islam, angelic correspondences, names, powers, symbols, and the however, the Arabic of northwest Arabia, the region of like evolved out of the late classical synthesis (e.g., those the Hijaz, became the dominant language of the Arabs, and it, described in the Egyptian Magical Papyri). Amulets were along with its cognate dialects, formed the Arabic known today.

Islam and the Muslim World

51

Arabia, Pre-Islam

of Roman domination of the eastern Mediterranean. Much Religion of legendary material has influenced the writings of the early Pre-Islamic Arabia history of Arabia, particularly the biblical legends, which hold Al-Mausil Nineveh Modern border that the Amelikites were the first “Arabs.” This legend is Christianity Judaism adopted by Arabs themselves, who link themselves to the Berytus Ctesiphon Busra Makkan religion Israelite soldiers who annihilated the Amelikites and settled Walsit Zoroastrianism in the Hijaz in their stead. R. Dozy and D. S. Margoliouth Maʿaʿn Al-Basra Sakaka elaborated a secularized version of the biblical legends to Fajr rsi make Arabia the Semitic prototypical home and Arabic the

Pe
 Tabuk Tayma& an
 Gul prototypical Semitic language. Associated with this
 theory is
 Al-Hijr
 Al-ʿUqayr f
 Khaybar Fadak Suhʿar
 the so-called desiccation theory of Arabia, which holds that
 Yathrib¶Medina Masqat ?
 Al-Jaʿr

Arabia was lush and verdant in prehistorical times, only
 Al-Dafēna
 becoming dry later, driving out the Semitic inhabitants into
 Mecca the Mediterranean
 basin. While modern geological explora-
 Al-Faʿw tion of Arabia has substantiated
 a shift in climate in the
 Red

peninsula from more wet toward dry, there is no evidence to
 Sea

N

INDIAN substantiate any of the theories that Arabia was the original
 Maʿrib
 Sanʿa&
 OCEAN home of the Semites or that all Semitic languages derive
 Aksum
 (Ethiopia) Mukha
 from Arabic.
 ʿAdan

According to a report that combines inscriptional evi-
 0 200 400 mi.

dence and legend, Arabia was the temporary capital of
 0 200 400 km

Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.E.), the last ruler of Babylon. In the
 third year of his reign, he invaded the Hijaz as far as Yathrib
 (Medina), and dominated the famous Arabian caravan cities
 Location of Christianity, Judaism, the Makkan religion and
 in the northwest quadrant. Some scholars see his motives as
 Zoroastrianism in pre-Islamic Arabia. XNR PRODUCTIONS/GALE
 economic, while others dismiss the historicity of the whole
 event as part of a Jewish midrashic invention.

The geography and natural ecology of the Arabian penin-
 Inhabitants

sula has affected both the culture and the history of Arabia. It
 Among the important pre-Islamic peoples of Northwest

is bounded in the north by a desert of soft sand, the Nafud, as Arabia were the Nabataeans, who, by the time of the arrival of well as a desert in the south, the Rub al-Khali, the so-called Roman imperial presence in the eastern Mediterranean, Empty Quarter. Both the Red Sea on the west and the Gulf dominated the region's trade from around Damascus to the on the east are barriers to entry with few natural ports. There Hijaz. They had been pastoral nomads who had settled in are no permanent water-courses in Arabia and only scattered their heartland around Petra. The Nabataeans plied their oases in the interior. The ancient geographers used the term trade through the areas of Transjordan, across the Wadi natura maligna for Arabia, and even when using Arabia Felix, Arabah to Gaza and al- Arish (Rhinocolura). There is also "Happy Arabia," for the south, they intended some irony. Its evidence that they used the interior route of the Wadi Sirhan average rainfall is less than three inches per year, and much of that falls within a period of just four or five days. Because of to carry goods to Bostra for distribution to Damascus and the forbidding landscape and the harsh climate, for much of beyond. Nabataean wealth and influence attracted the Romans Arabia's history, it resisted successful invasion. Such harsh into an unsuccessful invasion of Arabia in 26 B.C.E. unconditions, however, have provided refuge for those fleeing der the leadership of Caesar Augustus's Egyptian prefect, persecution and those seeking the economic opportunities of Aelius Gallus. The Nabataeans were able to resist Roman long-distance trading. Trade was assisted because Arabia was domination until 106 C.E., when Arabia Nabataea became a the home of the domestication of the West Asiatic camel, the Roman province. In later history, the name "Nabataean" dromedary, and the invention, around the beginning of the became identified with irrigation and agriculture, because the first millennium C.E., of the North Arabian camel saddle, Nabataeans are credited with the development of hydraulic which enabled camels to be used for cavalry warfare as well as technology in the region. In modern Arabic, "Nabataean" for transporting trade goods. (nabati) refers to vernacular poetry in the ancient style.

History

Most modern historians regard the Nabataeans as Arabs, Historical knowledge of Arabia goes back to the Greek but the picture is more complex and illustrative of the probhistorian Herodotus, to a few Akkadian texts, and to the lems of ethnic identification in the pre-Islamic period. The Bible, but sound historical records only come from the period

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabia, Pre-Islam

and Aretas III issued coins with Greek legends after 82 B.C.E. They used a form of Arabic as their language for trade within the Arabian peninsula, writing it down in a modified Aramaic script that influenced the development of the North Arabian alphabetic script. They acted as a culture-bridge between the Arabian interior and the Roman Hellenized Mediterranean, and, depending on who was reporting, they could present a different face to different peoples, Greek, Aramaic, or Arabic.

Jews had been inhabitants of Arabia from biblical times, but the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. sent larger numbers into Arabia. Around this time the apostle Paul spent time in Arabia after his conversion to Christianity, possibly to recruit converts, as did another Pharisee, Rabbi Akiba, who went to Arabia to obtain support for Simon Bar Kochba in the Second Roman War in 132 C.E. Some Jews formed independent communities in Arabia, such as the small enclaves of priests, who kept themselves isolated to avoid ritual contamination so that they would be ready under Levitical strictures to resume their duties if the Temple Treasury, Petra, Jordan; built by the Nabataeans between the third century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. The Nabataeans were a wealthy, ing communities comprised of Jews and non-Jews along the important tribe of the pre-Islamic era who had been trade routes stretching from the Hijaz to Yemen. The most nomadic and then settled around Petra. Their culture bridged Arabic and prominent of these settlements was the city of Yathrib, Hellenic cultures, incorporating elements of both. THE ART ARCHIVE known in both Aramaic and Arabic as Medina.

Roman Arabia

By 106 C.E., the Romans dominated most of the former by the Palestinian regions of Auranitis and Trachonitis, with territories of the Nabataeans and the adjacent Syrian cities of Bostra as the capital, and a southern province, with Petra as capital. The southern province, united to Palestine by the Gerasa and Philadelphia (modern Jarash and Amman in emperor Constantine I “the Great,” became known as Jordan), creating a province through the formal annexation of Palaestina Salutaris (or Tertia) when detached again in 357 the Nabataean kingdom under the Roman emperor Trajan.

Islam and the Muslim World

. During deposited remained and it is their world. The genizot, Roman Wars presence of the local and made ments. This sions found in Judaeen other nds, were with Egypt

Arabia, Pre-Islam

Southern Arabia of Africa. Because southern Arabia was the home of those The southern portion of Arabia, known generically as the much-sought-after aromatics and the trans-shipment point Yemen, had ancient connections with Africa, India, and the for Asian and African trade goods, including slaves, it was a Far East, as well as the Mediterranean. It was culturally and much-desired location for colonies and extensions of emlinguistically connected with the Horn of Africa. Among the pires. These products were sought as luxury trade-goods theories of the Arabian origin of the Semites, some have cited from as early as Old Kingdom Egypt, when this was known as the presence of speakers of a Semitic language unlike Arabic the land of Punt. They were used for funerary and liturgical in Yemeni highlands. Additionally, the relationship between ceremonies, often in large quantities. The use of frankincense South Arabian and Ethiopic languages points to continuous is attested in the biblical offerings mentioned in Leviticus contacts between the two areas. Attempts, however, to devise 2:14–16 and 24:7, and also in the Talmud as a medicine and a a comprehensive ethnographic categorization of the inhabi- painkiller. In Christian liturgy, incense was an important part tants of Arabia have so far failed. This is in part due to of the celebration of the mass. Trade in aromatics, gold, and problems with categorization itself (what is a Semite, for luxury items from Africa and India made the west coast of example) and in part due to the paucity of evidence. Relying Arabia the conduit to the Mediterranean and linked southern Arabia with on Arabian histories and indigenous theories of ethnography the settled areas of Syria. are problematic, because all were written after the rise of Islam, which advances the religious notions of the family Knowledge of Persian interest in Arabia begins with Darius I (r. relationship among all Arabs and promotes the elaboration of 521–485 B.C.E.). He sent an exploratory expedition from India to the explanation of that relationship through genealogy. The from India to the Red Sea, probably to increase trade. Greek so-called Table of Nations from Genesis 10 was invoked by and Nearchus interest was stimulated first by Alexander the Great and Nearchus early Islamic scholars, and the figures of Joktan, Hazarmaveth, and Nearchus of Crete, but Alexander died in 328 B.C.E., just before and Sheba are identified with Qahtan, Hadramawt, and the just before executing plans to conquer the peninsula. This Sabaeans. interest

prompted the Greek naturalist and philosopher Theophrastus (c. 372–287 B.C.E.) to describe South Arabia, An increasing amount of archaeological and inscriptional providing one of the earliest historical accounts. The Ptolemies evidence support the meager and legendary historical mate- of Egypt, successors to Alexander’s rule, pursued ambitions in rial surrounding the histories and influence of at least four the Red Sea. The Syrian Seleucids promoted the use of the major kingdoms in southern Arabia, the Sabaeans, or king- northern routes to India, probably in an attempt to diminish dom of Sheba; the Minaeans; the kingdom of Qataban; and Egyptian and Arab domination of eastern luxury goods. The the kingdom of Hadramawt. These kingdoms were sup- establishment of the Parthian state in the mid-third century B.C.E. ported by a combination of trade and agriculture. Elaborate weakened the Seleucids, but Antiochus III was still

aqueducts, dams, and terracing helped sustain these king- strong enough to conduct an expedition in 204 and 205 doms as well as giving evidence of their ability to marshal against Gerrha on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf. considerable resources for their construction and maintenance. We do not know the reasons for the demise of these In the second and first centuries B.C.E., major changes took place in kingdoms. The Qur an (34:15–16) attributes the breaking of the economy and power of the southern kingdoms of the dam at Ma rib in the kingdom of the Sabaeans as divine Arabia. The Mediterranean world learned the secret of the retribution for their sins. Secular theories attribute the de- use of the monsoon trade winds to navigate to India, and mise of organized agriculture in the southern region to the mountain tribes began invading the settled kingdoms. By the end of the combined factors of the repeated breaking of dams and first century B.C.E., the Sabaean kingdom was under the rule of waterworks and the rise of the influence of Ethiopia in the tribe of Hamdan, and the kingdoms of Ma in southern Arabia. and Qataban were destroyed. Roman attempts to conquer Arabia Felix failed, but Rome’s influence was extended first It is probably from the time of the breaking of the Ma rib through the Nabataeans and later through Egyptian and dam that some southern Arabian tribes migrated north, Ethiopic Christianity. intermixing with the Arabs of the Hijaz in many places, Sometime including the city of Yathrib/Medina. This migration may around 50 C.E., an anonymous author wrote the Periplus of also be linked with increasing economic opportunities in the

the Erythraean Sea, an account in Greek of the northern part of Arabia resulting from the domestication of and trade in the Red Sea. In the middle of the camel, the invention of the North Arabian camel saddle, century C.E., the geographer Claudius Ptolemy (fl. 127–151 C.E.) wrote a detailed description of Arabia from the the Roman and Persian empires. perspective of Roman interests in the region. While some scholars identify some sites mentioned by Ptolemy with Premodern Arabia possessed little arable land, but south- modern Arabian cities, like Macoraba as Mecca and Yathrippa ern Arabia was the habitat for frankincense and myrrh, the as Yathrib/Medina, others discount this identification and aromatic resins from conifers found in Arabia and the Horn claim that knowledge of ancient Arabia cannot be derived

54

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabia, Pre-Islam

from from the Greco-Roman sources. In the case of the Arabia. The southern portion of Arabia remained under identification of Yathrippa as Yathrib, there is inscriptional Persian control until the rise of Islam. support, however, from a Minaean inscription, where Ythrib is found. The general picture from these sources is that an Religions active culture of trade and agriculture linked Arabia with Shortly before the birth of Muhammad in 570 C.E., Mecca and Africa, South Asia, and the East Mediterranean world. its environs in the Hijaz rose to historical prominence. In part, this view is in retrospect from the vantage of knowing Arabia Between Two Empires that Islam came from there, but it is also in part because the By the middle of the third century C.E., religious and political dominant Meccan tribe seems to have been able to amass some competition between the Roman empire and the new Persian political and economic hold over the region. The tribe of Sassanian empire had intensified with Arabia as one of the a group of Arabs involved in the Red Sea trade and moved inland economic domination through conversion. For the Romans, rule was with the decline of Roman authority in that sea. Their that meant Christianity, and sometime around 213 C.E., was the both economic and theocratic. Their major shrine was the Origen visited Arabia, probably at Petra, to bring that area Ka ba at Mecca, one of several such Ka ba in Arabia at

into religious and political orthodoxy. In 244 C.E., M. Julius Philippus, known as Philip the Arab, acceded to the Roman throne, and there is strong evidence that he was a Christian. His predecessor, Gordianus III, had defeated the second Sassanian emperor, Shapur I (r. 241–272 C.E.), and, although he concluded a peace with the Persians, continued attempts to control Arabia. The Persians, whose official religion was the nonproselytizing Zoroastrianism, used Nestorian Christian and Jewish missionaries as their agents and chthonic spirits, such as the jinn. Animal sacrifices seem to have been used to propitiate the more than three hundred deities mentioned by early Muslim historians. Knowledge of Arabian history from the fourth through the sixth centuries is meager because of the lack of written sources. In part, this is due to the decline of the urban centers in Arabia. While Arabia was no less strategically important to the two empires during this period, the Muslim critique of the pre-Islamic period portrays it as devoid of all redeeming features. From the scanty evidence available, the Ghassanids on the Roman/Byzantine side and the Lakhmids mirrored their sponsor-states by engaging in war-

the time.

Arabian

Qureish

While

Arabia,

dimensions of Arabian Christians to their coreligionists in the
 fare, even when Rome and Persia were ostensibly at peace.
 surrounding countries, little is known of Arabian Christian
 beliefs and practices except through Islamic sources. Qur'anic
 In the sixth century C.E., conflicts again arose, this time
 evidence indicates that, while the full range of Gospel narrathrough the agency
 of the Persian-sponsored Jewish state in tives is not represented,
 the Qur'an represents particularly
 the Yemen under Yusuf Dhu Nuwas and Byzantium's the
 Gospel of Luke quite accurately and with close read-
 Monophysite ally, the kingdom of Aksum. When Dhu Nuwas ings.
 Recent scholarship in this area is challenging the earattempted to return
 Najran to his control, he met resistance lier notions that the Qur'an
 portrayed only a heterodox
 from armed Christian missionaries, whom he defeated. With form of
 Christianity and is pointing to a more mainstream
 Byzantine naval support, the Aksumites invaded Arabia, de-
 pre-Islamic Christianity, albeit divided among the various
 feated Dhu Nuwas, and established an Abyssinian-ruled cli-
 Christological heresies of the day.
 ent state. Its ruler, Abraha, rebuilt the Ma'rib dam erected a
 cathedral in Sana'a, and attempted to conquer Mecca. His As
 seen from the above survey of Arabian history, religion
 defeat, traditionally in 570 C.E. and recorded in Qur'an 105, among the
 pre-Islamic Arabs was closely tied to the political
 coupled with an invasion of the Yemen by the Sassanian ruler ambitions
 of several foreign powers that wished to dominate
 Khusraw I Anushirwan (r. 531–579 C.E.), drove the Abyssinians Arabia.
 At the time of the rise of Islam, converting to one of

Islam and the Muslim World

55

Arabia, Pre-Islam

The ruins of the Ma'rib Dam, created circa the sixth century B.C.E. in Ma'rib,
 Yemen, by the Sabaens, one of four major kingdoms of southern
 Arabia to predate Islam. Aqueducts and dams were an important part of the
 Sabaens's infrastructure and rise to power. Secular historians
 have postulated that the decline of pre-Islamic kingdoms may have had to do
 with the breakdown of their dams and aqueducts; the Qur'an
 attributes the destruction of the Ma'rib Dam to divine punishment of the
 Sabaens's sins. The Balqa mountains are in the background.

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the varieties of Judaism or Christianity in Arabia meant travel
 songs, and the panegyrics of the courts of the Arab
 choosing not only a religion but also a political and social
 dynasties along the borders of the Roman and Persian empires.

agenda dominated by a foreign power.

There is also speculation that this language was used for

Literary Legacy formal

prose in treaties, formal agreements, and in writing

One of the major legacies of pre-Islamic Arabian culture to Jewish

and Christian scripture, but, as mentioned above,

later Arab and Islamic culture was the development of the there

is little evidence of biblical translations into Arabic in

poetic and formal language often termed “classical” Arabic. the

pre-Islamic period. Instead, there is more evidence that

In the century or century and a half before the birth of Jews

and Christians had their own “dialects” of Arabic, with

Muhammad in 570 C.E., the Arab tribes in the Hijaz devel- added

vocabulary from the Jewish and Christian languages of

oped a literary form of Arabic that stood alongside the various the

eastern Mediterranean. These dialects likely served as the

dialects. This was a composite, formal language with a highly

conduits for much of the foreign religious vocabulary that

inflected grammatical system. It also had a flexible system for found

its way into Arabic.

generating new vocabulary based on extensive use of the

Arabic verbal root system that allowed for easy adoption of The

poetry that has survived from the pre-Islamic period

new terms and concepts within the language itself. It was also was

transmitted orally and only transcribed in the Islamic

open to the adoption of terms from the surrounding lan- period.

It was composed by a poet to be preserved and recited

guages of Hebrew, Aramaic, Latin, Ethiopic, among others. by a

reciter, a rawi, who may also have been a poet or an

As a “meta-language” it undoubtedly reflected the growing

apprentice. In this poetry, each poetic line had independent

political expansion of the Qureish and their economic unifi-

meaning, and the entire poem was comprised of thematic

cation of the Hijaz, but it also seems to have grown from the

sections, which concentrated on travel, love, praise, and so

common experiences of local religious practices, Bedouin on. The

most famous of these “odes,” termed qasidas, are

56

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabia, Pre-Islam

known as the Mu allaqat, or “suspended odes.” Various sto-

Korotaev, A. V. Ancient Yemen: Some General Trends of Evoluries are given to

explain the name, but the writers of these tion of the Sabaic

Language and Sabaean Culture. Oxford,

poems became known as the masters of Arabic poetic compo- U.K. and

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sition, and their style of poetry so influential that later Islamic poetry in Persian and other Islamic languages as well as Arabia: The Northern Sector. Oxford, U.K.: B.A.R., 1986.

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Islam and the Muslim World

57

Arabic Language

Van Beek, G. W. Hajar Bin Humeid; Investigations at a Pre- some
 similarities with the South Arabian of the South Ara-
 Islamic Site in South Arabia. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hop- bian kingdoms,
 while at the same time preserving the traces
 kins Press, 1969. of its
 relatedness to the Northwest Semitic languages.

Zwemer, S. M. Arabia: The Cradle of Islam: Studies in the
 Geography, People and Politics of the Peninsula, with an Around the
 fifth century Arabic-speaking tribes lived in
 Account of Islam and Mission-Work. New York and Chi- large parts of
 the Arabian peninsula as well as in the areas to
 cago: F. H. Revell Company, 1900. the north of
 the peninsula as far as the Syrian desert and the
 Sinai; some of them even settled in sedentary areas such as the
 city of Aleppo. These tribes were Christians. The Bedouin
 Gordon D. Newby
 tribes in the peninsula were polytheists. They greatly increased their
 influence when they took over the caravan trade
 from the South Arabian kingdoms and settled themselves as
 middlemen in places like Mecca.

ARABIC LANGUAGE

The al-Namara inscription is written in a language with a
 A people with the name of Aribi is first mentioned in a
 declensional system, similar to the language of the precuneiform inscription
 from the eighth century B.C.E., where it Islamic poems. It was in this
 language that the Qur'an was
 denotes a nomadic tribe. In later centuries tribes named rb revealed.
 According to the indigenous tradition all tribes at
 are mentioned in several sources, for instance in the Torah the eve of
 Islam used this language as their vernacular
 (Jeremiah 25:24). It is not known what kind of language these language,
 although later grammarians document a number of
 people spoke but it is clear that they had some connection differences
 between the varieties of the various tribes (lughat).
 with the North Arabian desert, even though they did not Thus, for
 instance, the eastern tribes are said to have used a
 dwell in the Arabian Peninsula itself. Probably their language phoneme / /
 (hamza), which was absent in the dialect of the

belonged to the continuum of Semitic languages that was western
 tribes, but present in the language of poetry and the
 spoken all over the Middle East and that included Aramaic, Qur an.
 According to others the vernacular language of the
 Hebrew, Canaanite, and others. tribes had
 already shifted to a different type of language, in
 which, for instance, case-endings had disappeared. In this
 The full penetration of the Arabian Peninsula dates from a view, the
 language of poetry and the Qur an was a literary
 later period. In the southern part of the peninsula the South language
 that was no longer used as a spoken language but
 Arabian kingdoms such as those of the Minaeans and the served as a
 kind of supra-tribal variety, based on the language
 Sabaeans flourished from the thirteenth century B.C.E. on- of the
 eastern tribes (sometimes called poetico-Qur anic koine).
 ward. Their language was South Arabian, a language related
 to the Ethiopian languages. They had domesticated the The Spread
 of the Arabic Language
 camel, which was used for carrying loads but not yet as a After the
 death of the prophet Muhammad the Islamic
 conquests brought the religion and the language of the Arab
 riding animal. The South Arabians maintained frequent trade
 tribes into a large area stretching from Islamic Spain to
 relations with the Middle East, usually by the sea route, and
 Central Asia. The languages originally spoken in this area
 through these contacts the camel was introduced in the north
 (Coptic, Persian, Syriac, Berber) gave way to the linguistic
 as well. Around the beginning of the common era when a
 onslaught of Arabic, and even though some of the speakers
 riding saddle was developed for the camel, it became possible
 remained bilingual, the entire area was Arabized within a
 to penetrate the desert and even live there permanently.
 century. The Arabic as spoken by the inhabitants of this vast
 Presumably, some of the tribes that wandered in the border
 empire differed considerably from the language of the Qur an,
 area between sedentary land and the desert fringe eventually
 especially in the sedentary centers that were established in the
 made the shift to a nomadic life in the desert and thus
 early years of the conquest, such as Basra, Kufa, Fustat, and
 developed what may be called a Bedouin society.
 Kairouan. There was a reduction of the phonemic inventory
 (loss of interdental, merger of the phonemes *dad* and *za*),
 In the northern part of the peninsula thousands of (usually
 loss of case-endings and modal endings, reduction of gramshort) inscriptions
 attest to the presence of a language that
 matical categories, and emergence of a genitive exponent and
 was very much akin to the Arabic language as it is known

aspectual particles. Syntactically speaking, the language had today. This language was characterized by the form of the shifted from a synthetic to an analytic type, usually called article, h- or hn-, as distinct from the Arabic article al-, but New Arabic.

related to the Hebrew form ha-. This language type is usually called Early North Arabic; it was divided into several varieties. There are many theories about the reasons for this change, such as Thamudaeen and Lihyanitic. The first inscription in a which affected all domains of grammar. Those who believe language that may be recognized as Arabic is the inscription that even before Islam the vernacular language of the Bedouin from al-Namara in Syria (328 C.E.) erected by Imru' al-Qays' ouin already exhibited some New Arabic changes tend to who calls himself "King of the Arabs." The language shows minimize the role of the new learners of the language. They

58

Islam and the Muslim World Arabic Language

This modern example of Arabic calligraphy by Aziz Muhammad Al Shabli reads: "Thanks be to God the Lord of the Universe," which is the first line of the Qur'an. Originating in the Near East, Arabic was brought by Islamic conquests in the century after Muhammad's death to a vast geographical area reaching from parts of Spain to Central Asia. AZIZ MOHAMMED AL SHABLI/ACCESS

believe the various vernaculars of the Bedouin were homogenized when members from different tribes were thrown together in the conquering armies. As a result, the vernacular generations. codify the language in their grammar books lest the language of the Qur'an. Others look for the cause of the linguistic changes in the languages spoken by the Arabization process since it reached only the sedentary areas, inhabitants of the conquered territories. According to them, in particular the new garrison towns established by the Arab this substratal influence affected the structure of New Arabic armies. Later centuries brought successive waves of Bedouin by carrying over features of languages such as Coptic, Persian, Syriac, and Berber to the conquered territories. These were responsible for the Arabization of much larger areas. In some cases its new speakers. Yet another factor to be taken into account they

re-Bedouinized the sedentary dialects of the cities. In Baghdad, is the process of language acquisition itself. In every language- for instance, the dialect of the Muslims became learning process in an informal setting the native speakers Bedouinized while the Christians and Jews retained the tend to simplify their language and the new learners apply original sedentary dialect. In North Africa the second wave of migration is associated with the invasion of the Bedouin tribes is a drastic reduction of the phonemic inventory and of of the Banu Hilal and the Banu Sulaym in the tenth and grammatical categories, a general disappearance of redun- eleventh centuries C.E., which brought Arabic to large parts of dancy, and a restructuring of the language. the countryside.

Whatever the causes of the linguistic changes, there can There is no consensus about the language these Bedouin be no doubt that very early on in the conquests there was a spoke. Those who maintain that the vernacular of the Bedmarked difference between the language of the religious and ouin tribes in the pre-Islamic period had already changed in literary heritage on one hand, and the colloquial speech of the the direction of New Arabic believe that there was not much Arab empire on the other. According to the classic descrip- difference between the dialects of the first and the second tion of this situation by Ibn Khaldun, the scholars of Arabic invasion. Others believe that the Bedouin tribes continued to became concerned about this corruption of speech and started speak a type of Arabic that was basically identical with the

Islam and the Muslim World

59

Arabic Language

pre-Islamic Arabic of poetry and Qur an. In this view, the Arabic remained the language par excellence of the Islamic Bedouin did not lose their speech until the fourth century of empire for well over five centuries, until the Mongol conthe Hijra (Islamic calendar). This is corroborated by the quest of Baghdad in 1258. Even in Mamluk Egypt, where the grammarians who explain that the Bedouin dialects became political and military elite consisted of Turkic-speaking peocorrupted through exposure to the sedentary way of speaking. ple, Arabic continued to be regarded as a language of prestige. Mamluk intellectuals used it in writing, even though Qipcaq Arabic in Islamic Society Turkic was their colloquial language. In the East the position

At the beginning of Islam, Arabic became the language of religious, cultural, and administrative language of Arabic as a both private and public life in the Arab empire. During a started to change from the tenth century onward. Middle Persian, the transitional period the indigenous languages remained in use, Persian, the language of the Persian empire, had become marginalized for instance in Egypt where Greek and Coptic were used for after the conquests, but New Persian (Farsi) became popular administrative purposes along with Arabic. But at the end of as the language of poetry in the ninth century. The first century of the Hijra, Arabic was firmly established as the dynasty of the Samanids reintroduced it as the language of the official language of the empire. The languages that used the court, and in the sixteenth century the Safavid dynasty to be spoken in the conquered territories disappeared or started to use it as the new “national” language of remained in use in a restricted domain only, such as Coptic Iran. As a result, the spreading of Islam in South and Southand Syriac. In the Arab West, Berber remained in use in the east Asia took place in Persian, particularly when the Moguls countryside and has indeed never been replaced completely began to use it as their literary language. In the Islamic East, by Arabic until the present day. Arabic was retained solely as the language of the Qur an, Persian having become the language of preaching, literature, The codification of standard Arabic by the grammarians and administration. started during the second century of Islam, but even before that there must have existed some kind of norm in writing, With the advent of the Turkic peoples Arabic gradually lost its possibly connected with the emergence of an epistolary style position in the Islamic West as well. In the Seljuk in the chancelleries. The earliest Arabic documents, the Empire and later in the Ottoman Empire the language of Egyptian papyri from the first century of the Hijra, already administration became Ottoman Turkish, while Persian was contain “mistakes” that show the existence of a standard as the language used by the intellectual elite for cultural purtarget in writing. Such mistakes are very common and with poses. Arabic was relegated to the domain of religion, althe growth of literacy they became even more frequent. In though it continued to serve as a source for thousands of modern linguistic terminology texts containing deviations loanwords in both Persian and Turkish, ranging from learned words such as from the grammatical norms of the standard language are words such as mo allem “teacher” in Persian and akide “dogma” usually called “Middle Arabic.” This term does not denote a in Turkish to common words such as ve- ‘and’ in both

well-defined variety of the language but is used as a general label for all nonstandard texts. Some of the mistakes reflect the Ottoman Empire, spoken Arabic was treated as a minor provincial language, for instance, when people write *la yaktubu* “they do not write” rather than the more formal *la yaktubuna*, but very often one encounters pseudo-corrections, provinces did not know Turkish, official contacts with the empire had to take place in that language. when people in their attempt to write standard Arabic overstep their target, for instance when they write *lam yaktubuna* “they did not write” instead of *lam yaktubu*. The introduction of vernacular features in written language could also serve to change in the self-awareness of the Arabs and the position of Arabic. In Egypt, Muhammad Ali initiated a movement to translate European writings into Arabic. In its wake a new idiom was created to convey the new ideas, and the language was modernized through the introduction of a host of new terms in the fields of the technical sciences, economics, and politics. Once again, Arabic became a language in which political and administrative issues were discussed. The fall of the Ottoman Empire signified a new beginning for Arabic but avoiding these when writing for a more general Muslim powers introduced a new danger to the language. Because of the military audience. One might even say that this kind of Arabic became the military and cultural dominance of the English and the French the an in-group language with a special status. This Judaeo-French attitude toward Arabic was often a negative one. After the Arab Arabic was written in Hebrew characters and contained a large number of Hebrew loanwords. became the official language of most of these countries and

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabic Language

the symbol of Arab nationalism. In the Mashreq, it did not divisiveness and regionalism (iqlimiyya). It is widely believed take long before English was replaced by Arabic, but in the in the Arab world that during the colonial period the Euroformerly French-dominated countries it took decades before pean powers intentionally propagated the study and the use of the French language had disappeared from the administra- the dialect in order to divide the Arab world. Even today, tive, educational, and legal systems. Western

interest in dialectology is still regarded as a manifestation of neo-imperialism. This creates a problem for Arab Fusha and Ammiyya

politicians who wish to show their adherence to the ideals of The contemporary linguistic situation in the Arab world is Arab nationalism but at the same time their strong ties with characterized by diglossia, in which two varieties of the the population. Politicians like Jamal Abd al-Nasser made a language have strictly separate roles or functions in the skillful use of the language variation by mixing standard and speech community. The so-called High variety, called fusha vernacular in their political speeches. The connection with or al- arabiyya, is the language learned at school as the carrier the standard language is especially strong in those countries of a rich religious and literary heritage; it is the language that that emphasize their role in the Arab nationalist movement. is used in writing, both in the educational system and the The different attitudes toward Arab nationalism correlate media, and in formal speech. The Low variety, called ammiyya with the attitude toward the vernacular. In those countries or in North Africa darija, is the colloquial language, which is where Arab nationalism is part of the dominant ideology the the mother tongue of all speakers. It is the language of use of standard Arabic is emphasized and attempts to replace everyday communication, the language of friends and family, it with the vernacular are met with severe criticism. the language of informal speaking.

The attitude toward the dialect is not wholly negative, The coexistence of two varieties of the language is not however. In a country such as Egypt the ammiyya may be said without its problems. Since the standard language is learned to hold a special position. Because of the pride they take in at school, only those who are literate have access to the their country Egyptians are also proud of the Egyptian written production. For the vast majority of the population

dialect, and although they share with other Arab countries the formal language is not immediately comprehensible so mistrust toward the imperialists who used the dialect to that a large part of linguistic communication in the commu further their own interests and although in Egypt, too, the nity is beyond their linguistic competence. The two varieties fusha holds a special prestige position, the use of the dialect is have quite different associations, the standard language being widespread even in situations where in other countries it associated with education and therefore with social success would be unthinkable to use dialect. Thus, Egyptian presi and wealth, whereas the vernacular is associated with illiterdents are never averse to using partly Egyptian dialect in their acy and poverty. At the same time, its function as the language political speeches—at least for internal use; in their contacts of informal talk makes it the symbol of in-group communication, whereas the standard language is seen as a stereotyped with other Arab countries they tend to switch to standard

and distanced means of communication. Arabic.

Since the Egyptian film industry and more recently the television soaps have gained enormous popularity outside Language choice between standard and vernacular de- Egypt, knowledge of this dialect in other Arab countries is pends on a number of factors such as the person of the widespread and many speakers of other dialects are familiar interlocutor, the topic being spoken about, and the setting of with Egyptian.

the speech act. By their language choice speakers express their attitude toward these factors, their evaluation of the In North Africa the linguistic policies of the French have situation and the interlocutor. Since language variation is not left unmistakable traces. After independence there was a class a matter of choice between two discrete varieties, but takes of intellectuals who only knew French and could not commuplace on a continuum between the highest standard and the nicate in Arabic. The first decades after gaining indepenlowest vernacular, there are endless possibilities of language dence were therefore characterized by a movement toward choice. Such linguistic behavior is often indicated with the Arabization, the replacement of French by Arabic in domains term of code-mixing. Since the span of the continuum attain- such as administration and education. Several school reforms able for the individual speaker directly depends on the degree were needed before at least primary and secondary schools of literacy, most people may be said to have only a relatively adopted Arabic as the main medium of instruction. Even small variation at their disposal. But even the best educated today French/Arabic bilingualism in North Africa is widespeakers are unable to

extemporize in standard Arabic and spread and French has retained a special position of prestige.

inevitably mix vernacular elements in their speech. In

particular among intellectuals the mixing of French and Arabic in franco-arabe has remained popular.

Because of its symbolic value as a binding element for all Arabic-speaking peoples language choice is intimately In the

Levant, Syria, and Lebanon became independent

connected with Arab nationalism. The fusha is the symbol from

French colonial rule with a somewhat different out of Arab unity, whereas the vernacular dialects stand for come. In Syria, French never took

hold the way it did in the

Islam and the Muslim World

61

Arabic Language

Maghreb. In Lebanon, however, bilingualism was connected period of code-switching in which they mix their home

with a widespread feeling, both among Muslims and Christians, that Lebanon was a bicultural country. The civil war language

has changed this situation in the sense that Arabic-French The main role of Arabic outside the Arab world is that of

being the language of the Qur'an, even though in many bilingualism has become associated more exclusively with the regions it was not the language of the Islamic spreading of the Christian community.

faith (da'wa). This role was played in the East by Persian, and Arabic as a World Language further

east by Malay. In Africa, the language in which Islam After the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 C.E., was

preached was Hausa or Swahili. Yet, for all Muslims the influence of the Arabic language spread beyond the Arabic

has a special status as the language chosen by God for borders of the Islamic world. Due to its role as the language in his last

revelation. The reverence for this status does not lead, which Greek philosophy and science were transmitted, European however,

to intensive study of the language itself. Ordinary pean scholars came to regard Arabic as the language of Muslims in

countries such as Iran, Turkey, Indonesia, Pakistan and scholarship. A large amount of translations of Iran, Nigeria, and Senegal do not know more

Arabic than a

Arabic texts circulated in Western Europe, and through the few ayahs from the Qur'an, even though in some of these

contact with Arab culture in al-Andalus many loanwords, countries there is an extensive public or private network of

such as algebra, zero, algorithm, alchemy, sugar, artichoke, apricot- Qur'an

schools where the text of the Holy Book and the basic
cot, and admiral, entered the European languages. This inter- elements
of Arabic are being taught.

national role of Arabic ended with the Renaissance when
Historically, Arabic functioned in Africa not only as a
Western Europe rediscovered the Greek sources and no religious
language but also as a language of trade. Even before
longer needed Arabic as an intermediary. West

Africa was Islamicized, Arabic was used there as a lingua
franca between the courts of different kingdoms. This is also
Nowadays, Arabic is spoken as a mother tongue outside
clear from the loanwords in African languages, which are not
the Arab world in a number of linguistic enclaves, such as
restricted to the domain of religion but comprise also other
Anatolian Arabic in Turkey, and tiny pockets of speakers in
semantic domains. In Hausa, for instance, such words as
Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Cyprus. Malta is a differ-
“book” (littaafi) and “news” (laabaari) derive from Arabic as
ent case altogether. Here, the Maltese language, written in
do some conjunctions such as saboo da “because,” from Arabic
Latin characters, has become the only Arabic dialect with the
sabab “reason.” In Swahili something like 30 percent of the
status of a national language. The Maltese, who are Chrislexicon is derived
from Arabic. Most of these loans were
tians, tend to deny the connection of their language with the
introduced by a small class of so-called mallams (Ar. mu allim
Arabic-speaking world and prefer to regard the language as a
“teacher”) who maintained the ties with Arabic even after the
remnant of the Phoenician language.
trade connections had been severed.

Apart from these enclaves, large numbers of Arabs have In Asia,
Islam was spread by Persian-speaking traders and
migrated outside the Arab world (mahjar). In the Americas,
missionaries. Here the Arabic language was known excludearly immigrants came
mostly from Lebanon and Syria. Most sively from the text of the
Qur an. Even though the ordinary
of them were merchants, who assimilated without difficulty believers
did not know Arabic, they became used to some of
to their new countries, especially in Latin America. Most of the
religious terms through the recitation of the Qur an.
them retained Arabic and in countries such as Brazil and Other
Arabic words entered the Asian languages through
Argentina they even managed to establish a thriving literary Persian,
as evidenced by their phonological shape, for intradition.

stance, in Urdu hazirin “audience,”
with Persian z for Arabic
dad. A further source of borrowing was the written medium. A

The immigration of speakers of Arabic to western Europe small class of scholars used their pilgrimage to Mecca in order has a different background. In the early 1960s the western to study the Islamic sciences and through their books they European countries started to hire unskilled laborers from introduced hundreds or even thousands of loanwords from the Mediterranean countries on a large scale. The original Arabic. It has been estimated that in Malay more than three plan was to hire these people for a restricted period of time thousand words were borrowed in this way, for instance, the and then remigrate them to the countries of origin. Soon it word *hukum* “judgment,” which gave rise to the derived verb became apparent that they were there to stay. As a result the *menghukumkan* “to pronounce judgment.”

western European countries suddenly realized that they had a sizable Arabic-speaking minority. In most of these countries The relatively low level of knowledge of Arabic may be changing the official policy of the government consisted in providing with the increasing influence of Arabic sites on the education in the home language of the immigrants’ children. Internet. In some countries, such as Mali, learning Arabic has become Nonetheless, many children of the second and third genera- quite fashionable among young people. In other countries, tion are losing their language of origin and shifting to the international Islamic contacts may lead to an indominant language. In most cases they go through a lengthy crease in Arabic as the primary language of Islam.

62

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabic Literature

See also African Culture and Islam; Arabic Literature; “education,” “general knowledge,” and “decency.” It is de- rived from Grammar and Lexicography; Identity, Muslim; Pan- the pre-Islamic *da b* (pl. *adab*) that denotes “good, Arabism; Persian Language and Literature; Qur an; accepted practice.” In medieval Arab society *adab* can prob- ably be best South Asian Culture and Islam; Urdu Language, Lit- compared to the concept of “belles lettres.” It erature, and Poetry. does not, however, include the most esteemed form of Arabic literature of *shi r*, or poetry, as a category.

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was divided along lines of families, tribes, and clans. Within Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1987.

the clan the prominent social characters were the sayyid Bakalla, Muhammad Hasan. *Arabic Linguistics: An Introduction and Bibliography*. London: Mansell, 1983.

and the sha ir, the keeper of earthly knowledge memorized in Blau, Joshua. *The Beginnings of the Arabic Diglossia: A Study of a nonscriptural society*. This sha ir—or “poet”—knew by the Origins of Neo-Arabic. Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1977.

heart the clan’s history, the affiliations with other clans, and Bulliet, Richard W. *The Camel and the Wheel*. 2d ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. the battle deeds of the clan in skirmishes with other clans. Battle cries, invectives of the enemy, and boasting of the hero

Diem, Werner. *Hochsprache und Dialekt: Untersuchungen zur Zweisprachigkeit*. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1974. were commonly uttered in poetical form and were memorized by the poet, in order to be handed down to the next generation.

Ferguson, Charles A. “The Arabic Koine.” *Language* 25 (1959a): 616–630. In a development for which we have no record, another kind of poetry emerged in this pre-Islamic society called the qasida (or “ode”). These poems, too, were memorized by the Fischer, Wolfdietrich. *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Vol. 1: Sprachwissenschaft. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1983. poet. In the course of time he started to compose this kind of poetry himself. The practice of memorizing and composing

Fischer, Wolfdietrich, and Jastrow, Otto. *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1980. to next, the poet’s apprentice being called rawi or “transmitter.”

Holes, Clive. *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995. (pl. ruwat).

Miller, Ann M. “The Origin of the Modern Arabic Sedentary Pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry Dialects: An Evaluation of Several Theories.” *Al-Arabiyya* 19 (1986): 47–74. An Arabic poem was composed on the basis of two form principles: meter and rhyme. Each poem had a fixed meter

Rouchdy, Aleya. *The Arabic Language in America*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992. that could be chosen from the sixteen metrical patterns that Arabic prosodical tradition defined, although it has to be said

Versteegh, Kees. *The Arabic Language*. 2d ed. Edinburgh: that

classical poets were mainly using only six of these.

Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

Contrary to

Western metrical tradition, the Arabic meters

were based on the length of syllables rather than on stress.

Kees Versteegh This does not mean that Arabic poetic language knew no

stress, but it was not the principle for metric scansion. The

poet is expected to retain the same meter throughout each

poem he composes, which may run into dozens of verses.

ARABIC LITERATURE

Apart from this feature, called monometer, the poet uses

Literature may be defined in numerous ways, but in Arabic the same

rhyme throughout the poem, which is called

literature some of the prominent phenomena that are associ- monorhyme.

The rhyme cluster is always based on one

ated with the modern concept of literature—individual crea- specific

consonant accompanied with long or short vowels. In

tivity, authenticity of feeling, and fictionality—will not easily the

correct rhyme a limited variation of vowels is allowed.

be detected by an unaware reader. Arabic literature as well as Each line of

poetry is divided into two hemistichs, which

other non-Western literatures is firmly rooted in its own deceptively

makes the poem in print seem like two columns.

tradition and can hardly be appreciated otherwise.

This elaborated form requires a high degree of craftsman-

Arabic Literature: Notions and Concepts ship and it

suggests a long evolution, but no sources are

The modern Arabic equivalent for literature is adab, but in its available

for this. It may also seem that in its form Arabic

traditional context this concept also refers to notions like poetry is

extremely monotonous, but it is often the subtle play

Islam and the Muslim World

63

Arabic Literature

between the formal rules, the listeners expectation, and the Shifting

themes and forms. Shortly before the emergence

poet's elegant solutions that makes this poetry a vibrant art. of Islam,

Arabic poetry underwent a few thematic innovations: Love poetry gradually

became an independent genre,

Pre-Islamic (or pre-classical) Arabic poetry can be divided introducing the

beloved as taking part in a—probably

thematically into two groups: short, monothematic poems,

fictitious—dialogue. In this period one also finds religious

often “situational” poetry, and long, polythematic poems poetry

reflecting a set of (popular) Christian and Jewish

called qasidas.

monotheistic concepts among the urban class of traders, as

Qasida. The qasida is the most prestigious poetical creation opposed to pagan worship of natural objects or polytheism throughout Arab history. Even nowadays it is deemed the that were still widespread on the Arabian Peninsula. ultimate work of artistic achievement of Arab culture. It is a In cases where prestigious poetry was not deemed suitable tripartite composition that follows a thematic sequence: In able, other literary forms were in use: The meter rajaz served the nasib the poet—often in a dialogue with his companions—all kinds of “situational” poetry like working songs, invectives, recalls his memory of a love affair. To give in to his grief obscene poetry, and exhortations. Later this meter was used meant that the poet broke his self-control (sabr). The immediate for lengthy didactic poems.

On a special occasion he uses to legitimize this is his coming across the remnants of the camp left by the tribe to which his Rhymed prose (saj) was used for soothsayer predictions beloved belongs. This description is usually vivid and realistic and enchantments, for folkloric sayings and proverbs, and, tic, although to our modern taste the beloved is hardly finally, for the text of the Qur'an.

portrayed as an actual person.

Poetry in Early Islam and the Umayyad Era

In the second part of the qasida the poet distances himself The production of poetry subsided remarkably with the from this emotional reminiscence by dwelling on his travels beginning of Islam. First, the prophet Muhammad's attitude through the desert, describing his mount and the desert toward poetry was ambiguous. He renounced poetry and environment with its specific fauna (rahil). Sometimes this poets when he was accused of being a “poet” himself. A quote second part is very short, condensed to the words da dha: from the Qur'an runs, “And the poets—the perverse follow “leave that (love affair) behind!”

them; hast thou not seen how they wander in every valley and

The final part of the qasida offers the poet a relative how they say that which they do not,” a reference to their

freedom in the choice of his theme. He may address the chief baseless boasting (Arberry, trans., 26:224–226). On the other

of a tribe with a panegyric ode (madih), use his poem as a hand he realized that his status, comparable with that of a prewarning against an enemy, indulge in boasting on his own Islamic chief, demanded the presence of a “court poet” as

exploits, or simply offer a vivid description of a natural well, in his case the famous Hassan b. Thabit (d. 670).

phenomenon like an all-refreshing shower. Another

reason for the declining popularity of poetry may

well have been the general preoccupation of the new Muslims. The traditional qasida, its form, and its content, have with the expansion and stabilization of the new state. This remained influential not only for Arabic literature, but also decline in poetic production, however, was only temporary. The Umayyad era quickly gave an impetus for new developments in Arabic poetry. Marthiya. Apart from the qasida another genre adopted this prestigious form. From a traditional wailing exclamation, Although the polythematic qasida as the masterpiece par excellence probably common to the universal rituals of death, Arab women developed a kind of poetic dirge that kept the middle separate kinds of poetry in the Umayyad era. The nasib between “situational” poetry and the qasida. The marthiya developed into love poetry and the rahil with its descriptions of nature was composed in remembrance of a deceased brother, husband, or father, but it followed the formal (not the thematic) hunting parties and gardens. Together with older poetic requirements of the qasida. The reason for this is that marathi kinds like wine poetry (khamriyya) and the general topic of description (wasf), these parts constituted the plethora of themes that a poet from this era could address. The dichotomy of early Islamic society, its division into a Bedouin and a Contemporary to the early emergence of Islam the poetess al-trader class, becomes clear in love poetry. In the Khansa (d. c. 645) produced a considerable number of such the nasib-part of the qasida, the beloved is mainly a nonpresent entity. She dirges on her brothers in which one might read a stance of opposition toward the social changes that the new religion regret her departure and remember their past affair. Followbrought with it against such pre-Islamic virtues as bravery, ing this tradition the udhri type of love poetry (named after the tribe Udhra) creates an even greater division between the

tion of the poet's love from which he can only suffer and then al-Andalus
 (southern Spain).

whither away from passion. This kind of poetry might best be
 called "idealistic" and it provided Arabic literature with some The
 poetry of the Abbasid era provided a huge, sparkling collection
 almost mythical love pairs like Majnun and his Layla. of love poems, obscene poetry, repentance poetry
 of love poems, obscene poetry, repentance poetry for unbecomely behavior, semi-religious poetry pondering
 With the emergence of Islam and the continued ritualistic mortality, and
 detailed descriptions of gardens and gadgets in pilgrimage to Mecca, the population in the Hijaz cities like everyday
 life. In short every possible theme that an affluent Mecca and Medina became gradually more affluent. Once a class of
 intellectuals can think of was represented. The same year they provided an intertribal and international forum period
 witnessed the emergence of literary theory and literewhere all Muslims could
 gather. The huge crowds involved in ary criticism. Inspired by the
 "philological" culture that the hajj consisted of both men and women, offering many Islamic
 society was (the Qur an being the verbatim reproducopportunities for both sexes
 to meet and have affairs. These tion of God's word), both poets and
 linguists set out to paved the way for the so-called hijazi love poetry, in which the explore the
 possibilities of the Arabic language, a discipline poet vividly describes his adventures, and cites extensively that
 inevitably led to mannerism and far-fetched metaphors from (fictitious) dialogues between his beloved's companions in
 poetry.
 and her or between the protagonists themselves. As opposed
 to udhri love poetry, this new development can be called Abu
 Tammam and the ninth-century poet al-Buhturi (d. 897/898)
 "realistic" love poetry. opposed this tendency by presenting two collections of poetry (both called
 Hamasa: courage) for which they
 In many ways the poetic developments of the Umayyad selected
 canonical poetry of the Umayyad and pre-Islamic era reflect the development from a tribal society with periods.
 nonhereditary succession to an urban society with dynastic power and an affluent court life in which the poet serves to During
 the tenth century the central authority in Baghdad embellish the environment of his maecenas. started to
 lose its grip on some of the outer regions like Egypt and Syria. As a consequence local "kings" established their
 Poetry in the Abbasid Era own courts
 and court cultures in which one or more poets
 The transition from the Umayyad to the Abbasid dynasty and were
 essential assets. By this time some poets had reached an

the transfer of the seat of the caliphate from Damascus to independent status, so that they could allow themselves to be Baghdad can be considered the revolution of the mawali, or hired by the most bidding party, like the famous poet al-Buhārī and third-generation converted Muslims who were Mutanabbi (d. 965) who started his career with Sayf al-Dawla not of Arab origin, but descendants of Persian or Byzantine (d. 967), ruler of Aleppo, then moved to the court of Kafur in families. Often these families had held high positions in the Cairo and finally joined the Buwayhid court of Adud al-Sassanid kingdom in Persia. Dawla (d. 983) in Iraq. This mobility shows how poets had gained a role as spokesmen for the rulers of the time, voicing In the early Abbasid era Arabic poetry consolidated its the king's greatness and acting as the laureate poets on courtly functions. Most poets were in one way or another important occasions. attached to the court, the highest-ranking poets being companions of the caliphs themselves. Al-Andalus The downfall of the Umayyad caliphate had caused one of the The bond of Arabic literature with its pre-Islamic, Bedouin members of the Umayyad family, Abd al-Rahman I (d. 788), ouin basis became more and more symbolic, although one of to flee westward to the Iberian Peninsula where he established the greatest poets of this era, Abu Nuwas (d. c. 814), had had lished the kingdom of Cordoba in 752. This marked the his poetic training through living with Arab tribes. His beginning of Andalusian history, an outstanding period in allegiance to the urban lifestyle motivated his utter contempt Islamic history. This period is still referred to by Arabs as the for those primitive conditions that he expressed in ridiculing multicultural "state" par excellence because it meant the Bedouin life. His most famous poems are the khamriyyat peaceful coexistence of Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Al- (about drinking scenes) and the mujun, more or less obscene Andalus soon disintegrated into petty kingdoms like Toledo, poems about (pederastic) love. Sevilla, and Granada, but this never impeded cultural and intellectual progress. Only periods of foreign rule by orthodox Muslim In this poetry by Abu Nuwas and by the later Abu dox Muslim forces from North Africa could temporarily Tammam (d. 845), the hijazi tradition of realistic love poetry, infringe on it, until finally Granada fell to the Spanish Reconquista of the self-confident individual, lives its triumph. The idealis- Reconquista in 1492, the formal end of Andalusian history. tic udhri love poetry comes to an end with the late-eighth-century poet al- Abbas b. al-Ahnaḥ (b. c. 750). His courtly love At the various courts

in the main cities of al-Andalus, poetry has often (but probably not rightly) been interpreted as literature reached a remarkable apogee. One of the contributors to the source of courtly love poetry in the "Toubadours et tions Andalusien poets made to Arabic literature was the

Islam and the Muslim World

65

Arabic Literature

innovative form of the muwashshah, a poem with a strophical structure. Apart from these adab-works, Arabic popular culture structure. It is unclear what the origin of this poem was. It knew a strong storytelling tradition, but what remained of it is Certain types of strophic poetry were known in the East by scarce: outlines of heroic adventures and etiologies of personal names. perthe eighth century, but they never reached the level of personal names. prestigious poetry. The origin of the muwashshah, with its rhyme structure divided into stanzas and choruses and its Bringing the sub-literary storytelling and the adab genre idiosyncratic meter, should probably be sought in local together was an innovation introduced from outside the Arab world, generating "mirrors of princes," like Kalila wa-Dimna, Romance poetic traditions, probably in songs. This is at least an adaptation into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. c. 760) of the suggested by the use of vernacular Arabic, Hebrew, and even original Indian Pancatantra. the local Romance dialect, for instance, in the last verse of some muwashshahs, as a kind of humorous clue. Among the class of the cultural elite in the later Abbasid era a unique genre emerged that used rhymed prose as its The Centuries of Decline: Amateur Poetry form and was composed following a more or less fixed In the classical period the poet was a respected craftsman, structure with a story of two characters meeting in an urban famous for composing his art in courtly circles. Meanwhile in environment without recognizing each other. After a humorous society the high status of Arabic-Islamic education, humorous description of chaos and confusion, recognition occurs with its emphasis on language and the ornate use of it, and all ends in a kind of comical clue. This maqama remained produced an even greater number of literati who were able to popular well into the nineteenth century. With time it reproduced verse at any given occasion. A great number of these came less bound to its original structure and could be used for "occasional" poems concerning every possible aspect of life didactic purposes as well. (but often, of course, on the theme of love) are still to be

found scattered in many adab-works on a wide range of subjects, often helping to embellish the context. Fiction in the modern sense of the word entered Arabic culture with the Arabian Nights, in which the frame story and a number of sub-stories are from an Indian-Persian origin. It was mainly this class of literati that composed poetry and enlarged with a number of Egyptian popular stories. between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries (the qurun alinhitat, or the centuries of decline in Arab culture). It is hard to name any famous poets of this period, but recent research Modern Arabic Literature the entering of the Arab world into modern times is Normally has shown that poetry probably never stopped to be of high identified quality and originality. This is, however, a period that needs of Egypt (1789–1801). The obvious difference in culture, scientific more attentive study than it has hitherto received. knowledge, and social structure between the two worlds caused Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), an Albanian Arabic Prose officer who freed Egypt from Ottoman rule, to direct his The oldest fragments of Arabic prose are the accounts of attention to the West, mainly France. He sent a mission of intertribal skirmishes on the Arab peninsula. These accounts, scholars to Paris to gather scientific knowledge that could be interlaced with poetry, may not be very accurate as a reflected and applied in Egypt. The witness report of this translated tion of reality, but on the other hand they cannot be regarded mission, written by al-Tahtawi (d. 1873), is one of the earliest accounts as fiction. A second prose collection was the Prophet's biography, the sira, which by its nature cannot be considered Another channel of communication between East and fiction. The structure of these stories—chain of spokesmen, West had remained open for much longer: the contacts followed by the story itself, with short poems in between—between the Maronite community in Syria and the Roman remains the same in later prose collections. However, the Catholic Church of Rome. This contact was paralleled by context often became more frivolous like in al-Isfahani's (d. American-based Presbyterian missionary activities in Lebanon. 967) Kitab al-Aghani (Book of songs), a huge collection of This new phase in Middle Eastern history, known as the Nahda stories about poets and singers. One should be careful to use (sometimes translated as Renaissance), led to the these for historic purposes because they are of an anecdotal establishment of printing presses and newspapers, to Western character, representing neither pure historical facts nor pure style schooling, and

to flourishing cultural activities. In the field of fiction, literature it proved to be less obvious to copy Western standards and genres. Arab authors initially tried to use old forms, like Another development within Arabic prose is the abundant the maqama, as a substitute for the narrative genre. growth of adab literature in the Abbasid era, probably best The theme of these regenerated maqamas often had somerendered as “belles lettres,” the well-wrought discourse for thing to do with the East-West opposition. which any subject could serve as a topic. Al-Jahiz (d. 868), the homo universalis of his time, was the unrivaled champion of In poetry it was even more difficult to adopt Western the genre. standards, so that well in the twentieth century the old

66

Islam and the Muslim World

Arabic Literature

monorhyme/monometer standard of the qasida remained Another innovation came from Iraq: the Free Verse moveundisputed. These poets could, however, not escape from ment. It advocated the complete abolishment of all tradiexpressing modern themes. So-called neo-Classicist poets tional forms like meter and rhyme, thereby producing blank could well be expected to eulogize the introduction of radio verse or prose poetry. in the 1920s in the most lofty of ways. Poetry that was so politically motivated could in the end The Mahjar only produce its counterpart, in this case the group of poets As a result of deteriorating economical, social, and political who were being identified with the periodical Shi r in Beirut circumstances in the second half of the nineteenth century in (1957–1969). Their poetry can be qualified as intellectual, the-then Ottoman province of Syria/Lebanon, a great num- highly sensitive, and open to the West. On the other hand ber of Arabs from these regions migrated to the Americas. symbols that refered to ancient times (Phoenician culture for Literary aspirations emerged within these Arab communities, the poets in Syria/Lebanon; Sumerian and Akkadian culture resulting in the establishment of Arabic newspapers, literary for those from Iraq) became popular as an expression of periodicals, and societies, the most prominent of which nationalist feelings. The most significant poet among this became al-Rabita al-Qalamiyya (The Pen Club) in the Bos- generation was the Syrian Ali Ahmad Said (also known as ton/New York area (1920). Its most famous member (and its Adunis

(b. 1930), together with Nizar Qabbani (d. 1998), one chairman) was Jibran Khalil Jibran (d. 1931). of the most popular poets until the present period.

Far from their homeland, confronted with an alien environment, and having lived through the aftermath of existential shocks like the First World War and the Titanic disaster, realistic poetry, which in its turn paved the way for these young poets dared to experiment and address ideas, Palestinian resistance poetry with its strong political bias, themes, and personal emotions that were hitherto unknown in Arabic literature. The thematical innovations of this Mahjar-Arabic Novel

Meanwhile influence social The

generation only had their influence on literature in the the influence of Western fiction, especially by French homeland much later, if at all. Under romantic

novelists, the first attempts to write novels can be considered emulations of Western models. The genre of the The Romantic Poets and Apollo novel was almost entirely strange to Arabic tradition. Some

In Egypt the important poets of the 1920s and 1930s were attempts were still shaped like the medieval Arabic deeply influenced by English romantic poets such as William but this rhymed prose structure was soon given up. maqama,

Blake (d. 1827), Samuel Coleridge (d. 1834), Lord Byron (d.1824), and Percy Shelley (d. 1822). Love, subjectivism, historic novel emerged, inspired by the works of Sir Walter inward concentration, and dreamy nationalism were among Scott (1771–1832) and Alexandre Dumas (1802–1870). With the ingredients of this poetry.

the rise of nationalism around 1910 in Egypt, the scope of At first the young poets in the Diwan group, named after a changed to realistic stories placed in the vivid early novels

study in literary criticism, advocated traditional forms, but environment of the contemporary Egyptian countryside (e.g., later another group of poets gathered around the periodical Muhammad Husayn Haykal [d. 1956], considered Zaynab by

Apollo promoted experiments in the use of form, partly as a first serious novel in the Arab world, and al-Ayyam by consequence of their romantic inspiration, which sometimes as the Taha Husayn [d. 1973]).

came close to escapism.

In the 1920s the influence of French realism and of Arabic Poetry after World War II Russian

prose made itself felt in short-story writing, but
The Second World War hardly had a direct impact on the Arabic
prose really went its own way from the 1930s onward,
Arab world, but it was all the more influential in its conse- when it
obtained the psychological dimension of realistic
quences. The divide between capitalism and socialism split
autobiography, humor, and social criticism. This opened the
the Arab world as well as Europe, not to mention the way to
the main directions of post-World War II prose:
beginning struggle in many countries for independence from
existentialism (Lebanon), social realism (Egypt, Algeria,
the colonialist powers. Morocco),
social criticism (Egypt, Palestine), neo-realism
(Egypt), and feminism (throughout the Arab world). A mod-
As a reaction to the Romanticism of the twenties and ern
generation that started to publish in the 1960s added a
thirties post-World War II poetry became extremely politi- lyrical
, ironical, and plainly realistic flavor as a result of which
cal, the slogan being iltizam: political commitment. A number modern
Arabic prose nowadays complies to international
of these poets gathered around the periodical al-Adab that
standards, without losing the local color that Arab novelists as
was published in Beirut. The members of this group became real
storytellers will never neglect. Nagib Mahfuz (b. 1911) is
split by the choice between Marxism and Arab nationalism. rightly
considered to be one of the great international novel-
Iltizam as a concept kept playing a significant role until the 1980s. ists of
the twentieth century.

Islam and the Muslim World

67

Arab League

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literature in 1988. The novel was a completely new genre in Arabic when, early in the twentieth century, writers in the Arab world began their attempts at long prose. Though these early novels. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.

works were heavily dictated by the style of French and Russian novels, by the 1930s writers of prose in Arabic began developing works in many different directions. NEW YORK TIMES PICTURES

Gert Borg

The main reason for the rapid development of prose should be sought in the fact that—as opposed to poetry—it was a relatively new form in Arabic literature, not burdened by age-old tradition.

ARAB LEAGUE

In the West, Arabic literature is best known for two creations: the *Arabian Nights* and the novels of Nagib Mahfuz. Also known as the League of Arab States (Jami at al-Duwal that earned him the Nobel prize for literature in 1988, al- Arabiyya), the Arab League was founded in 1945 as a grouping of Arab states. The Arab League’s objectives are to representative of the Arabic literary tradition. solidify cooperation among its members in the areas of defense, politics, communications, society, and culture. It has See also Arabic Language; Biography and Hagiography; its roots in pan-Arab nationalism and anticolonialism, but it Historical Writing; Persian Language and Literature; recognizes in principle the independence and sovereignty of Qur an. the diverse

nation-states that constitute its membership. Its founding members are Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, BIBLIOGRAPHY Saudi

Arabia, and Yemen. Permanently based in Cairo, the Arab League now has twenty-two members, the most recent to join being Djibouti (1977) and the Comoros Islands (1993). The Palestine Liberation Organization (now the Palestinian Authority) was launched and given observer status by the League in 1964; it won full member status in 1976.

68

Islam and the Muslim World Architecture

The League houses a number of specialized agencies, including those dealing with communication, labor, Palestine, civil aviation, and cities. It also convenes the Arab Summit, a building material, and decorative programs, there periodic gathering of Arab heads of state. Although Islamic architecture is infinitely varied in plan, elevation, and recurring forms found in all types of buildings, be they religious, secular, public, or private. These basic components are the dome, the arch, and the vault (Fig. 1 a–c). Before The Arab League has established ties of cooperation and mutual consultation with other international and regional organizations, including the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. Islamic religion does not constitute either its core ideology, nor its primary purpose; Islam is describing the different aspects of Islamic architecture it is important to pause and ask if such a categorization is viable. This question stems from three considerations. First is the notably absent from the League charter. Moreover, the overt fact that the forms and decorative practices of these buildings secular influence that Jamal Abd al-Nasser's Egypt exercised are largely adaptations of pre-Islamic models. Thus it is not improper to ask if Islamic architecture should in fact be Muslim World League in 1962. Nonetheless, the Arab League labeled Classical, Sassanian, or Hindu. If all that was being does maintain formal relations with the Organization of the considered were forms emptied of meaning and function then Islamic Conference. Islam has also shaped its organizational the answer to this question would be a resounding yes. The style, as reflected in its flag, which has a crescent moon (hilal) second consideration derives from the fact that many of the

on a green field.

architectural forms considered as Islamic architecture were

The League's effectiveness has often been called into question. Its efforts to forge a common front against Israel have been unsuccessful, as evidenced by the expulsion of Palestinian qualities of these secular spaces that give them meaning as

Egypt for signing the Camp David peace accords with Israel in 1979 (Egypt was reinstated in 1987). In March 2002, however, it unanimously supported a Saudi-sponsored peace initiative that offered recognition of Israel in return for that state's withdrawal from the West Bank and the Golan Heights. The League has also had mixed success in resolving conflicts in the twenty-first century be placed under the same analytic category as an Umayyad congregational mosque of the eighth century, to prevent Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, and its inability when they are not built of the same materials and do to force Iraq's withdrawal in the face of international display common decorative practices or forms? intervention.

While such considerations are beyond the scope of this article, it is important to realize that contemporary historians of Islamic architectural history weigh these questions critically. Some have responded by introducing more specified

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categories of Islamic architecture, such as those based on Hasou, Tawfiq Y. *The Struggle for the Arab World: Egypt's regional, dynastic, and chronological designations*. Others Nasser and the Arab League. London, Boston: KPI, 1985. have introduced new analytic models, for example, by studying the development of certain architectural forms, such as

Juan Eduardo Campo the minaret, or a practice, such as the use of public inscriptions. Taken together, recent scholarship of Islamic architecture presents a more historically contingent and culturally

ARCHITECTURE varied approach to the study of Islamic architecture. Many of the problems associated with the category of Islamic architecture is in part comprised of those buildings

from what is taken as the meaning of architecture. If and built environments intended for use in Islamic worship, Islamic architecture is simply a material entity, composed of commemoration, and instruction. Among the architecture of classical forms, then the notion of Islamic architecture as this group are mosques, madrasas or schools, mausoleums, being distinct from Byzantine or Sassanian becomes mosques and shrines. Islamic architecture may also be considered as negotiable. However, if by architecture we mean a dynamic the creation of patrons and builders who profess Islam or space that produces relationships between people and helps those that live in a region ruled by Muslims. These buildings individuals understand and articulate their identity through can generally be described as secular, and include suqs (markets), hammams (public baths), khans (inns), caravanserais (inns), the meaningfulness of Islamic architecture can be seen as a or roadside inns, palaces, and houses. distinct construction.

Islam and the Muslim World

69

Architecture

Basic architectural components

- a. Dome
- b. Arch
- c. Muqarnas Vault

Figure 1.

The Mosque artisans practiced in mosaic design to decorate their structures with The mosque is the preeminent dynamic space that stands at dazzling images of vegetation, jewelry, and Qur'anic the center of Islamic society and culture. It is both a spiritual inscriptions. Over time, the practice of employing local site of worship and a social site of education, debate, and building techniques, decorative practices, and architectural discussion of religion, politics, and current events. Arab forms resulted in mosques of different regions and periods of caliphs and their governors were the first builders of architecture the Islamic world appearing visually dissimilar. They are, however, tural mosques. Emerging from a Bedouin culture that did not all connected by their principal function: to provide necessitate permanent architecture, these early Islamic rulers a central space for the Islamic community to unite, pray, and adopted and adapted the building traditions of the cultures exchange information.

they conquered to guide the formation and style of the new mosques. Two notable sources that contributed to the early prophet Muhammad's house was the first constructed mosques's forms and styles were the Byzantine and Sassanian (Fig. 2). Established soon after his community moved Empires. In the conquered regions previously dominated by in 622 C.E., it was a simple, unremarkable enclothese cultures Arabs established garrison cities and ordered sure. The principal consideration of Muhammad's mosque the founded mosques to provide the Islamic community with provide a large, open, and expandable courtyard so the a space to meet and pray. The mosques that appeared in the ever-growing community could meet in one place. The walls first centuries of Islamic history were either renovated struc- of the courtyard were made of mud-brick and had three tures, for example, Christian churches converted into mosques, openings. The walls surrounded an open space of about 61 or they were new buildings constructed from recycled parts of square yards (56 meters). On the east side of the courtyard abandoned buildings, particularly columns of Roman ruins. were the modest living quarters of Muhammad and his family. Some Islamic rulers, such as the Umayyad builders of the Palm tree trunks were used for the columns and palm Dome of the Rock (completed in 692 C.E.) and the Great leaves for the roof of a covered area called the zulla, which was Mosque of Damascus (706–714 C.E.), employed Byzantine built to protect worshipers from the midday sun. The zulla

70

Islam and the Muslim World Architecture

very top of the minbar is never occupied as it is symbolically House of the prophet Muhammad, Medina reserved as the space of Muhammad, the original imam.

In large mosques another platform called the dikka is Zulla (Portico)

provided at the rear of the sanctuary, or in the courtyard, and along the same axis as the mihrab. A qadi repeats the sermon and prayer from the dikka for those standing too far from the minbar. Located outside of some mosques is a minaret that, along with the dome, has become the architectural symbol of Islam due to its ubiquitous presence and high visibility.

Constructed as a tower, it either stands outside the mosque precinct or it is attached to the outer walls or portals of the Figure 2. mosque. The

minaret varies in shape, ornamentation, and

number depending on the region and building conventions of the patron. Besides visually broadcasting the presence of the marked the direction Muslim prayer was originally oriented— mosque and Islam within a city or landscape the minaret also serves as an north, toward the holy and venerated city of the Jews, effective place for the mu adhdhin or “caller” (also muezzin) to Jerusalem. Later, Muhammad, while in prayer, received di- perform the adhan (call to prayer) and be heard vine enlightenment that caused him to change the direction for a great distance. The maqsurah is a later addition made to the of prayer south to the Ka ba in Mecca. The zulla was there- the hypostyle-plan mosque. It is a differentiated, protective space, fore moved to concur with the new qibla (direction of prayer). adjacent to the qibla wall. The maqsurah is found in mosques where Besides the qibla, another architectural form introduced at the imam or ruler wanted either to be prothe first mosque was the minbar (stepped platform or pulpit) tected or ceremonially separated from the congregation. It from which Muhammad addressed the growing Islamic was originally built as a raised platform separated with a community. wooden screen that allowed total to partial concealment of its The Prophet’s mosque, with its austere plan, large square occupants. enclosure, orientation toward the qibla, and minbar, provides Types of Mosques. There are two general types of mosques. the basic elements of subsequent mosque architecture. The The first is the congregational mosque, known as the jami first mosque type to emerge was the hypostyle plan (Fig. 3). masjid. The jami (from the Arabic word for “to gather”) is Its basic unit, the bay (a covered area defined by four columns), could be expanded upon so the mosque could grow built on a large scale to accommodate the entire Islamic with the community. The hypostyle mosque typically has an community of a town or city. The second type is known simply as inner courtyard, called the sahn, surrounded by colonnades or masjid (from the Arabic word meaning “to prostrate oneself”). arcades (riwaqs) on three sides. Within the courtyard there is oneself”). Masjids are small community mosques used daily by members of usually an ablutions fountain, where the wudu (minor ablu- a quarter, or an ethnic group within a city. tion) is performed before the salat (prayer). There are three Masjids were also constructed as subsidiary structures next to mausoleums, entrances into the sahn. The principal entrance can be a palaces, caravanseries, and madrasas. Early masjids and jami monumental portal as built in Cairo in the Fatimid Mosque of masjids, while different in size, shared the same al-Hakim (1002 C.E.). Passing through the sahn, the worshiper architectural

forms and style. However, as Islamic rulers grew in wealth and walked into a covered sanctuary area or haram. The haram of power starting in the late seventh century, they built the Great Mosque of Cordoba (786, 962–966 C.E.) is one of preeminence monumental jami masjids in their cities to reflect the Adapting the the most visually breathtaking. The arches of the double-arch domes, these arcades are composed of alternating red brick courses and appeared to basic building elements of vaults, arches, and rulers built mosques that from the exterior create a tuary produce a visually captivating labyrinthine configura- stunning visual experience in the interior the jami span large areas and soar to great heights. To the focus is the qibla, a directional wall that indicated which masjids were tion over one's head. Once inside the sanctuary of a mosque create a ornamented with complex geometric and araway to pray. In the center of the wall masjids were was often a semicircular besque or vegetal decoration in mosaic and stucco. Quartered

niche with an arched top, known as the mihrab. In large marble decorated the lower walls, or dados, and Qur anic and historical mosques a minbar located to the right of the mihrab was also historical inscriptions in stucco and mosaic Arabic script engaged the included. It was from atop the minbar that on Fridays the intellect. engaged the

khutba (sermon) was delivered by the imam or prayer-leader. Regional The minbar is based on the stepped platform that was used by Regional Variation of Mosques. Although there is no one style to Muhammad. It ranges from a simple three-step elevation to a style to unify the mosques of the Islamic world, they can be divided into highly decorated monumental stairway of many steps. The divided into broad regional variants. The mosque style of

Islam and the Muslim World

71

Architecture

Hypostyle Plan

Minaret

HARAM

Qibla Wall

Riwaq

Mihrab Minbar

Riwaq

Dikka

Figure 3.

central Arabia was an early development influenced by church-parallel to the qibla wall, supported a gabled ceiling. Albuilding of the Syrian Byzantine Empire and palace-building Walid, wanting to outdo the neighboring churches and of the Sassanian Persian Empire. In the east, the ground plans temples, employed Syrian-Christian artisans to richly decoof the Great Mosques of Kufa (638 C.E.) and Basra (635 C.E.) rate the interior of the mosque with imported gold and were square like those of Zoroastrian temples. When the colored mosaics and marble, and even used rock crystal for Great Mosque of Kufa was rebuilt in 670, its haram was based the mihrab.

on the apadanas or throne rooms of Achaemenian kings: five rows of tall stone columns supporting a teak ceiling. Simi- The early Abbasid caliphate, ruling from Baghdad from larly, the Great Mosque of Damascus, built by the Umayyad 749 to 847, first built their mosques with square floor plans as caliph al-Walid between 706–714, was based on indigenous the early Umayyads had done in the region. However, after building conventions. Architects used the preexisting enclo- the Abbasids moved their capital to Samarra, their mosques sure of the temenos and church, but since the mosque had to be reflected the rectangular hypostyle form favored by the later oriented to the south, the qibla wall was on the longer side of Umayyads. The Great Mosque of Samarra, built by althe rectangular space. Also, due to the constraints of the Mutawakkil from 848 to 852, was the largest hypostyle preexisting quadrangle, the courtyard was transversal in ori- mosque of its time with nine rows of columns in the sanctuary entation rather than longitudinal. The haram contained a that supported a thirty-five-foot-high ceiling. The mosque is short, wide central nave with a gabled roof and a wooden most famous for Malwiyya, the colossal spiral minaret. Once dome in its center. Three aisles of double-tiered arches, faced with gold tiles, Malwiyya’s great size and unusual shape

structures. They were the by-products of hired Hindu masons, indigenous architectural material taken from destroyed Sub-Saharan West African mosques are unique in their or decaying Hindu buildings, and necessary elements of use of organic materials that are constantly replenished over mosque architecture such as the mihrab. The mosques were time, such as tamped earth, timber, and vegetation. Due to trabeated at first and decorated with popular Hindu motifs such as seasonal deterioration during the wet and dry seasons, the such as vegetal scrolls and lotuses. The plans of South Asian mosques are constantly being repaired and resurfaced. The mosques ranged from traditional hypostyle, to Persian fourpredominant quality of these structures is their rounded iwan types, and to single-aisle domed plans. The earliest organic form, reinforced with projecting timber beams or mosques of the Delhi sultanate (1192–1451) were hypostyle torons, which also serve as supports for scaffolding when the and built out of reused materials from Hindu and Jain temples mosque is being resurfaced. The Great Mosque of Djenné such as the Quwwat al-Islam in Delhi of the late twelfth (thirteenth century) is the most representative of the West century. The greatest achievement of this mosque is the African mosques. Its tall rounded towers and engaged col- monumental minaret, the Qutb Minar. Standing at 238 feet it was a victory tower that announced the power of the new umms, which act as buttresses, easily flow into each other and religion to the surrounding landscape. give the structure its characteristic verticality and overwhelming majesty. The next significant mosque type of South Asia is the single-aisle plan with five bays that used stucco and colored The central-planned, domed mosque of the Ottomans is stones as surface decoration and squinch and muqarnas vaultyet another distinctive type. When the Ottomans conquered ing. These mosques had monumental central portals and Constantinople in the fifteenth century they converted the domes. The Bara Gumbad mosque in Delhi, built by Sultan Byzantine church of Hagia Sophia into a mosque by framing Sikandar Lodi in 1494, and the Qal a-e-Kuhna mosque of it with two pointed minarets. Later in the nineteenth century Sher Shah (1540–1545) exemplify this style. It was this basic they added roundels inscribed with calligraphic writing of the form of mosque architecture that was later adopted by the great names of Muhammad, Allah, and the early caliphs. Using the Mogul dynasty (1426–1848). Two exemplary Mogul- style Hagia Sophia as their prototype, Ottoman rulers built mosques mosques are Akbar’s Great Mosque of Fatehpur Sikri

in the principal cities of their empire. The mosques were (1571–1572) and Shah Jahan’s Great Mosque at Delhi defined by large spherical domes, with smaller half-domes at (1650–1656). These mosques have large courtyards and are the corners of the square, and four distinctively shaped built from the local red sandstone combined with white minarets—tall, fluted, and needle-nosed—that were typically placed at the exterior corners of the mosque complex. The distinctive feature of Akbar’s mosque at Fatehpur Sikri is The Selimiye Cami (Mosque of Selim) in Edirne, Turkey, the monumental portal on the south side called the Buland key (1507–1574), best characterizes the central-plan Ottoman mosque. Its form is that of a colossal pishtaq (tall central portal), derived from Timurid origins. It is embellished with native Indian architectural elements as well such as small open pavilions. Moving further east to Seljuk Iran, another type of mosque called chatris and lotus-shaped medallions. emerges known as the four-ivan mosque. The iwan is an open Located on the west side of the great courtyard is the vaulted space with a rectangular portal or pishtaq. In a Seljuk sanctuary, a three-domed prayer-hall with a central pishtaq. The Great Mosque of Delhi was based on the four-ivan plan. The Great Mosque of Isfahan, built in this Three central courtyard. The Great Mosque of Isfahan, built in this style in the twelfth century, is a monumental four-ivan qibla iwan, the same shape used for the dome of the Taj Mahal. The mosque. Of these, the principal or qibla iwan is the largest, minarets are divided into four parts and are capped with small pavilions. Smaller, private mosques built with a large domed maqsura and muqarnas vaulting. To lend it for the Mughal palaces of Lahore, Agra, and in Delhi reflect further visual impact, two minarets were added at the corners the fine marble carving skills of the Indian artisans. Faced of the portal. The iwan that stood opposite the qibla iwan with white marble, elegantly carved with vegetal patterns, followed in size, and it was both smaller and shallower. The these mosques were then topped with graceful onion-shaped lateral iwans were the smallest. While the exterior of the domes with lotus molding and metallic finials. These private mosque was unadorned, the inward-facing iwans were decoimperial mosques were the architectural counterparts of the rated with architectural ceramic tiles of turquoise, cobalt elegant gems so highly prized by the Mughals. blue, white, deep yellow, and green. The decorative designs

contained geometric and arabesque patterns as well as Kufic and Mausoleums
 inscriptions. The layout of the Great Mosque of Isfahan and mausoleums that commemorate important places
 influenced countless other mosques in Iran, Central Asia, and people of the Islamic world comprise another important
 South Asia. component
 of sacred Islamic architecture. The first great

Shrines

Shrines

and

Islam and the Muslim World

73

Architecture

shrine was al-Haram al-Sharif or Dome of the Rock in famous Taj
 Mahal (1631–1643) of Shah Jahan in India. In
 Jerusalem. Built between 687 and 691 by the Umayyad caliph
 eleventh-century Egypt another type of mausoleum emerged
 Abd al-Malik, it covers a renowned irregular rock formation. called the
 canopy mausoleum, because it was open to the
 Muslims believe that is was from this rock that Muhammad elements.
 An example of this type is the Fatimid funerary
 began his night journey, or isra , to heaven. Located on the complex of
 Sab a Banat in Fustat. A later Fatimid develop-
 Temple Mount of Mount Moriah its golden dome is seen for ment of the
 mausoleum form is the mashhad, a large square
 miles reflecting in the landscape. The sanctuary of the Dome domed tomb
 connected to a three-room unit entered through
 of the Rock is in the shape of an octagon and is surmounted by a portal
 and organized around a courtyard that served pila tall drum and dome. The rock
 is surrounded by a screen and grims. The mashhad of Sayyida Ruqayya, an
 Alid saint, built
 then a circular arcade of alternating columns and piers. Next in 1133, is
 an example of this type of mausoleum. The final
 is an octagonal arcade that is surrounded by the outer walls type of
 mausoleum to be considered here makes skillful use of
 that together create a double ambulatory. A frieze of Kufic one of the
 most famous architectural forms: the muqarnas. A
 inscriptions in gold tile on blue background is found on the stalactite
 squinch usually found in the transitional zones
 inside and outside of the octagonal arcade. It is the first between
 wall and dome, the muquarnas was used in all types of
 occurrence of Qur anic inscription in Islamic architecture. Islamic
 architecture. During the Ayyubid (1099–1250) and
 Adding to the sumptuous quality of the interior are other Mamluk
 (1250–1517) periods, the mausoleum was brought
 mosaics of turquoise, blue, and green tiles that could be out of the
 cemetery and into the urban fabric. With their
 depictions of the lush foliage of Paradise, and royal insignia of increased

visibility these tombs became centers for transmitting political information and education of the Sunni religious schools of law. They were also gathering centers for the

The mausoleums of imams, rulers, the wealthy, and saints followers of Sufism. Building the mausoleum in the city of Cairo compelled a few changes in design. As there was little room to build laterally, the focus of the architecture was on should be simple and without grave markers mausoleums are found throughout the Islamic world. Following the forms of and dome of the building, built ever higher and with the Dome of the Rock and the Byzantine martyrium, which textured transitional zones and domes.

the drum

more richly

the former was also inspired by, the Muslims founded their Secular Architecture

own funerary architecture. The basic form of the mausoleum One of the secular types of Islamic architecture is the palace, was a square enclosure, derived from the shape of a house which matches the mosque in reflecting the rich variety of where the dead were traditionally buried, surmounted by a forms, ornamentation, and the sophisticated skills of artisans.

dome. In cities such as Mamluk Cairo (1250–1517), the Built as large complexes rather than singular units, Islamic domed square plan compelled builders to plan vertically palaces were generally self-sustaining, and most contained instead of laterally due to spatial and structural constraints of bastion walls, towers, gates, baths, stables, private quarters, preexisting streets. To deflect the admonitions of the Muslim public meeting spaces, workshops, offices, hospitals, harams orthodox that perceived tomb building as irreligious, Arab builders in North Africa, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and

or zenanas

(reserved for the women of the palace), libraries, the Levant made the mausoleum part of larger religious fountains, and gardens. These palaces were built as

pavilions,

complexes. The mausoleum is thus often one part of a

the

architectural embodiment of the ruler, the spatial metacomplex composed of a mosque, madrasa, or religious school, phor of his dominion, and, if built in idyllic settings with

and sometimes a hospital or khanqa (residence of a Sufi surrounding gardens, were considered earthly paradises. The

first

leader). Although the buildings had unique functions, they palaces were built by the Umayyads and were modeled

after Roman

shared the same architectural elements. The architects unified the complex with geometric and arabesque designs to

dences

these include the Qasr al-Hayr, Khirbat al-Mafjar, decorate the buildings, marble revetment, muqarnas or stalac- and Khirbat al-Minya of the eighth century. Other welltite vaults (also called honeycomb vault), and ceramic tiles, known palaces are the Fatimid Palace of al-Qahira (1087–1092), among countless other regional variants and conventions. Umayyad Madinat al-Zahira of Cordoba (936–976), the Nasrid Alhambra in Granada, Spain (early fourteenth century), the While the mausoleum met with periodic waves of disap- Ottoman Topkapi complex, and Mogul Fatehpur Sikri and Red Fort, provol in the Arabian world it was a fully acceptable form in built in Delhi during the sixteenth century. the Persianate world of Iran, Anatolia, Iraq, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and South Asia. The two basic forms of Persianate Islamic secular architecture is also public in nature. Among mausoleum are the yurt-inspired tomb tower such as the these buildings are the caravanseries and hammams. The northern Iranian Gunbad-e Qabus (1007) and the domed caravanserai was a stopping place for travelers to rest and square and later octagonal tombs, like the Tomb of the water and feed their animals. A typical caravanserai had a Samanids in Bukhara (tenth century), the Ilkhanid Sultaniya large open courtyard with a single large portal. Inside, along the walls, mausoleum of Iljeytu (early fourteenth century), and the were covered arcades that contained identical stalls

74

Islam and the Muslim World

Art

to accommodate a traveler, and his servants. Animals were Bloom, Jonathan. Minaret: Symbol of Islam. Oxford, U.K.: usually kept in the courtyard or stables located in the corners. Oxford University Press, 1989.

Caravansaries were usually fortified with bastions and turreted Creswell, K. A. C. A Short Account of Early Muslim Architectwells. As with mosques and palaces, caravansaries vary in ture. 2d ed. Aldershot, U.K.: Scholar Press, 1989.

ornamentation and form from region to region. Inside the Frishman, Martin, and Hasan-Uddin, Khan, eds. The Mosque: city the khan housed the travelers and merchants. These History, Architectural Development & Regional Diversity. London: structures were multistoried and overlooked a central court- Thames and Hudson, 1994.

yard. The animals and goods were kept on the ground floor Grabar, Oleg. The Formation of Islamic Art. New Haven, and apartments were located above. Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.

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form found in many Islamic cities. Along with the khan it was located in the suq or marketplace. Adopted from the Romans, D. *Islamic Architecture*. New York: Abrams, 1977.

Hoag, John

the hammam was used for washing and purification before George, ed. *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its*

Michell,

Friday prayer. It was composed of large rooms for steam and Social Meaning (1978). New York: Thames and

History

baths as well as others for soaking in hot and cold water, all of 1984.

Hudson,

which communicated through waiting halls. Utilizing marble covered floors and walls, arches, large ornamented domes

Santhi Kavuri-Bauer

that helped circulate hot air, muqarnas vaults, and stucco

decoration, some public baths were highly luxurious environments. Men and women bathed separately either in their own

hammam, if there were two in a town, or on different days or ART

at designated times.

Islamic art is generally reckoned to cover all of the visual arts

Residential Architecture

produced in

the lands where Muslims were an important, if

The final type of Islamic architecture to be considered is the most important, segment of society. Islamic art

not the

domestic. The typical house built in Islamic societies is therefore, from such other terms as Buddhist or

differs,

oriented inward. A bent entrance that turns at a sharp angle

Christian

art, for it refers not only to the arts produced by or

marks the transition from the outside world to the home. The religion of Islam but to the arts of all Islamic cultures.

for the

entrances of homes do not usually align with those across the street, so the privacy of the interior is maintained. On the

Islamic art

was not necessarily created by or for Muslims, for

some

Islamic art was made by Christian, Jewish, or even

inside the rooms are arranged around a central courtyard and artists working for Muslim patrons, and some Islamic

Hindu

range from the private spaces of the family to semiprivate created for non-Muslim patrons. The term does not

art was

spaces where male guests, who were not members of the particular style or period, but covers a broad

refer to a

family, could enter. The open courtyard ventilates the house. encompassing the arts produced over one-fifth of

purview,

A central basin or fountain, part of most courtyards, also in the traditional heartland of Islam (from Spain to

the globe

provides a cooling effect and the soothing sound of falling

India)

during the last fourteen hundred years.

water. In more prosperous households delicately carved

At the beginning of the twenty-first century Islam is the

wooden screens called mashraabiyyat were used to create

world's fastest growing religion. It has spread beyond the

private space, filter air from the outside, and allow light to

traditional heartland of Islam in North Africa, the Near East,

enter the home. The exterior of an Islamic house is often left

and west Asia to southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

unadorned. Only upon entering the home will the visitor

Muslims comprise nearly one-quarter of the world's population; the class

status of the owner. tion; the largest Muslim

populations are in southeast Asia,

and there are sizable Muslim communities in Europe and

See also Adhan; Art; Dome of the Rock; Holy Cities;

North America. The term Islamic art is therefore becoming

Jami ; Manar, Manara; Mashhad; Masjid; Mihrab;

increasingly unwieldy, and in current usage concerning mod-

Minbar (Mimbar); Religious Institutions.

ern art, the adjective "Islamic" is often restricted to purely

religious expressions such as calligraphy.

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idea of an Islamic art is a distinctly modern notion,

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not by the culture itself but by art historians in

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Europe and

America trying to understand a relatively unfa-

Blair, Sheila S., and Bloom, Jonathan M. "The Mirage of

miliar

world and to place the arts created there into the newly

Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy

developing

field of art history. In light of the nationalism that

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developed

during the early twentieth century, some scholars,

Islam and the Muslim World

75

Art

particularly those in the Islamic lands, questioned the use of

Most

fine manuscripts made in the Islamic lands also had

the term, opting instead for nationalistic names, speaking of,

fine

decoration. In early times the calligrapher seems to have

say, Turkish or Persian art. But these terms are also mislead-

also been

responsible for the illumination, which was usually

ing, for Islam has traditionally been a multiethnic and

added

after the writing. For example, the famous scribe

multicultural society, and it is impossible to distinguish the

known as

Ibn al-Bawwab (his nickname literally means “son of a doorman”) did both the writing and the decoration in a small copy of the Qur’an made at Baghdad between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Other scholars, particularly in the late twentieth century, have questioned the term Islamic art as too general, since it refers neither to the art of a specific era nor to a particular place or people. Instead, they opt for regional or dynastic categories such as Maghribi (i.e., North African) or Mamluk (i.e., Egyptian and Syrian, thirteenth to sixteenth centuries) art. While these terms can be useful, they overlook the common features that run through much of the art created in the traditional lands of Islam and fragment the and the like. All worked together in a team to produce picture, particularly for those who are unfamiliar with this the most sublime books ever created in which all the area and its rich cultural traditions. Without slighting the were carefully harmonized in a unified and balanced whole.

In different periods, this entry focuses on the common features that run through many of the arts created within the broad A second major art form popular in the traditional rubric of Islamic art: the distinct hierarchy of forms and the lands is textiles. They were the most important themes of decoration. economically and have often been likened to the heavy industries of modern times. The four main fibers used were wool, cotton, linen, and silk, but the making of fine textiles lay Apart from architecture, the arts produced in the Islamic not only in producing the fibers, but even more in the expense of procuring the dyes, the mordants to fix the colors, the art, where painting and sculpture are the two most important materials for the looms, and the transport of both fibers and forms and are used to make religious images for worship. finished goods. It is often hard for modern viewers to appreciate these textiles, since few have survived from medieval times instead the major forms of artistic expression are the arts of

the book, textiles, ceramics, woodwork, metalwares, and intact. Most were literally worn to shreds, and, unlike in other glass. In Western art, these are often called the “minor,” cultures, only a handful were preserved as grave goods since “decorative,” or “portable” arts, but such labels are pejorative, implying that these forms are secondary, less meaningful burial. Muslims traditionally wrap the body in a plain white sheet for burial. Nevertheless in their own times, these textiles were and less permanent than the more important, stable, and immensely valuable not only in the Muslim lands but also therefore “noble” arts of painting and sculpture. To use such across the globe: Medieval Europeans commonly used interments is to view the world of art from the vantage point of the reported Islamic textiles to wrap the bones of their saints, and West, and one of the significant features of Islamic art is that hence, paradoxically, most medieval Islamic textiles have been it introduces the viewer to different ways of looking at art. been preserved in Christian contexts.

Bookmaking. Of all the arts created in the Islamic lands, the Textiles were also important for the history of art. Until most revered was the art of the book, probably because of the large sheets of paper to make patterns and cartoons became readily veneration accorded to writing the revealed word of God. readily available in the fourteenth century, motifs and designs were Calligraphers were deemed the most important type of artist were often disseminated through the medium of textiles. Textiles and paid the most for their work. They penned many fine Textiles are readily portable—they can be folded and carried on an manuscripts, but the fanciest were exquisite copies of the on an animal’s back without fear of breaking—and were Qur’an. Those made for use in a congregational mosque were transported over vast distances between Spain and Central Asia. The large, multivolume sets, often divided into either seven or Asia. The mechanical nature of weaving on a loom also thirty parts so that the entire text could be read over the encouraged the production of multiples and the use of symmetrical, repeating, and month. Personal copies of the Qur’an metrical, repeating, and geometric designs that are characteristically of much Islamic art, often had fine penmanship. The great reverence for writing spilled over into the ship. The great reverence for writing spilled over into the production of other texts, particularly in Iran, India, and Of all textiles, the one most identified with the traditional Turkey, and it was one of the reasons that printing with Islamic lands is the knotted carpet. Indeed the traditional heartland movable type only began to be adopted in the Islamic lands in heartland of Islam is often dubbed “the rug belt.” Technically

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. the
knotted carpet consists of a textile in which additional

76

Islam and the Muslim World

Art

Bold geometric designs were typical patterns used by Muslim artists. This tile mosaic was created in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. © GERARD DEGEORGE/CORBIS

threads, usually wool or silk, are knotted into a woven Ottoman
dynasties set up state workshops with room-sized
substratum to form a furry surface. The origins of the looms that
required teams of weavers to produce carpets
technique are obscure and controversial, with different ethnic measuring
over twenty feet across. Unlike the carpet-weaving
groups claiming precedence. Carpet weaving was already of nomads,
which could be put down or picked up at will,
practiced for a millennium before the advent of Islam and these
large-scale enterprises required vast amounts of materimay well have been
developed by nomads to take advantage als prepared and purchased
before work began to insure a
of the materials at hand, namely the wool produced by the uniform
product. Designers prepared paper patterns with
sheep they herded. Nomads typically used portable looms, elaborate
floral designs that could only be executed successwhich could be dismantled and
carried on horseback when fully with hundreds of knots per square
inch. Some designs
the camp moved, to weave small carpets with a limited even
emulated the design of traditional Persian gardens, with
repertory of geometric designs that were generated from the depictions
of water channels filled with fish, ducks, and geese
technique of weaving itself. crossing
and dividing rectangular parterres planted with
cypresses, fruit trees, and flowers. When the carpet was
In the fourteenth century this individual or family craft spread on the
floor, the person sitting on it would have been
was transformed into a cottage or village industry. Carpets surrounded
by a verdant refreshing garden.
became larger and were made in multiples, with some groups
available for export. They were expensive items used by the Metals,
Ceramics, and Glasswares. Other common artrich and powerful as status symbols.
Depictions of enthroned forms created in the Muslim lands comprise
metalwares,
rulers ranging from Mongol manuscripts of the Persian ceramics,
and glasswares. These techniques have been dubbed
national epic to Italian panel paintings of the Madonna and the “arts

of fire” as they are based on the use of fire to transform
 Child prominently display Islamic knotted carpets beneath
 minerals extracted from the earth into works of art.
 the throne, testifying to their international status. The
 discovery of fire to transform humble materials into
 utensils was one of the hallmarks of the rise of civilization in
 Carpet-weaving was transformed again in the sixteenth West Asia, and
 the manufacture of shimmering metalwares,
 century into a national industry. Rulers of the Safavid and ceramics,
 and glass continued to be characteristic of the

Islam and the Muslim World

77

Art

Islamic lands until modern times. Iron and copper alloys were
 crafted into weapons, tools, and utensils, while silver and gold
 were made into jewelry and coins. Ceramics were used for
 storage, cooking, and serving food, and glass was used for
 lighting, keeping and serving foods, and storing perfumes and
 medicines. Unlike the Christian lands, where vessels of silver
 and gold were used in church liturgy, Islam required no such
 luxury objects in the mosque, and the finest bowls, plates, and
 pitchers are merely expensive versions of objects used in
 daily life.

Base metal, ceramic, and glass shapes were also made in
 such rare and costly materials as gold and silver, rock crystal,
 jade, and ivory. The pious disapproved of using gold vessels,
 and many items of precious metal were melted down for coin
 in times of need. A rare silver box made for the Spanish
 Umayyad heir-apparent Abu Walid Hisham in 976 is the
 same shape and dimensions as an ivory example made for the
 Spanish Umayyad chamberlain Abd al-Malik in Spain between 1004 and 1005. The
 metal box even copies the details
 of the ivory box, including the strap over the top, which is
 hammered from the same sheet of silver as the rest of the lid.
 The strap is useless on the silver box, but imitates the metal Known for
 detailed ceramic work, this Islamic ceramic was found
 strap that would have held the lid in place on a wooden or within the
 tomb of Muhammad in Mecca. © ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO,
 S.A./CORBIS
 ivory box.

Another case of similar vessels in different media is the
 series of small jugs made for the Timurid rulers of Central Figural
 Imagery. Many people believe that images of people
 Asia in the fifteenth century. Some gold ones are illustrated in are
 forbidden in Islam, but this assumption is wrong. The

Qur'an forbids idolatry, but it has little to say on the subject of contemporary manuscripts, and examples survive in several figural representation, which was apparently not a subject of materials, including jade, metal, and ceramic. The jugs, which great importance in Arabia during the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Furthermore, Muslims have little need to body and short cylindrical neck with a handle shaped like a depict images in their religious art. For Muslims, God is unique, without associate; therefore He cannot be reinscribed on the Timurid examples make it clear that they sented, except by His word, the Qur'an. Muslims worship were wine jugs, and the various materials correspond to the God directly without intercessors, so they have no need for rank of the patron. Jade, technically a type of white nephrite, images of saints, as Christians do. The prophet Muhammad became available after the Timurids seized the jade mines in was human, not divine, so Muslims do not worship him as Khotan in Chinese Turkestan. The use of jade was reserved Christians worship Jesus. Furthermore, the Qur'an is not a for rulers, as it was not only rare and expensive but also continuous narrative. Thus, Muslims do not need religious thought to counteract poison. Timurid rulers and their courti- images to proselytize in the way that Christians use depicers also commissioned similar jugs made of brass, sometimes tions of Christ or stories from the Bible to teach their faith.

inlaid with gold and silver, but some anonymous examples were probably made for sale on the open market as were the Over time this lack of images hardened into law, and the cheaper ceramic ones. absence of figures, technically known as aniconism, became a characteristic feature of Islamic religious art. Thus, mosques, Themes of Decoration mosque furnishings such as minbars (pulpits) and mihrabs Unlike other artistic traditions, particularly the Chinese, (recesses in the wall facing Mecca), and other types of religwhere form alone can be considered sufficient to turn an ious buildings such as madrasas do not usually contain picobject into a work of art, much Islamic art is highly decorated. tures of people. But there is no reason that Muslims cannot Surfaces were elaborately adorned using a wide variety of depict people in other places and settings. Thus palaces techniques and motifs. While different styles of decoration could, and indeed often did, have images of people, particuwere popular at different times and places, several themes of larly servants, guards, and other members of a ruler's retinue. decoration occur everywhere. These include figural decora- Similarly,

bathhouses were often decorated with bathers, flowers, geometry, color, and writing. sometimes nude, and other scenes of relaxation and pleasure.

78

Islam and the Muslim World

Art

These types of secular building were often more architecturally inventive than religious structures, which tended to have had set in and artists often covered his face and even follow traditional lines. But secular structures have not survived as well as mosques and religious structures, which were continuously venerated and maintained, and so the historical figural imagery was unnecessary in Islamic religious record is spotty, and many of the best-known secular buildings to survive in the Islamic lands are those that have long been subsidiary elements in the arts of pre-Islamic times. In Archaeological excavation and restoration of such sites as the bathhouse at Qusayr Amra, built in the Jordanian desert by the Umayyads in the early eighth century, stylized fruits, flowers, and trees) and geometric elements tury, and Samarra in Iraq, the sprawling capital built by the Abbasids upstream from Baghdad in the mid-ninth century, elements were transformed into major artistic themes. show that already in early Islamic times bathhouses and artists used recognizable elements, such as trees or palaces were decorated with pictures of people engaging in activities inappropriate in religious situations. erected by the Umayyad caliph al-Walid in the early eighth century. With the growing reluctance to depict Similarly, copies of the Qur'an do not have pictures of specific and realistic representations were replaced by more stylized, abstracted, and geometricized motifs. lands do. These range from scientific treatises to histories, chronicles, and literary works, both prose and poetry. Such an abstract style was already popular by the times, illustrations were needed to explain the text, as in century and is found on carved plaster and woodwork copies of al-Sufi's treatise on the fixed stars, al-Kawakib al-

from North Africa to Central Asia. The extraordinary thabita. They show that the classical tradition of depicting the range of this style suggests a common origin in the Abbasid capitals of Iraq, and German excavations at the site of Samarra constellations as humans and animals was continued in Islamic in the early twentieth century uncovered many examples in times. Sometimes, however, illustrations were added even molded and carved stucco. The most distinct type uses a when the text did not demand them. One of the most slanted, or beveled, cut, which allowed the plaster slab to be frequently illustrated texts to survive from medieval Islamic released quickly from the mold. In the beveled style, motifs times is al-Hariri's Maqamat (Seances or Sessions). Eleven are abstracted and geometricized and the distinction between illustrated copies produced before 1350 have survived, and foreground and background is blurred.

the number suggests that there were once many more. This work recounts the picaresque adventures of the cunning This type of design based on natural forms such as stems, tendrils, merchant Abu Zayd as he travels throughout the Muslim patterns and leaves rearranged to form infinite geometric the tenth world, hoodwinking his rivals. The success of the text, which became a hallmark of Islamic art produced between coined the century and the fifteenth. To describe it, Europeans word "arabesque," literally meaning "in the Arab puns, subtle allusions, and complex rhymes. The illustrations style," in the fifteenth or sixteenth century when Renaissance emphasize a different aspect of the text—the protagonist's artists incorporated Islamic designs in book ornament and adventures in faraway lands—and provide rare glimpses of decorative bookbindings. Over the centuries the word has daily life in medieval times, including scenes of villages, been applied to a wide variety of winding, twining vegetal decoration markets, and libraries. in art and meandering themes in music.

The tradition of figural imagery was particularly strong in The nineteenth-century Viennese art historian Alois Riegl laid out the Persian world, which had a long history of figural repre- the principal features of the arabesque in Islamic art. In it, the sentation stretching back to pre-Islamic times, and the illus- tendrils of the vegetation do not branch off from a single trated books made there and in the nearby Persian-speaking continuous stem, as they do in nature, but rather grow lands such as India from the fourteenth century onward have

unnaturally from one another to form a geometric pattern. some of the most stunning illustrations ever painted. Virtually He pointed out that the arabesque also has infinite corollaries all of them include people and animals, both real and correspondence, meaning that the design can be extended indefinitely. A few even include images of the prophet Muhammad in any direction. The structure of the arabesque gives hammad, but these are not meant as religious icons but to the viewer sufficient information to extend the design in his illustrate historical or literary texts. The mihrab, the Prophet's or her imagination. mystical journey from Jerusalem to heaven and back mentioned in the Qur'an (17:1), was elaborated, particularly by The popularity of the arabesque was due no doubt to its Sufis or mystics, and scenes illustrating it commonly show the adaptability, for it was appropriate to virtually all situations Prophet on his mystical steed Buraq. In some cases the and media, from paper to woodwork and ivory. It was used on

Islam and the Muslim World

79

Art

the illuminated pages that were added to decorate the beginning and end of fine manuscripts, particularly copies of the Qur'an. These decorated pages became increasingly elaborate and are often called carpet pages. The largest and finest were produced in Egypt and Syria during the period of rule by the Mamluks (r. 1250–1517). The frontispieces in these grand manuscripts of the Qur'an (some measure a whopping 30 inches, or 75 cm, high) are decorated with elaborate geometric designs of polygons radiating from central star shapes.

From the fourteenth century the arabesque was gradually displaced by more naturalistic designs of chrysanthemum, peony, and lotus flowers, motifs adopted from Chinese art during the period of Mongol rule in Iran. This floral style was disseminated westward to the Ottomans, rulers of the eastern Mediterranean region after 1453 from their capital at Istanbul. Artists working at the court of the longest-reigning and most powerful of the Ottoman sultans, Suleyman (r. 1620–1666), developed a distinct floral style with composite flowers and slender, tapering leaves with serrated edges. Designers working in the court studio drew up patterns in this style, which craftsmen then executed in various media, ranging from ceramics to textiles.

The pervasiveness of geometric designs throughout Islamic

art has been traced to the importance of textiles, and Golombek coined the phrase “the draped universe of Islam.” The production of fibers and dyes formed the mainstay of the medieval Islamic economy. In addition to clothing, textiles were the main furnishings of dwellings and even, in the form of tents, known for their depictions of humans and animals in a naturalistic style. © THE BURSTEIN COLLECTION/CORBIS

Mogul emperors employed large numbers of painters who became known for their depictions of humans and animals in a naturalistic style. The central role of textiles is underscored by the Kaaba in Mecca, which Muslims believe most expensive pieces of woodwork were mosque furnishings is the house that Ibrahim (Abraham) erected for God and such as maqsuras (screens to enclose an area in front of the which is the central shrine of Islam, a cubic stone building mihrab), minbars (pulpits), and Qur'an stands. The designs that has been veiled in cloth coverings since the dawn of the on these pieces were usually geometric, with elaborate interfaith. The structure of weaving favors angular designs based lacing and strapwork patterns. Perhaps the most stunning is on the intertwining of warp and weft, and interlaced designs, the stupendous minbar made in 1137 at Cordoba for the found even in writing, may be another example of the textile Almoravid mosque in Marrakesh, which has thousands of mentality that permeated Islamic society.

individual panels meticulously carved in a variety of rare and Color. Another theme that runs through much Islamic art is exotic woods with arabesque designs. These panels were the exuberant use of color. Bright and vivid colors are found flawlessly into a complex geometric scheme, so that the not only in illustrated manuscripts, but also in media where decoration can be equally appreciated from near and far away. they might not be expected. For example, metalworkers in the Islamic lands developed the technique of inlay, in which a Islamic ceramics are also notable for their wonderful vessel made of one metal (typically bronze or brass) is inlaid colors. Potters constantly invented new and different techniques with another (typically, silver, copper, or gold). Designs were techniques of over- and underglaze painting. Their finest effort further set off in a bituminous black that absorbs light, in was the development of the luster technique, in which vessels contrast to the surrounding metallic surfaces that reflect it. In and tiles were painted with metallic oxides and then fired in a this way, metal workers could decorate their wares with reducing atmosphere so that the oxygen burned away, leaving elaborate scenes that resembled paintings or work out enormous the shimmering metal on the surface. The technique may

mous inscriptions that seem to glow from the object and set have been invented by glassmakers in Egypt and Syria in the off the patron's name or Qur'anic text in lights, as it were. eighth century, but soon passed to potters, who developed its full potential, first in ninth-century Iraq, then in Fatimid Egypt, and finally in Iran. Luster potters work on bone with ebony, teak, and other precious woods. The ing there in the city of Kashan in the late twelfth and early

80

Islam and the Muslim World

Art

thirteenth centuries also developed the overglaze-painted The texts inscribed on works of Islamic art range in technique known as minai or enameling, in which several subject matter. Some contain verses from the Qur'an, Tradicolours and gold are painted on top of already-glazed wares, tions of the Prophet (called hadith in Arabic), and other which are then fired a second time at a relatively low tempera- religious texts. Others are short pious phrases recalling God's power and omnipotence (the most common is al-mulk lillah, dominion kind of pottery made in medieval times, for they required Prophet, belongs to God) or invoking the name of the his family, and other significant religious figures firing. The techniques may well have been kept secret, and, to such as the Four Orthodox caliphs who succeeded Muhamjudge from signed works and treatises, the craft tradition mad as leaders of the Muslim community in the early seventh century. Passed down through certain families. century. Probably the most common type of text inscribed on works of Islamic art comprises benedictions and good wishes, The decorative combination of blue and white, so often which can range from a single word (the most common is identified with Chinese porcelains, derived from the Islamic baraka, blessing) to long phrases with rhyming pairs of nouns lands where potters invented the technique of painting in and adjectives. cobalt under a transparent glaze. The technique, developed by the same Kashan potters working in Iran in the early These inscriptions, particularly on expensive pieces, somethirteenth century, was then exported to China where it times contain historical information, including the name of appears on blue-and-white porcelains made in the fourteenth the patron, the date, the place the object was made, and even

century. Indeed, potters in the Islamic lands were constantly the name of
 the artist. Art historians always look for this type
 in competition with their colleagues in China, and ideas of
 information since it helps to localize a work of art, but it is
 bounced back and forth from culture to culture. Thus, Kashan important
 for other reasons as well. Historical information
 potters probably adopted an artificial or stone-paste body to also
 implies that the work of art was a specific commission,
 imitate the hard body of porcelain, made by the Chinese with made for a
 particular individual at a specific moment or to
 kaolin, an element not available in Iran and other Mus- commemorate
 a specific event. The historical information
 lim lands. also tells
 us in which direction to view a work of art, since this
 information is usually included at the end of the text. Signa-
 Various explanations have been proposed for this lavish tures allow us
 to establish the biographies of artists, a type of
 use of color throughout much of Islamic art. Some scholars person not
 generally recorded in histories and chronicles, and
 trace it to the drab and dusty landscape that pervades the thereby
 fill out the artistic record.
 heartland of Islam. (The word khaki, for example, derives
 from the Persian word meaning dusty or dust-colored.) This Many
 different styles of script were used to decorate
 explanation is insufficient, however, as people from other works of
 Islamic art. Historical information was often written
 desert or steppe regions do not necessarily value color as in a more
 legible rounded hand, because the patron or artist
 highly as Muslims do. Other scholars see the extensive use of wanted his
 name to be clear. In contrast, aphorisms and pious phrases
 color as evoking Paradise, described in the Qur'an as a rich
 were often written in a more stylized angular script. Some might
 and verdant place where men recline on silken pillows. or even
 have been intended as puzzles designed to amuse
 Muslims, particularly mystics, often elaborated the symbolic
 tease the user. For example, a group of slip-covered earthenware
 values of color, but these values were often contradictory and
 vessels made in northeastern Iran and Central Asia in
 meaningful only in specific geographical or chronological
 the ninth and tenth centuries (when the area was
 contexts. Black, for example, was adopted by the Abbasids as under the
 domination of the Samanid dynasty) is inscribed
 their standard, and their rivals, the Fatimids, adopted white. with
 aphorisms in Arabic such as "Knowledge is bitter to the
 The auspicious or heavenly associations may have been out- taste at
 first, but sweeter than honey in the end" or "He who is
 weighed by practical considerations, since copper oxide, a content

with his own opinion runs into danger.” These ubiquitous coloring agent, produces a green color in a lead are written in brown or black against the cream glaze and a turquoise blue color in an alkaline one. extremely complex script in which the letters are stretched out or distorted and the strokes braided and inter-Writing. Of all the themes that run through Islamic art, the texts are very difficult to read, and somewhat like most important is writing. Islam, perhaps more than any cryptic puzzle; decipherment was part of the other religion, values writing, and inscriptions permeate they engendered.

Islamic art more than any other artistic tradition. The value of the word is due to the sanctity of the revelation, and from other cases the difficulty in deciphering the inscriptions earliest Islamic times virtually all types of Islamic art were of Islamic art may have been due to the artist’s decorated with writing, even when the medium makes it The person who drew up the inscription was not difficult to add an inscription. Sometimes writing supplements necessarily the same person who executed it on the work of ments an image, but often writing is the sole type of decoration. some artists may not have been literate, particularly

Islam and the Muslim World

81

Asabiyya

those of lower status who worked with cheaper materials in repetitive forms. A group of overglaze-painted earthenware

ASABIYYA

vessels made in the Abbasid lands in the ninth century is often The English equivalent of the term asabiyya is akin to “social decorated in the center with a few lines of text containing solidarity” or “tribal loyalty.” It is an abstract noun that blessings and the name of the potter. The texts are formulaic derives from the Arabic root asab, meaning “to bind.” It and often unreadable, with words cut off, and the inscriptions refers to a special characteristic or set of characteristics that show that the pieces were not a specific commission but made defines the rather vague essence of what constitutes a particular sale on the open market. Nevertheless, they are eloquent testimony for a world in which writing and written sentiments were appreciated at all levels of society. As a sociological principle, it would be especially significant within the political thought of Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406). Asabiyya, according to him, is the social bond See also Architecture; Calligraphy; Mihrab.

particularly evident among tribal groups and is based

more on social, psychological, physical, and political factors

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those of genetics or consanguinity. It is not unique

Baer, Eva. *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art*. Albany: State among the

Arabs; rather, each group possesses its own dis-

University of New York Press, 1983. tinct

asabiyya. In this way, Ibn Khaldun identified a Jewish

Baer, Eva. *Islamic Ornament*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univer- asabiyya,

a Greek asabiyya, and so on. He also perceived an

sity Press, 1998. intimate

connection between asabiyya and religion. For a

Blair, Sheila S. *Islamic Inscriptions*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh religion

to be effective it must evoke a feeling of solidarity

University Press, 1998. among all the

members of the group. In this way one could

Blair, Sheila S., and Bloom, Jonathan M. *The Art and Architec- have*

diverse asabiyyat; for example, an asabiyya to one's tribe,

ture of Islam: 1250–1800. New Haven, Conn. and London: one's

guild, and ultimately to one's religion. Ibn Khaldun

Yale University Press, 1994. argues that

Islam brought a strong sense of asabiyya to the

Bloom, Jonathan M., and Blair, Sheila S. *Islamic Arts*. Lon- Arabs and

was responsible for the benefits that Islamic civilidon: Phaidon, 1997.

zation produced.

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ASH ARITES, ASH AIRA

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Ash arites, who were also known as al-Ash ariyya, were

Princeton University Press, 1992. the largest
 Sunni theological school, and were named after
 Hattstein, Markus, and Delius, Peter, eds. Islam: Art and the
 school's founder, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari, who lived in
 Architecture. Cologne: Könemann, 2000. the late
 ninth and early tenth centuries (873–935). Little is
 Hillenbrand, Robert. Islamic Art and Architecture. London: known of
 al-Ash'ari's personal and scholarly life. The most
 Thames and Hudson, 1999. often
 repeated information in the sources is that at the age
 Irwin, Robert. Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the forty,
 after a series of visions, he changed his position in
 Literary World. New York: Abrams, 1997. Islamic
 theology. He left his Mu'tazilite teacher Abu 'Ali al-
 Pope, Arthur Upham, and Ackerman, Phyllis, eds. A Survey of Jubba i
 over a theological dispute on divine grace and human
 Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. London
 responsibility (exemplified by the famous example of three
 and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938–1939. brothers
 with different eschatological fates), and accepted the
 Raby, Julian, ed. Catalogue of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of authority
 of Ahmad b. Hanbal. Al-Ash'ari thus adhered to the
 Islamic Art. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1992. principles
 of the traditionalist Sunni majority (Ahl al-sunna
 wal-jama'a), although despite their opposition he defended
 the necessity of using rational argumentation, which was
 Sheila S. Blair widely practiced by Mu'tazilites, in justifying these
 princi-
 Jonathan M. Bloom ples. Following his conversion he even wrote a short
 treatise

82

Islam and the Muslim World

Ash'arites, Ash'ari

in favor of the argumentative method in Islamic theology. In of the
 fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though officially
 combining Sunni doctrines with Mu'tazilite methodology he Maturidite,
 also contributed to this philosophical production
 was regarded as the founder of the first and later dominant by their
 commentaries and marginal notes on the works of the
 theological school among Sunnis. There were some other above-named
 Central Asian Ash'arites.
 independent scholars who tried partly to apply rational methodology to Sunni
 doctrines before Al-Ash'ari, such as Ibn The Ash'arite school
 continued to exist in the seventeenth
 Kullab, Harith al-Muhasibi, and Abul- Abbas al-Qalanisi, but century in
 the works of the Egyptian al-Lakani and the Indian

they were not recognized as the masters of a school by later al-Siyalkuti. After a continuous modernization process in the Sunni theologians. With the exception of the followers of the Muslim world that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Hanafite theologian Abu Mansur al-Maturidi in Central Asia, Maturidite almost all Sunni theologians were regarded as Ash'arite, traditions, such as Muhammad Abduh of Egypt, although they departed from al-Ash'ari in some points. Shibli Nu'mani of India, and Izmirli Ismail Hakki of Ottoman Turkey, attempted a methodological renovation within Al-Ash'ari's immediate students, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Bahili, Islamic theological thought. During this period of modernity, Ibn Mujahid al-Ta'i, and others, were not influential in the sectarian concerns and identities weakened among the history of Ash'arism. However the following generation, Muslim intellectuals, since they took an eclectic and broader approach in among them Abu Bakr al-Baqillani (d. 1013), Ibn Furak (d. 1015), Abu Ishaq al-Isfahani (d. 1027), and Abd al-Qahir al-Muhallabi (d. 1028), contemporary Muslim modernists followed their predecessors in Baghdad (d. 1037), played a major role in the formation of sors in detaching themselves from a strict identification with a particular school. Al-Baqillani, for instance, was regarded as the particular school of thought. However, Ash'arism still considered founder, due to his contributions in rationalizing the continues to maintain its existence in Sunni societies today.

Ash'arite school through his doctrines of atomism, nonexistence, and so on. Ash'arite thinkers, following al-Mu'tazila, dealt with the main theological issues of Islamic faith, including arguments for the existence of God, divine unity, revelation, prophecy, and eschatology. Although Ash'arite scholars suffered for a while from the persecution of Buwayhid sultans and the Seljuk Wazir al-Muwiz, other religious and philosophical schools in a rational dialectical method. But they also discussed the controversial theological issues first raised by the Mu'tazilites, such as the existence of God (sifat Allah), the nature of divine attributes of God (sifat Allah), the nature of divine speech (kalam Allah), the possibility of seeing God in the future life (ru'yat Allah), the question of divine omnipotence then spread to other parts of the Islamic world as far away as

and human free will (irada), and the fate of a believing sinner North Africa and Muslim Spain. At this time leading Ash'arite (murtakib al-kabira). In Ash'arite theology God has eternal thinkers were Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni (d. 1085) and attributes such as knowledge, speech, and sight, which are, in his student Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), both of whom their system, essential for His knowing, speaking, or seeing. taught at the Nizamiyya School. Al-Juwayni and al-Ghazali Since it belongs to his eternal attribute of speech, the Qur'an imported some philosophical terms and topics into Ash'arite as God's word was uncreated. Unlike the traditionalist Sunni kalam and legitimized the use of formal Aristotelian logic in school and al-Ash'ari himself, later Ash'arites did not oppose both Islamic theological and legal theories.

the metaphorical interpretation of corporeal terms attributed In the twelfth century, a philosophical trend dominated to God in the Qur'an. As for the question of free will and among the so-called modern or later theologians (al-predestination, Ash'arites took a middle position between the Mu'tazilites and Jabrites in emphasizing God's creation of muta'akkhirun). This trend gained in strength with the human acts, which each person freely chooses.

works of later independent-minded thinkers of the school, such as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209), Sayf al-Din al-Amidi There are some differences between the Ash'arites and Maturidites, (d. 1233), and Qadi al-Baydawi (d. 1286). Ash'arite thought are usually came under the influence of Avicennan Neoplatonist cosmology and mostly absorbed the Islamic philosophical tradition Ash'arites, for instance, rejected takwin (which means "to bring into existence") as a divine attribute, the eternalness of God's well-known philosopher Averroes. Thinkers of genius from God's actions, unlike his attributes, and the necessity of believing in Central Asia, especially Adud al-Din al-Iji (d. 1355) and his arguments in the existence and unity of God through rational students Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani (d. 1389) and Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1413), contributed to the interpretation and among the Maturidite theses.

expansion of Ash'arite thought by producing large commentaries throughout the fourteenth century. Ottoman thinkers See also Kalam; Mu'tazilites, Mu'tazila.

Askiya Muhammad

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expansion of

the Songhai Empire occurred after his reign. He

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Nakamura, Kojiro. "Was Ghazali an Ash'arite." In *Memoirs of Asnam is the Arabic word for "idols"* (sing., sanam). The

the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko. Tokyo: The origin of the term is found in the Semitic root S.L.M. (by a

Oriental Library, 1993. shift of l into

n), which denotes "image." Hence, the Arabic

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Oxford, U.K.: Oneworld Press, 1998.

The term asnam occurs in the Qur'an, and in all instances

Watt, W. Montgomery. "al-Ash'ariyya." In Vol. 1, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, but one it refers to the idols worshiped by Abraham's pagan

adversaries (6:74; 21:57; 26:71). Twice the idols worshiped by

the latter are called awthan (sing., wathan; see 29:17, 25).

M. Sait Özervarli

Abraham's contemporaries worship the asnam/awthan "apart from" (min duni) God, which means that belief in these idols

represents what the Qur'an labels elsewhere as shirk ("association"),
 that is, worshiping deities that are considered God's
 associates. Three of God's "associates" are mentioned by
 (R. 1493–1529) name in
 another Qur'anic passage (53:19–23): Allat, Manat,
 and al-Uzza. The Qur'an sets out to deny that they were
 The ruler of the Songhai Empire between 1493 and 1529,
 God's daughters, a typical element of shirk, and denounces
 Muhammad b. Abi Bakr Ture is also known as Askiya al-Hajj
 them as sheer names. In yet another Qur'anic passage (71:23),
 Muhammad, or Askiya Muhammad. His origins are debated.
 five "gods" (aliha) worshiped by Noah's contemporaries are
 According to the two Tawarikh, or "histories" (Tarikh al-mentioned by name.
 Sudan and Tarikh al-Fattash), he belonged either to the Ture
 or the Sylla clan of the Soninke. Because they were associated In
 extra-Qur'anic sources, the dichotomy between the
 with trade, the Soninke were one of the earliest groups to worship of the
 asnam and the monotheistic legacy of Ibrahim,
 convert to Islam south of the Sahara. Askiya al-Hajj Muham- the founder of
 the Ka'ba in Mecca, is retained. The traditions
 mad overthrew the dynasty of the Sunni in 1493, and estab- say that when
 Mecca became too small for the descendants of
 lished the dynasty known as the Askiya who ruled the Songhai Abraham and
 Ishmael, they looked for dwellings outside
 Empire from 1493 until the Moroccan invasion of the Songhai Mecca, taking
 with them stones from the homeland, which
 in 1591. Unlike his predecessor, Sunni Ali, Askiya Muham- they cherished
 and turned into idols. Nevertheless, according
 mad was said to be a pious Muslim, and very supportive of to these
 sources even far away from Mecca they preserved
 Muslim scholars in Timbuctu, and other parts of Songhai. In many of
 Abraham's values, such as the rites of the pilgrimage
 1496, Askiya Muhammad set off for the pilgrimage to Mecca. to Mecca, but
 they contaminated them with various elements
 On his way to Mecca, he visited Egypt, and was appointed by of shirk. The
 shrines of some of these idols are said to have
 the Abbassid caliph al-Mutwakkil as his deputy to rule Songhai been built on
 the model of the Ka'ba, and sometimes were
 in his name. Askiya al-Hajj Muhammad consulted two major even called
 "Ka'ba."
 Muslim scholars on how to rule Songhai according to the
 shari'a. One of them was Abd al-Karim al-Maghili (d. 1503 Conversely,
 idolatry is said to have been imported into
 or 1504), and the other was Jalal al-din al-Suyuti (d. 1505). Arabia from
 outside by one Amr b. Luhayy of the tribe of
 Askiya Muhammad extended the Songhai Empire to include Khuza'a, who

ruled in Mecca before the advent of Quraysh.

tributary lands to the east, west, and north. No further He is said to have imported idols mainly from Syria. Among

84

Islam and the Muslim World Assassins

them the five idols of Noah's time are mentioned. The Frankish ruling circles in the Near East. The Syrian Nizaris establishment of the worship of Hubal at the Ka ba is also permanently lost their political prominence when they were attributed to this Amr. Names of numerous additional asnam subdued by the Mamluks in the early 1270s.

are mentioned in the sources with details about the tribes who worshiped them. The

Nizaris and the Crusaders had numerous military encounters in Syria from the opening decade of the twelfth century. Of the three "daughters" of God, Manat is said to have

But it was in Sinan's time (1163–1193) that the been the first to be introduced in Arabia, then Allat, then al- Crusaders and their occidental observers became particularly

Uzza. Manat's shrine was in Qudayd (near Mecca, on the impressed by the highly exaggerated reports and widespread Red Sea shore), Allat's in al-Ta if, and al- Uzza's in Nakhla. rumours about the Nizari assassinations and the daring behavior of Pilgrims brought votive gifts to the shrines and sacrificial their fida is, or devotees, who carried out suicide slaughter took place on special stones (nusub) there. missions against their community's enemies in public places.

The Nizari Isma ilis became infamous in Europe as "the Apart from the collective idols, some traditions speak Assassins." This term, which appears in medieval European about domestic asnam whose carved wooden images were literature in a variety of forms (Assassini, Assissini, and held in each family household (dar) in Mecca. There are also Heyssisini), was evidently based on variants of the Arabic reports about similar tribal and domestic idols in pre-Islamic word hashishi (plural, hashishiyya or hashishin), which was Medina. The shrines of the main idols as well as the domestic applied pejoratively to the Nizaris of Syria and Iran by other images were reportedly destroyed in Muhammad's days, Muslims. The term was used in the sense of "low-class following the spread of Islam in Arabia.

rabble" or "people of lax morality" without claiming any Modern scholars have doubted the historicity of the no- special connection between the Nizaris and hashish, a prodction of Arabian idolatry being a deformed version of an initial uct of hemp. This term of abuse was

picked up locally in Syria

Ibrahmic monotheism centered on the Ka ba, and have by the Crusaders as well as by other European travelers and rejected it as reflecting Qur'anic and Islamic concepts promissaries and was adopted to designate the Nizari Isma'ilis. jected back into remote pre-Islamic phases of history. On the other hand, other Islamicists noted the possibility that Ibrahim's Medieval Europeans, and especially the Crusaders, who image as a monotheistic prototype could have been known remained generally ignorant of Islam and its divisions, were already in pre-Islamic Arabia. also responsible for fabricating and disseminating, in the Latin Orient as well as in Europe, a number of interconnected legends about the secret practices of the Nizaris, including the "hashish legend." It held that as part of their

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training this intoxicating drug was systematically administered to Hawting, G. R. *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: the fida is by their beguiling chief, the "Old Man of From Polemic to History.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge the Mountain." The so-called Assassin legends revolved University Press, 1999. around the recruitment and training of the Nizari fida is, Lecker, Michael. "Idol Worship in Pre-Islamic Medina who had attracted the Europeans' attention. These legends (Yathrib)." *Le Muséon* 106 (1993): 331–346. developed in stages and culminated in a synthesized version Rubin, Uri. "The Ka ba—Aspects of Its Ritual Functions." popularized by Marco Polo, who applied the legends to the Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 8: 97–131. Iranian Nizaris and created the "secret garden of paradise," where the fida is supposedly received part of their indoctrination. Henceforth, the Nizari Isma'ilis were portrayed in European sources as a sinister order of drugged assassins bent on senseless murder and mischief.

ASSASSINS

Subsequently, Westerners retained the name Assassin in general reference to the Nizari Isma'ilis, even though the Assassins was a name originally applied by the Crusaders and term had now become in European languages a new common other medieval Europeans, starting in the twelfth century, to noun meaning a professional murderer, although its etymology the Nizari Isma'ilis of Syria. Under the initial leadership of ogy had been forgotten. Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) finally Hasan Sabbah (d. 1124), the Nizaris founded a state centered succeeded

in solving the mystery of the name Assassin and its etymology, at the stronghold of Alamut, in northern Iran, with a subsidiary to the but he and other orientalist subscribed variously to the ary in Syria. The Nizari state in Iran was destroyed by the Assassins. Modern scholarship in Isma'ili studies, based Mongols in 1256. In Syria the Nizaris reached the peak of their power and glory under Rashid al-Din Sinan (d. 1193), the Assassins revealing their fanciful nature and also the original "Old Man of the Mountain" of the Crusaders, showing that the name Assassin is a misnomer rooted in a who had extended dealings with the Crusaders and their doubly pejorative appellation without basis in any communal

Islam and the Muslim World

85

Astrology

or organized use of hashish by the Nizari Isma'ilis or their the launching of military campaigns. Another popular form of fida is, Shi'ite Muslims who were deeply devoted to their astrological prediction was mawlid (nativities), which involves community. charting the horoscopes of the beginnings of both personal and collective occurrences, including the birth of See also Crusades; Shi'a: Isma'ili. individuals, as well as the birth of prophets, historical leaders, religions, and nations. The classic work of Arabic astrology is BIBLIOGRAPHY Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi's (d. 886) *Kitab al-madkhal al-kabir* Daftary, Farhad. *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma'ilis*. (The great introduction). London: I. B. Tauris and Co., 1994. Yet, although astrology continued to have appeal within Lewis, Bernard. *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam*. London: the elite political culture and in popular practice, the larger, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967. socially based religious culture vehemently opposed it. Moreover, while many astronomers served as court astrologers, Farhad Daftary many more condemned astrology and distanced themselves from it. Most of these astronomers did not treat astrology as a valid scientific discipline, and went out of their way to distance their exact science from it. Despite its continued ASTROLOGY practice, a clear line was drawn between astrology and astronomy. Thus, of the hundreds of Arabic works dealing with the sciences Despite consistent critiques of astrology by Muslim scientists of the stars, the vast majority are on astronomy,

and religious scholars, astrological prognostications required while only a small portion of this legacy relates to astrological subjects. a fair amount of exact scientific knowledge, and thus gave partial incentive for the study and development of astronomy. See also Astronomy; Science, Islam and.

In the early Arabic sources, the term ilm al-nujum was used to refer to both astronomy and astrology. Soon after, however,

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astronomy was unambiguously differentiated from astrology, and a clear terminological and conceptual distinction was Kennedy, E. S., and Pingree, David. The Astrological History of Masha Allah. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

science of the celestial orb) and ilm al-hay a (the science of the configuration of heavens) were used to refer to the exact Pingree, David. The Thousands of Abu Ma shar. London: The Warburg Institute, 1968.

science of astronomy, while ilm ahkam al-nujum (judicial astrology), or simply ilm al-nujum (the science of the stars), Saliba, George. "Astronomy, Astrology, Islamic." In Vol. 1, referred exclusively to astrology. Both fields were rooted in Dictionary of the Middle Ages. Edited by J. R. Strayer. New York: Scribners, 1978.

the Greek, Persian, and Indian traditions, and were cultivated for many centuries in Muslim societies. In all of these earlier Ahmad S. Dallal

traditions, interest in the science of astronomy has been closely connected to astrology.

The connection between astronomy and astrology in the ASTRONOMY inherited scientific legacies was founded on the idea of a Before correlation between stellar configurations and events in the Islam, Arab knowledge of the stars was limited to the division sub-lunar world. Thus, for example, the same cosmology of the year into precise periods on the basis of star underlying Ptolemy's Almagest—the most influential Greek risings and settings. This area of astronomical knowledge was known as astronomical work—provided the theoretical foundations of anwa , and it was largely overshadowed by the the Tetrabiblos, an influential astrological work by the same traditions of Arabic mathematical astronomy that emerged in author. In Muslim societies, astrology continued to be prac- the Islamic period. From its beginnings in the ninth and ticed and to draw on and encourage astronomical knowledge, through the sixteenth centuries, astronomical activity in the Muslim and a good portion of the funding for astronomical research

world was widespread and intensive. The first astrologer was motivated by the desire to make astrological predictions. Astronomical texts that were translated into Arabic in the eighth

A number of observatories were funded and founded for the eighth century were of Indian and Persian origin. The earliest extant professed objective of conducting observations that could be used in astronomical texts date to the second half of the eighth century. Astrology was also commonly practiced in courts. In particular, one such form of traditions. However, the greatest formative influence on court astrology was iktiyarat—a branch of astrology that Arabic astronomy is undoubtedly Greek, on account of the aimed at determining the optimal astrological conditions for use in Greek astronomy of effective geometrical representation initiating large undertakings, such as the building of cities or fortifications. The Almagest of Ptolemy (second century C.E.), in

86

Islam and the Muslim World

Astronomy

particular, exerted a disproportionate influence on all of medieval astronomy through the whole of the Arabic period and until the eventual demise of the geocentric astronomical system. However, at the same time the first Arabic translation of this text were prepared, original work of Arabic astronomy was also produced. Thus, original astronomical research went hand in hand with translation and, from its very beginnings in the ninth century, Arabic astronomy attempted to revise, refine, and complement Ptolemaic astronomy, rather than simply reproduce it.

In its earlier stages, Arabic astronomy reworked and critically examined the observations and the computational methods of Greek astronomy and, in a limited way, was able to explore problems outside its set frame. Arabic astronomy witnessed further developments in the tenth and eleventh centuries as a result of systematic astronomical research as well as developments in other branches of the mathematical sciences. In this period, steps were also taken toward the establishment of large-scale observatories. Subsequently, several programs of astronomical observations involved the establishment of observatories in institutional setups where collective programs of astronomical research were executed. Advances in trigonometry resulting from the full integration of the Indian achievements in the field, as well as from new discoveries in the tenth and eleventh centuries, played a significant role. The Great

Bear, from a seventeenth-century Persian manuscript of the constellations, after the tenth-century Book of Stars by al-Battani, played a central role in the further development of Arabic astronomy.

Husayn al-Biruni. ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CAIRO/DAGLI ORTI
 As a great synthesis of the Greek, Indian, and Arabic astronomical traditions, the al-Qanun al-Masudi of the illustrious astronomer al-Biruni (973–c. 1048) represents the culmination of this first stage in the development of Arabic astronomy. The determination of the direction of one locality with respect to another, a problem that requires determining the longitudes and latitudes of these localities.

Following its systematic mathematization, the rethinking of these localities as well as other aspects of mathematical geography.

The “Islamic” problems, on the other hand, were problems opened after the eleventh century, leading to a thorough evaluation of problems related to Islamic worship such as determining the times of prayer, the time of sunrise and sunset in relation to the main objectives of this reform tradition was to come up with fastings, the direction of the qibla (the direction of the Kaaba in Mecca, which with models in which the motions of the planets could be generated as a result of combinations of uniform circular visibility in connection with the determination of the beginning of motions, while at the same time conforming to the accurate determination of the lunar month, and calendar computations. The

Ptolemaic observations. The Ptolemaic models were considered methods employed to solve these problems varied from simple

considered defective because they posited physically impossible simple approximative techniques to complex mathematical models in which spheres rotate uniformly around axes that do not pass through their centers. The reform tradition continued well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the list of Problems like the

determination of the direction of the qibla and of astronomers working within it comprises some of the

the times of prayer also gave a great impetus to the science and the greatest and most original Muslim scientists. The work of instrument building. Astrolabes, quadrants, compass

produced within this tradition had a formative influence on the work of Copernicus.

boxes, and cartographic grids of varying degrees of sophistication were designed and introduced to solve some of these problems. Many of these same instruments were also

In addition to theoretical astronomy, practical astronomy was used for other astronomical observations and computations;

cal problems occupied a great many astronomers who were the most important of these is the astrolabe, which was a

responsible for significant advances in the field. Some of versatile
 medieval observational instrument and calculator.
 these problems had a specific Islamic character, whereas Extensive
 tables were also compiled in connection with time
 others had to do with the general practical needs of society. keeping,
 finding the direction of the qibla, and other astro-
 The general kind includes such problems as finding the nomical
 functions.

Islam and the Muslim World

87

Atabat

See also Astrology; Biruni, al-; Hijri Calendar; Science, persecution
 for those Iranian Shi'ite scholars of the Qajar and
 Islam and; Translation. the early
 Pahlavi periods who have spoken out against the
 ruling establishment at home. Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader
 BIBLIOGRAPHY of the 1979

Islamic revolution in Iran, was exiled to the atabat
 (Najaf) by Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1963. In turn,
 King, David. *Astronomy in the Service of Islam*. Aldershot,
 after the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, those
 Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum, 1993.

clerics opposed to the religious and political stance of the
 Rashed, Roshdi, ed., in collaboration with Morelon, Régis.
 ruling hierarchy of the Islamic Republic have used the atabat
 Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science, Vol. 1:
 as relatively secure bases from which to continue their doctri-
 Astronomy—Theoretical and Applied. London and New York:
 Routledge, 1996. nal warfare

against the religious establishment in Iran. However, it must also be borne in
 mind that since the 1980s, the

Saliba, George. *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theo-*
 Shi'ite community and religious leaders resident in the atabat
 ries During the Golden Age of Islam. New York: New York
 were themselves targeted by the Ba'athist government of
 University Press, 1994.

former President Saddam Husayn in Iraq. Minority leaders,
 Samso, Julio. *Islamic Astronomy and Medieval Spain*. Aldershot, the ulema of
 the atabat, especially of Najaf and Karbala, have
 Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum Reprints, 1994.

been subjected to numerous incarcerations and assassinations, intensified in
 the wake of the first Gulf War (1991).

Ahmad S. Dallal

Another important feature in the social fabric of the
 atabat, directly related to their centrality in settling doctrinal
 orthodoxy and implementing political agendas, is the vast

ATABAT network of patronage and the nature of finances in the shrine cities. These networks are comprised mainly of donations and Atabat, or exalted thresholds, are the Shi'ite shrine cities religious dues provided by the Shi'ite communities worldlocated in modern Iraq. The atabat contain the tombs of six wide, with significant portions from the merchant classes of the Shi'ite imams as well as other pilgrimage sites. The northern India, to the maraji al-taqlid who reside there. atabat are located in Najaf, Karbala, Kazamayn, and Samarra. Najaf is the burial place of Ali b. Abi Talib, cousin and son- See also Holy Cities; Mashhad. in-law of the prophet Muhammad, and first in the line of Shi'ite imams, who died in 661 C.E. Karbala is where Husayn, BIBLIOGRAPHY Ali's son and the third imam, was martyred in a battle against Cole, Juan R. I. "Indian Money and the Shii Shrine Cities of the Umayyads (r. 661–750 C.E.) in 680 C.E. It is a cornerstone Iraq, 1186–1950." Middle Eastern Studies 22 (1986): 461–480. of Shi'ite belief that Husayn, courageous and principled, Litvak, Meir. Shi'i Scholars of Nineteenth-Century Iraq, The went to battle against all odds, and his demise prefigures and Ulama of Najaf and Karbala. Cambridge, U.K.: Camembodies the fate of all those who take an active stand against bridge University Press, 1986. oppression and injustice. The site of Husayn's martyrdom had emerged as a Muslim holy site by the middle of the Neguin Yavari seventh century. Kazamayn entered the sacred landscape of Shi'ism in the ninth century, as the burial site of the seventh and ninth imams, Musa al-Kazim (d. 802 C.E.) and Mohammad al-Taqi (d. 834 C.E.). Kazamayn is also the burial site of ATATURK, MUSTAFA KEMAL many a medieval Shi'ite luminary. Samarra, which lies at a distance from the rest of the atabat, contains the tombs of the (1881–1938) tenth and eleventh imams, Ali al-Naqi (d. 868 C.E.) and Hasan al-Askari (d. 873 C.E.). The twelfth imam entered occultation Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) was born in 1881 into a family of in Samarra in 941 C.E. modest means in Salonica, then an Ottoman port city in what is today a city in Greece. He died in Istanbul on 10 November The atabat are also significant as centers of Shi'ite learn- 1938. His father, Ali Riza Bey, was a progressive person and ing. Najaf has housed, since the time of the Shaykh al-Ta'ifa worked at the customs house. His mother, Zubeyde Hanim, Abu Ja'far Muhammad Tusi in the eleventh century, several was a devout Muslim who instilled Islamic values in young educational institutions whose scholarly and financial net- Mustafa.

Only seven years old at the death of his father, he works have played an important role in determining intellectual and political trends in modern Shi'ism. He was raised by his mother and completed his early education at local schools. In 1893 he began his studies at a military secondary school where his teacher gave him his second name, Kemal. Under Ottoman and later under Iraqi control, the atabat (perfection), owing to Mustafa's outstanding performance have served in recent history as havens against government in mathematics. Two years later he attended the

88

Islam and the Muslim World Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal

military academy in Manastir and later entered the War Academy. He graduated in 1905 with the rank of staff captain, and in 1906 was assigned to the Fifth Army in Damascus. In 1907 his duties took him to Macedonia where he established connections with the Young Turks. He participated in the defense of Tripolitania at Tobruk and Derna against the Italian invasion (1911–1912), was appointed as a military attaché to Sophia, and returned to Istanbul to distinguish himself at the Dardanelles in 1915. During World War I, he served on various fronts such as the Caucasus, Palestine, and Aleppo.

Rejecting the Mudros Armistice (30 October 1918), which the Allied powers had imposed on the Ottomans, Mustafa Kemal moved on to Anatolia in May 1919 to begin his nationalist struggle against the invasion and partition of the country. That same year, at the congresses of Erzurum (23 July) and Sivas (4 September), he defined the nationalist demands and goals for independence. It was during this period that he molded various regional paramilitary defense associations into a nationalist army. On 23 April 1920, he established the Great National Assembly in Ankara, claiming exclusive legitimacy in representing the Turkish interests. He was unanimously elected the first president of the assembly. During the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal served as the commander in chief of the armed forces.

Mustafa Kemal, known as Ataturk (1880–1930), was elected as Turkey's first president. He transformed Turkey from a traditional society into a modern one by secularizing previously Islamic institutions and laws. The Armistice of Mudanya (11 October 1922) sealed the victory of the Turkish forces. Within days, the assembly abolished the sultanate (1 November 1922), though leaving

the caliphate in the Ottoman House. The Lausanne Conference (November 1922–July 1923) recognized Turkey's full independence and defined its borders. On 23 October 1923, indeed, Mustafa Kemal's own surname of Atatürk the Second Grand National Assembly, controlled by Halk Fırkası (People's Party, later Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi—In the same year, women were given the right to Republican People's Party) proclaimed the republic and foreign policy, Turkey followed Mustafa Kemal's elected Mustafa Kemal its first president. Thus a six hundred-year-old political tradition was brushed aside, and sovereignty placed directly in the hands of the people. Mustafa Kemal's reforms were revolutionary. The policies of his Republican People's Party were expressed in six

The early years of the republic witnessed fundamental principles: republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, political and social changes. Determined to modernize and secularism, and revolutionism. Within these principles Turkey secularized his country, and intent upon breaking away from key was transformed from a traditional society into a modern nation

the past, the assembly, under Mustafa Kemal's guidance, state. Secularism received particular attention. The Kemalist regime relentlessly pursued secularist policies and dismantled

In 1924, the same year that the caliphate was abolished, the the Islamic institutions. In view of the founder of the new Turkish Republic, centuries-old Islamic institutions the new

by the Ministry of Justice. In 1925, the Gregorian Calendar and laws could not sufficiently serve the needs of a modern society.

replaced the Islamic one, and the fez, which had come to society. Mustafa Kemal believed that Islam would be best served if it

symbolize Islamic headgear, was banned. The wearing of the veil by women was strongly discouraged. The dervish (Sufi) brought into the affairs of the state. In his address to the nation on the

orders were dissolved. The adoption of Swiss Civil Code in tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic in 1933, he

1926 completely negated the Islamic laws of marriage, divorce, and inheritance that had been in practice for centuries. "judge time not according to the lax mentality of past centuries, but in

The replacement of the Arabic script with the Latin script in

terms of the concepts of speed and movement of
1928 closed the door to the Ottoman past, and compelled the our
century.”

Islam and the Muslim World

89

Awami League

See also Nationalism: Turkish; Revolution: Modern; The
desperate economic situation plaguing East Pakistan
Secularism, Islamic; Young Turks. fostered the
belief among its inhabitants that their province
was being treated as a colony instead of as an equal partner in
BIBLIOGRAPHY the
burgeoning nation. Although East Pakistan experienced
significant economic growth, the province reaped little of the
Mango, Andrew. Ataturk. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook, 2000.
pecuniary benefits with most of the national expenditures
Walker, Barbara, et al. To Set Them Free: The Early Years of directed
toward West Pakistan. Furthermore, few Bengalis
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Grantham, N.H.: Tompson and held important
positions in the administration with even
Rutter, 1981.
fewer represented in the military. These escalating tensions
precipitated the unprecedented move of a splinter group,
A. Uner Turgay consisting of East Pakistani politicians, to create a new
political party to achieve the common goals of the Bengali
population.

AWAMI LEAGUE

In 1949

Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Ataur Rahman,
Maulana Bashani, Shamsul Huq, and Shaykh Mujibur Rahman
The Awami (People's) League was founded by Husain Shaheed co-founded
the Awami Muslim league. It was the first party
Suhrawardy in June 1949 in the East Bengal (renamed East truly to
provide alternate representation for the people of
Pakistan in 1955) province of Pakistan. H. S. Suhrawardy East
Pakistan. In the late 1950s it changed its name to the
gathered senior members of the Muslim League whose power Awami
League, welcoming non-Muslims into its fold, thus
had diminished in their own party and young, ambitious marking a
significant shift toward secularism. By 1956 the
politicians who were opposed to communalism in Pakistan. Awami League
was the most popular party in East Pakistan
Both groups, however, were united in the belief that the and became
the Muslim League's main contender for power.
Muslim League, which spearheaded Pakistan's independence
From 1958 to 1971 Pakistan was reduced to an adminismovement, no longer

represented the needs of the majority
trative state with four years of martial law and a diminished
of the populace.

role for its fledgling political parties. In February of 1966
Shaykh Mujibur Rahman, the dominant figure in the Awami
In 1949, though barely two years old, Pakistan was already
League, presented the “Six Point Demand” to the other
plagued by economic, political, and social disparities between
political parties desiring to work collectively to oust the West
its two major regional wings. This strife was further com-
Pakistani government of Muhammad Ayub Khan. The deplicated by the geographical
complexity consisting of the
mands called for separate but equal federation of powers
four provinces in the west (Northwest Frontier Province,
between East and West Pakistan, governed by a parliament
Baluchistan, Punjab, and Sindh) with East Bengal in the east,
elected on the basis of one person/one vote throughout both
which was separated by approximately one thousand miles of
parts of Pakistan. Gaining the support of the Awami League
India. Some of the first signs of hostilities between East and
was equivalent to gaining the support of East Pakistan, but
West Pakistan arose as early as 1948 when Muhammad Ali
Mujib was only willing to put the Awami League’s support
Jinnah, the central architect of the creation of Pakistan,
behind the coalition if the coalition from West Pakistan was
visited the eastern province and proceeded to criticize Bengalis
willing to support his “Six Point Demand” (see Mujibur,
for not learning Urdu, the lingua franca of West Pakistan.
Appendix 2, pp. 127–128).

Tensions in the regions continued to escalate and in 1952
student efforts to make Bengali a recognized national lan- For the
Bengalis the “Six Point Demand” clearly and
guage led to violent clashes with the police resulting in the concisely
reflected goals that would balance powers between
deaths of four Dhaka University students. This tragic event the two
regions and place Bengalis on an equal footing with
further intensified the cultural divide that haunted this their
brethren in the western province. Consequently, this
young nation. “Six Point
Demand” consolidated Bengali support for the
Awami League. However, it was simultaneously viewed by
The people of West Pakistan generally associated the those in West
Pakistan as a document that would work
Bengali language with a Hindu India and, therefore, believed against the
tenets laid out in the creation of a united Pakistan.
that Bengalis should be obligated to learn Urdu, a language
clearly associated with Islam. Furthermore, West Pakistani In

Pakistan's first general election in December 1970 the officials deemed Bengali to be closely aligned with pro-Indian sentiment, which was highly unpopular in West Pakistan. This fear and suspicion of Bengali Muslims contributed to other parties boycotting the elections. In West Pakistan's refusal to cede many of the demands of Zulfikar Ali Khan Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party won Bengali Muslims. They therefore resisted efforts to recognize Bengali as a national language until 1954. League victory, the National Assembly should have been able

90

Islam and the Muslim World

Awami League

forward economically or democratically. Less than a year after independence, Shaykh Mujib was accused of being ineffectual—a criticism which further contributed to his decision to limit the Bangladeshi multiparty system. Further leading to Mujib's downfall was the famine of 1974. In January 1975 the constitution was amended to make Mujib president for five years, giving him full executive authority. A few months later he created the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL, Bangladesh Farmers, Workers, and People's League) while simultaneously outlawing all other political parties. He then created a paramilitary force called the Rakhi Bahini, which was known for its intimidation tactics.

Under Mujib's rule, the Awami League faltered in meeting its goals and consequently lost its popularity with the people. However, after Mujib's death, Bangladesh experienced a number of military coups and counter-coups, resulting in a resurgence of the Awami League's popularity in the 1980s. Consequently, in June 1996 the League won an overall majority in the Parliament with Shaykh Hasina Wajid, daughter of Shaykh Mujib, sworn in as prime minister. During her tenure in office, Wajid had sought to prosecute her father's killers and attempted to put forward a pro-democracy platform and pro-socialist economy that encouraged a private sector. Consequently, the League's rivals often accused it of being too pro-India and secular.

In 1977 Ziaur Rahman, one of Bangladesh's most-decorated major generals during the war for independence, became Chief Martial Law Administrator and president of Bangladesh

from 1977 until his assassination in May 1981. He was also In Dhaka, Bangladesh, activists for the Awami League, one of the country's two dominant political parties, shout anti-government the founder of the Bangladesh National Party (BNP). In his slogans, protesting the removal of portraits of Shaykh Mujibar first year in office Ziaur Rahman amended the constitution, Rahman, Bangladesh's independence hero and a founder of the created by the Awami League government in 1972, to make Awami League. In addition to the Awami's rival party, the BNP, Islam, and not secularism, one of its guiding principles, a there are more than twenty smaller political parties in Bangladesh.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

ushered in an era of warmer relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan. Today, there are currently more than twenty political parties in Bangladesh with varying to push through the "Six Point Demand" swiftly. Instead, platforms emphasizing communism, secularism, and Islamic General Yahya Khan (who served as martial law administra- interests. However, the Awami League, and its main rival, the tor from 25 March 1969 until 20 December 1971) postponed BNP, continue to dominate national politics. The BNP, led the convening of the National Assembly. This led to an by Khaleda Zia, widow of Ziaur Rahman, runs on a platform outbreak of violence, the arrest of Shaykh Mujib on charges that favors democracy and is more oriented toward Islam. As of treason, and the eventual war for independence resulting in this young nation strives to develop its political system, the Bangladesh's declaration of independence on 16 Decem- question of whether the state should be secular or Islamic ber 1971. continues to dictate political discourse.

Shaykh Mujib, also known as Bangabandhu ("Friend of See also Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; South Asia, Bengal"), ruled Bangladesh as its first prime minister until his Islam in.

assassination on 15 August 1975. He is remembered as a great charismatic leader successful in creating the ideological base

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Ayatollah

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in Iran) have lost their status after serious disputes
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mosque and a university founded in Cairo by the
Ziring, Lawrence. Bangladesh: From Mujib to Ershad. An Fatimid
Isma ili imam and caliph al-Mu izz li-Din Allah (d.
Interpretive Study. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. 975). Today it
is the most important religious university in
the Muslim world, and it is one of the oldest universities ever
Sufia Uddin founded for both religious and secular studies. After the
conquest of Egypt (969), Jawhar al-Siqilli founded al-Qahira
(Cairo), where he built the mosque that was first known as
jami al-Qahira (the mosque of Cairo). The mosque was
AYATOLLAH (AR. AYATULLAH) completed
in nearly two years and first opened its doors in
972. It had one minaret and occupied half the area of the
The term ayatollah (Ar. ayatullah), literally "Sign of God," present
day al-Azhar mosque. Since then, it has become one
refers to high-ranking scholars within the Twelver Shi ite of the most
well known mosques in the Muslim world. Its
tradition. The term emerged in the early modern period (late name is an

allusion to Zahra (The Radiant), a title given to Fatima, the daughter of prophet Muhammad. Al-Azhar became a community. In modern works, many early Shi'ite scholars began to acquire its academic and scholastic nature in 975, were anachronistically given the rank of ayatollah. Ayatollahs during the reign of al-Mu'izz when the Qadi Abu 'l-Hasan are nearly always experts in Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), and Ali ibn al-Nu'man al-Qayrawani sat in the court of al-Azhar are normally required to have written extensively in this area. and read the Kitab al-iqtisar (a work of Shi'ite jurisprudence, The requirements for qualification as an ayatollah are not or fiqh), written by his father, Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man. Alentirely clear in traditional descriptions of the Shi'ite hierarchy. Nu'man's family formed the intellectual elite of the Fatimidschy, though the rank of ijtihad and associated qualifications of and became the first teacher in al-Azhar. learning are often mentioned. Ijtihad is a condition, though not everyone who has attained it will be called "ayatollah." In 998, al-Azhar moved a step further toward becoming an Islamic university. The vagueness is due to absence of rigid ranks in the Shi'ite Islamic hierarchy. Before and since the Islamic Revolution in Iran proved a proposal by his trusted minister Ya'qub ibn Killis to (1979), the term "grand ayatollah" was used for the "sources establish an educational system. He assigned a number of of imitation." Since the revolution, there has been a tremendous increase in the use of the term for the Iranian clerical teachers were trained by Ibn Killis and his system became the core of the academic education at al-Azhar. Furthermore, these teachers followed an organized curriculum and they Ayatollahs are found at the apex of the scholarly structure, received regular payments from the Fatimid government. having studied in traditional seminaries (madrasas) and having teaching was not limited to the religious sciences, but The included discussions and free debates between scientists. which is Hojjat al-Islam). A scholar seems to be granted the Thus al-Azhar acquired the characteristics of an academic university. The diversified courses were a part of the teaching curriculum scholars. A person might be referred to as ayatollah by one curriculum (the jurisprudence of four different schools of law, writer and, when no one disputes the appellation, most Arabic language, and literature). When the Ayyubid dynasty

scholars subsequently refer to him as ayatollah. An ayatollah, (1169–1252) took power, they wanted to erase every trace of theoretically, holds this rank until he dies, though in recent the Fatimids. Al-Azhar's reputation did not cease growing times, ayatollahs (such as ayatollahs Shari atmadari and and the Shi'ite view was eclipsed by the Sunni interpretation

92

Islam and the Muslim World

Azhar, al-

of faith. Later, al-Azhar became the most important Sunni sciences, al-Azhar opened technical and practical faculties to al-Azhar center of knowledge. teach medicine, engineering, agriculture, and other subjects. This widening of teaching was intended to make al-Azhar Under the reign of the Mamluks, between 1250 and 1517, radiate not only in religious sciences but also in scientific many scientists sought refuge in al-Azhar, and were received disciplines. However, the addition of a modern, non-traditional with open arms. The arrival of these scientists undoubtedly curriculum was controversial among more conservative Muslims contributed to the enrichment of its teaching; al-Azhar had lim intellectuals.

its golden age during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Sciences such as medicine, mathematics, astronomy, geogra- See also Education; Madrasa; Zaytuna. phy, and history were studied there.

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In 1822 the educational system was regulated and the Lapidus, Ira M. Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages. highest diploma then delivered by al-Azhar was called al-Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

alamiyya, which was equivalent to a doctorate. In 1950, al-Tritton, A. S. Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages, London: Luzac, 1957.

Islamic law (al-shari'a), principles of the religion (usul al-din), and Arabic language. In 1961, besides its teaching of Islamic

Diana Steigerwald

Islam and the Muslim World

93

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BABIYYA

After

the formation of the first core of believers, who, along with the Bab, were referred to as the first Vahed

The Babi movement began during a period of heightened (Unity),

the group dispersed at his instruction to proclaim the chiliastic expectation for the return of the Twelfth Imam (or of the Bab, whose new theophany was to be initiated Hidden Imam), who Shi'ite Muslims believe will fill the pilgrimage to Mecca, reaching a crescendo with his world with justice. As such, the movement attracted not only in the holy cities of Iraq. The Bab instructed Molla students of religion, but members from all strata of society to disseminate his teachings in Iran and deliver the Qayyum al-asma to the shah and his chief minister. Another who probably sought change in the existing order. disciple was sent to Azerbaijan, while others were instructed The initial converts to the Babi movement were mid- to their homes to spread the new message. The low-level clerics from the Shaykhi school of Twelver Shi'ite of the Bab's first disciples departed for Iraq, including Islam. The school, founded upon the teachings of Shaykh Molla Ali Bastami, who was sent as a representative to the Ahmad al-Ahsa'i, was mainstream with regard to Shi'ite law, cities. There, he preached the new message in public. As Akhbari in its veneration for the utterances ascribed to the result, both the messenger and the author of the message twelve imams, and theosophical in its approach to metaphysical matters. Shaykh Ahmad's successor, Sayyid Kazem, developed the eschatological teachings of his predecessor and Shi'ite ulema in Iraq. Following this episode, the Bab decided not to meet with taught that the advent of the "promised one" was imminent, his followers in Karbala as he had planned so as not to further although he did not specify if this figure was to be an raise the ire of an already enraged clerical establishment. This intermediary of the hidden imam or the imam himself. led to the disaffection of some of his more militant followers, who were expecting the commencement of a holy war. It also On 22 May 1844, Ali Mohammad, a young merchant who emboldened the Bab's critics, particularly the rival claimants had briefly attended the classes of Sayyid Kazem in Karbala, for leadership of the Shaykhi community. told a fellow Shaykhi disciple, Mulla Hosayn Boshru'i, that he was the "gate" (bab) of the Hidden Imam and wrote an Persecution of the Babis in Iran began in 1845 and the Bab extemporaneous commentary on the Qur'anic Sura of Joseph, was confined to his home in June 1845. During this the Qayyum al-asma, to substantiate his claim. So impressed he was forced to publicly deny certain claims that had was Molla Hosayn and other students of Sayyid Kazem with

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attributed to him, which he was willing to comply with the eloquence and learning of Ali Mohammad and his ability since his actual claim was much more challenging, as witto produce verses (ayat) at great speed and with no apparent nessed in his later epistles and public statements, particularly forethought that they publicly endorsed his claims to be the from 1848 onward. By asserting that he was the recipient of gate of the Hidden Imam, while privately they believed that revelation and divine authority, whether explicitly or implicitly his station was much higher. The exact nature of the Bab's by emulating the style of the Qur an, the Bab challenged the claims remained a matter of controversy during the first four right of the ulema to collect alms on behalf of the Hidden years of his seven-year prophetic career. Although he initially Imam and interpret scripture in his absence. Further, his made no explicit claim to prophethood, he implicitly claimed claim to be the Qa im (the one who rises at the end of time), to receive revelation by emulating the style of the Qur an in made explicit at his public trial in Tabriz, indirectly threatthe Qayyum al-asma . ened the stability of the Qajar monarchy of Iran, which held

Bab, Sayyed Ali Muhammad

power as the Shadow of God on earth and depended upon the otherwise inimical heterodox and social classes in opposition quiescent Shi ite clergy for legitimacy. to the established order. Despite this shared desire for social change (which still remains to be proven), the Bab's charis- Despite the hostility of much of the high-ranking clergy, matic personality and forceful writing also played a central the Bab continued to win converts from among the ulema, role in attracting converts and admirers, even in the West. including two very prominent personalities: Sayyed Yahya Rather than being an unwitting product of messianic expecta- Darabi and Molla Mohammad Ali Hojjat al-Islam Zanjani. tion, content to remain within the bounds of traditional In 1846, he managed to leave Shiraz and make his way to the Shi ite notions of the function of the Hidden Imam as the home of the governor of Isfahan, Manuchehr Khan Mo tamad Mahdi and reformer of Islam, the Bab enunciated a supraal-Dawla, a Georgian Christian convert to Islam who sympa- Islamic message that included new laws and social teachings thized with the Bab's cause. There, he enjoyed increasing designed, by his own admission, to prepare the people for a popularity, which further roused the ulema, who incited the second theophany: the coming of "Him Whom God will shah against the Bab. Following the death of his patron, he

make manifest” (man yuzhiruhu llah).

was placed under arrest. From this point on, the charismatic persona of the Bab was removed from the public arena, as he

Although there were a number of claimants to this

was transferred from prison to prison until his final execution

theophany in the 1850s, most Babis followed the Bab’s

at the hands of government troops on 9 July 1850.

nominee, Baha allah’s half-brother Mirza Yahya (also known

Although the Bab continued to influence the movement as Subh

Azal). After Baha allah claimed this station in 1863,

from prison through the dissemination of thousands of pages however,

the majority of Babis recognized him as the fulfill of writing, leadership of

the community devolved upon his ment of the Bab’s prophecies

concerning the second theophany

chief lieutenants, notably Molla Hosayn, Molla Mohammad and

subsequently identified themselves as Baha is. The Bab’s

Ali Barforushi (also known as the Qoddus, “the Most Holy”),

followers, who continued to owe their allegiance to Subh

Qorrat al- Ayn, the well-known poetess (also known as Azal,

became known as Azalis and played an important role in

Tahereh, “the Pure One”), Darabi, Zanjani, and Mirza Hosayn

Iran’s constitutional revolution in 1906.

Ali Nuri (later known as Baha allah). The latter, together

with Qoddus and Tahereh, presided over a decisive meeting See also

Bab, Sayyed Ali Muhammad; Baha allah; Baha i

of Babis at Badasht, where a formal break with Islamic law was Faith.

initiated when Tahereh publicly removed her veil. She was

later put to death in 1852 upon the orders of the government,

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ratified by leading doctors of law. Qoddus would also die at

Amanat, Abbas. Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the

the instigation of some members of the ulema following his Babi

Movement in Iran, 1844–1850. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell

capture at the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsi, where he, Molla

University Press, 1989.

Hosayn, and an embattled group of Babis defended them-

MacEoin, Denis. Rituals in Babism and Baha ism. London:

selves against government troops in the province of Khurasan.

British Academic Press, 1994.

Molla Hosayn and most of the fort’s defenders lost their lives

there. Similarly, Darabi and Zanjani led large groups of Babis

in armed resistance to government troops at Nayriz and

William McCants

Zanjan, but ultimately met the same fate as their fellow

believers. In 1852, as a result of an assassination attempt on

the life of Naser al-Din Shah by some Babis, several hundred

to a few thousand of the Bab’s followers were brutally exe- BAB,

SAYYED ALI MUHAMMAD

cuted or imprisoned. Among them was Mirza Husayn Ali (1819–1850)

Nuri, the future Baha allah, who suffered a four-month captivity in a darkened pit (siyah chal), followed by exile to Iraq. Sayyed

Ali Muhammad, later known as “the Bab,” was born on 20 October 1819 in Shiraz, the provincial capital of Fars. A

Although the demographic makeup of the Babi movement descendent of the prophet Muhammad’s family, the Bab

cannot be determined with precision, it is safe to say that it traced his lineage from the tribe of Quraysh to his father,

was largely an urban movement with significant concentra-

Sayyed Muhammad Reza, a merchant in the bazaar of Shiraz.

tions of converts in rural areas. While it initially drew upon

In his early childhood, the Bab’s father died and he came

Shaykhi ulema, it later attracted followers from a range of

under the care of his maternal uncles. During his adolescence

social classes, particularly merchants and craftsmen. Finally,

and young adulthood, the Bab’s uncle Hajji Mirza Sayyed Ali

preaching and conversion were confined to predominantly

Shi ite areas in Iraq and Iran. was his

most stalwart supporter, overseeing his limited education, guiding his early business ventures as a merchant, and

As has been stressed by modern scholars, the Babi move- later

becoming one of the earliest adherents of his nephew’s

ment served as a vehicle of social protest, uniting a number of new creed.

96

Islam and the Muslim World

Baghdad

The Bab’s demure demeanor as a child matured into

quiet, religious contemplation, as noted by his contemporaries. His personal piety led him to undertake a pilgrimage to

the Shi ite holy shrines in Iraq between 1840 and 1841. While

there, the Bab, an adherent of the Shaykhi school of Twelver

Shi ite Islam, attended a few classes given by the Shaykhi

leader Sayyed Kazem Rashti. On 22 May 1844, three years

after his return to Shiraz, the Bab advanced his claim to divine

authority from God to one of Kazem’s students, Mulla

Hosayn, and soon after gained a large following among

seminarians who in turn made many converts among merchants and even upper-class landowners, including Mirza

Husayn Ali Nuri, who later founded the Baha i religion.

Although the Bab couched his claims in abstruse language early in his career, the implications were not lost upon the

Shi'ite ulema. In particular, they viewed his assertion to reveal verses in the same manner as Muhammad as a violation of a cardinal tenet of Shi'ite and Sunni Islam—that Muhammad was the last of God's messengers. He was tried by religious judges and condemned to death for heresy. As a result of clerical agitation, he was soon arrested and suffered imprisonment until his execution on 9 July 1850, at the age of thirty.

During his prophetic career, the Bab composed numerous religious texts of varying genres. Some of the more notable titles include the *Qayyum al-asma* (his earliest, post-declaration doctrinal work), the Persian and Arabic *Bayans* (two separate books detailing the laws of his new religion), and *Dala'il al-sab'a* (an apologetic work).

A bust of Muslim caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, in Baghdad, which he founded. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

See also Babiyya; Baha'ullah; Baha'i Faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

centuries. The city was founded by the second Abbasid Amanat, Abbas. *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the* caliph, Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, on the banks of the Tigris River Babi Movement in Iran, 1844–1850. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell where it most closely approaches the Euphrates. While offi- University Press, 1989. cially called Dar al-Salam, or the Abode of Peace, which MacEoin, Denis. *The Sources for Early Babi Doctrine and* recalls Qur'anic descriptions of Paradise (6:127; 10:25), the History. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992. name Baghdad itself is reminiscent of a pre-Islamic settlement in the vicinity. However, this metropolis is not to be William McCants confused erroneously with the ancient towns of Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon.

Following the turbulence and social upheavals of the BAGHDAD Abbasid assumption of power from the Umayyads, al-Mansur sought to move his capital to a more secure location in the “Have you seen in all the length and breadth of the earth East. The proclamation of Abu l- Abbas as the first Abbasid caliph in 749 C.E. had irrevocably shifted the locus of imperial A city such as Baghdad? Indeed it is paradise on earth.” power away from Damascus, the Umayyad capital, to a series of successive sites in Iraq. Al-Mansur himself was initially (al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, in Lassner, *Topography*, p. 47) based in al-Hashimiyyah, adjacent to Qasr Ibn Hubayra and close to Kufa. The Rawandiyya uprising of 758 C.E., however,

Thus begins a poem attributed variously to Umara b. Aqil exposed the location's vulnerability, and al-Mansur al-Khatafi and Mansur al-Namari in praise of Baghdad, the thorough investigation of sites from which he could illustrious capital of the Abbasid caliphate in Iraq for close to consolidate his rule.

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Islam and the Muslim World

97

Baghdad

In accordance with the information gathered from scouts, local inhabitants, and personal observation, the minor village city of Baghdad c. 800 of Baghdad was selected as an ideal location for the future Abbasid capital. The area had much to recommend itself in

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servants and slaves, and various government

offices shared access onto this inner circle. Four walkways textiles,
 clothes, booksellers, goldsmiths, cobblers, reedweavers,
 radiated outward from the central courtyard in the directions soapmakers,
 and moneychangers that served the populace and
 of northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, passing
 government officials. Baghdad exported textiles and items made
 through the inner circle of surrounding structures; then an
 of cotton and silk, glazed-ware, oils, swords, leather, and
 enclosure wall followed by an interval of space; then a resi-
 paper, to mention only a few, through both local and
 dential area followed by another interval; then a large wall of
 international trade. The muhtasib, a government-appointed regulator,
 outer defense, a third interval, a second smaller wall; and
 ensured the fair practices of the marketplace as well as
 finally a deep, wide moat surrounding the entire complex.
 supervised the public works of proliferating mosques and
 bathhouses. The opulence and luxury of court life in Baghdad
 The Round City initially retained an austere administra- were legendary,
 and reflected the vast political and economic
 tive and military character. On the city's outskirts, large land power of
 the Abbasid Empire.
 grants at varying distances from the capital were given to
 The magnanimity of the Abbasid caliphs and the wellmembers of the Abbasid
 family, the army, and chiefs of the
 placed inhabitants of Baghdad also extended into encouraggovernment agencies.
 In addition to the initial settlers, com- ing intellectual pursuits,
 thereby establishing the Abbasid
 prised of those loyal to the caliph and his new regime, large capital as
 one of the world's most sophisticated and prestinnumbers of laborers,
 artisans, and merchants migrated to gious centers of learning.
 Renowned Islamic scholars of
 Baghdad in pursuit of the largesse showered upon those diverse
 geographical and ethnic origins held sessions in the
 necessary to sustain the new imperial capital. What quickly mosques and
 colleges of cosmopolitan Baghdad, attracting
 grew to be a thriving market within the walls of the Round innumerable
 seekers of legal, philological, and spiritual knowl-
 City was ultimately perceived to be a security threat and, in edge.
 Bookshops and the private homes of individual scholars
 773 C.E., was transferred southwest of Baghdad, to al-Karkh. and high
 government officials, such as the wazir, also served
 There, the commercial activities of the Abbasid capital flour- as venues
 for intellectual discussion and debate. Inns located
 ished, and Baghdad rapidly developed into an economically near the
 mosques provided lodging to those who had devoted
 vibrant metropolis. themselves
 to scholarly pursuits, and accommodations were

later made available within the institutions of the madrasa
The main markets of Baghdad were subdivided according (legal college)
and ribat (Sufi establishment), both of which
to their various specialties which included food, fruit, flowers, also
offered stipends to affiliated students.

98

Islam and the Muslim World

Baha allah

Scientific research in the fields of astronomy, mathemat- BIBLIOGRAPHY
ics, medicine, optics, engineering, botany, and pharmacology Jawad,
Mustafa, and Susa, Ahmad. Baghdad. Baghdad: alalso prospered within the Abbasid
capital. Alongside experi- Majma al- Ilmi al- Iraqi, 1958.
mentation and exploration, translation of Hellenic, Indic, Lassner,
Jacob. The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages:
and Persian texts received patronage from dignitaries, physi- Press,
Text and Studies. Detroit: Wayne State University
cians, and scientists in response to the professional and
1970.
intellectual demands of an expanding Islamic society. Public Lunde, Paul.
Islam: Faith, Culture, History. New York: DK
libraries, both attached to mosques and as separate institu-
Publishing, 2002.
tions, contributed further to the dissemination of knowledge Makdisi,
George. Religion, Law and Learning in Classical Islam.
among the populace, while the establishment of hospitals as
Brookfield, Vt.: Gower, 1991.
charitable endowments throughout the city ensured the pro- Makdisi,
George. "The Reception of the Model of Islamic
vision of free medical care to anyone who so required it. Scholastic
Culture in the Christian West." In Science in
Mobile clinics were even dispatched to remote villages on a Islamic
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regular basis, with the aims of offering comprehensive health Edited by
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Empire ultimately contributed to a decline in the revenues Tabari,
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fortunes of the capital in Baghdad. lated by Jane Dammen McAuliffe.
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Increasing civil disturbances in the face of weakened central sity of

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authority, as well as rife Sunni-Shi'ite conflicts, resulted in Wheatley, Paul. *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in the deterioration and destruction of vast segments of the Islamic Lands, Seventh through Tenth Centuries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

It was tige as the center of the Islamic caliphate and a symbol of Muslim cultural, material, and scholarly achievement. It was

Mona Hassan

therefore with great consternation that news was received of the Mongols's savage invasion and ravaging of the city in 1258 C.E. Hundreds of thousands of Baghdad's inhabitants, including the caliph and his family, leading personalities, and BAHA ALLAH (1817–1892)

scholars were mercilessly put to death, and the great scientific and literary treasures of Baghdad were burned or drowned in "Baha allah," a title meaning "splendor of God," was the waters of the Tigris. name given

to Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri, prophet and founder of the Baha'i faith.

Thereafter, Baghdad was transformed into a provincial center within the Mongol Empire, under the control of the converted in 1844 to the Babi religion, the messianic movement begun that year by the Iranian prophet Sayyid Ali Muhammad, commonly known as the Bab ("Gate"). He ruled Baghdad successively, until the city was conquered by played a significant role in the early Babi community. Imprisoned as a Babi in 1852, he was exiled to Iraq, where he became Empire. A subsequent Perso-Ottoman struggle for Baghdad the de facto leader of the Babis. He was summoned to and its symbolic sites resulted in Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent's conquest of the city in 1534 C.E., only to be lost arrested and exiled again to Edirne in European Turkey.

again to the Safavids, and then regained by the Ottoman There he made an open claim to prophethood that was Sultan Murad IV in 1638 C.E. Baghdad remained the capital of eventually accepted by most Babis, though opposed by his younger the region's Ottoman province for nearly three centuries, and brother, Subh-e Azal. Alarmed by disputes among the Babi was occupied by the British in March 1917, during the course the Babi exiles, the Turkish government imprisoned Baha'is of World War I. In 1921, it

became the seat of Faysal b. lah in Acre, Palestine, in 1868, where he lived under gradually
Husayn's kingdom under British Mandate and remained the improving conditions until his death. His eldest son, Abd alcapital of Iraq throughout its successive developments into an Baha , was recognized by most Baha is as his successor. His
independent constitutional monarchy (1930), federated tomb near Acre is now a Baha i shrine.
Hashimite monarchy (1958), and then republic (1958).
Baha allah wrote extensively, mostly letters to the believ-
See also Caliphate; Empires: Abbasid; Revolution: Classi- ers. His works included commentary on scripture, Baha i law,
cal Islam; Revolution: Islamic Revolution in Iran; comments on current affairs, prayers, and theological discus-
Revolution: Modern. sions of all sorts. Though his writings were grounded in the

Islam and the Muslim World

99

Baha i Faith

esoteric Shi ite thought of the Bab, he was politically sophis- new community. He rejected the militancy and esoteric
ticated, and his own religious thought is often best seen in the Shi ite mysticism characteristic of the Babis, instead stressing
context of the Westernizing reformers of the nineteenth political neutrality and progressive themes such as internacentury Middle East. The
social liberalism of the modern tional peace, education, and the emancipation of women and
Baha i faith has its roots in Baha allah's writings. slaves. By the time of the death of Baha allah in 1892, the
Iranian community had recovered from the disasters of the
Baha allah is considered a "manifestation of God" by
Babi period, and small but growing communities, mainly
Baha is and is thus a prophet of the rank of Moses, Jesus, and
consisting of Iranian émigrés, had been established in many
Muhammad.

countries of the Middle East, the Russian Empire, and India.

See also Abd al-Baha ; Bab, Sayyed Ali Muhammad;

Baha i Faith. After

Baha allah's death most Baha is accepted the leadership of his eldest son, Abd al-Baha . In the 1890s small but
influential communities of Baha i converts from Christianity

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were established in Europe and North America. Despite the
Baha u llah. Tablets of Baha u llah Revealed after the Kitab-iturmoil caused by World War I and by revolutions in Iran,
Aqdas. Translated by Habib Taherzadeh. Wilmette, Ill.:

Baha i Publishing Trust, 1988. Turkey, and Russia, Abd al-Baha was able to establish an institutional structure for most of the major Baha i communities, increasingly in the form of elected governing committees known as spiritual assemblies. The most important event of his ministry, however, was a series of journeys to Europe from 1911 to 1913. These trips were the occasion for an increasing stress on the liberal social teachings of John Walbridge the Baha i faith.

Abd al-Baha was succeeded in 1921 by his grandson, Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, whose English education and Western orientation marked a final break with the religion's Islamic roots. Shoghi Effendi was not a charismatic figure like the Baha i faith was founded by Baha allah as an outgrowth of the Babi religion, the messianic movement begun in 1844 consolidation. The most spectacular achievement of his by the Iranian prophet Sayyed Ali Muhammad, commonly a series of "teaching plans," in which Baha i known as the Bab ("Gate"). missionaries settled in scores of new countries and territories, notably in Latin America, Africa, and the Pacific. By the History 1950s some of these communities were growing rapidly. After the execution of the Bab in 1850 and the pogrom Shoghi Effendi wrote extensively and systematically in Perfollowing a Babi attempt to assassinate the shah, the Babi sian and English, standardizing Baha i theological selfmovement suffered a crisis of leadership. Its titular leader was understanding and practice. His translations of several volumes of Baha allah's writings became the standard Baha i the effective leader was Azal's elder brother, Baha allah. Both scriptures for Western Baha is. He also wrote a history of the were exiles in Baghdad. Baha allah later wrote that he had had Babi and Baha i Faiths and translated a history of the Babi mystical experiences while imprisoned in Tehran in 1852, religion. These works also became fundamental for the selfand by the early 1860s he had begun hinting that he was "he understanding of Western Baha is. Finally, through his conwhom God shall make

manifest,” the Babi messiah. On 21
struction of Baha i shrines and temples in Haifa, Acre, and
April 1863 he announced this claim to several close associates,
an event that Baha is now consider the beginning of their several
Western cities, he made the Baha i faith more visible
religion. Baha allah nonetheless continued to recognize the and created
a Baha i architectural idiom.
nominal leadership of Azal. The final break came in 1867
Shoghi Effendi died in 1957, leaving neither an heir nor a
when he wrote to Azal formally claiming prophethood. The
will. In 1963, after a six-year interregnum, the various Baha i
Babis then split into three main groups. By the end of the
national spiritual assemblies elected an international govern-
1870s those who had accepted the claim of Baha allah were
ing body, the Universal House of Justice, which has since
the large majority and came to be known as Baha is. A smaller
been elected every five years. The Universal House of Justice
number, the Azalis, stayed loyal to Subh-e Azal and vociferously opposed
Baha allah. A few accepted neither claim. continued Shoghi
Effendi’s programs of teaching plans and
construction. There are now several million Baha is in the
Through his extensive correspondence and meetings with world, most in
the developing world, leaving only a small
pilgrims during his exile in Acre, Baha allah organized the minority in
Iran or Islamic countries.

100

Islam and the Muslim World

Balkans, Islam in the

Thus, racism, nationalism, religious fanaticism, prejudice of
any sort, and the degradation of women are condemned in
Baha i teachings. Likewise, there is no Baha i clergy, and all
believers are considered fundamentally equal. The theme of
unity permeates Baha i thought and practice, giving the
community a decidedly egalitarian character.

The Baha i faith is nominally a religion of law, but its
religious law, though generally analogous to Islamic law and
practice, is usually simpler and less demanding. There is a
daily prayer, an annual nineteen-day fast, nine major holy
days, and a “feast” every nineteen days on the first day of each
month of the Baha i calendar. Regulations governing marriage, divorce, and
funerals are simple. Baha is are monogamous, and marriage is conditioned on the
consent both of the
couple and of living parents. In practice, Baha i communal
life often is less concerned with worship than with community administration
and particularly the goal of expanding the

community.

Bahá'í scripture consists of the authenticated writings of Baha allah and Abd al-Baha . Shoghi Effendi's works are authoritative as interpretation, and writings of the Universal House of Justice are authoritative in legislative and administrative matters. Writings of individuals are considered personal opinion and not binding on others. Because the authoritative writings are so voluminous, Bahá'í writers have tended to focus on collection and collation. Most Bahá'í This garden leads to the \$250 million Bahá'í Shrine of the Bab in theological writing has been polemical rather than speculative. Haifa, Israel that was completed in 2001 after ten years of construction. Built by the great grandson of Baha allah, founder of Bahá'í in character. There is no developed Bahá'í legal tradition. the Bahá'í faith, it is one of many Bahá'í shrines and temples Since the 1970s there has been increasingly vigorous activity throughout the Muslim world and the West. Bahá'í is a religion Academic and theological study of the Bahá'í faith. that split from Islam. It emphasizes the unity among all religions, races, and nations. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS See also Abd al-Baha ; Babiyya; Baha allah.

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late fourteenth century there have been Muslim
 ences among religions are due either to the differing circum-
 communities in southeast Europe. For most of their history
 stances of the time and place of their revelation or to gradual they were
 an important and integral part of the Ottoman
 corruption of the original message. Empire.
 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when
 ethnic-based nation-states came to power in the Balkans,
 The characteristic feature of Baha allah's revelation is its most of
 these Muslim communities lost prominence and
 stress on unity, a theme expressed in Baha i social teachings. some
 disappeared. Recent attempts by certain nationalist

Islam and the Muslim World

101

Balkans, Islam in the

forces to erase the history of Muslims in the Balkans have led
 to new interest in these Muslim peoples of Europe. HOLY
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Expansion of Islam into Southeast Europe

Podolia

er

0 100 200 mi.

Ottoman armies and Sufi missionaries brought Islam into

0 100 200 km

southeast Europe in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centu-

Hungary Transylvania Yedisian

Po R.

ries. Beginning with the conquest of eastern Thrace in the

Moldavia

mid-1300s, the Ottomans soon took Macedonia. They fought

Danub

e

Crimea

Bosnia

Wallachia

Serbian prince Lazar and his Balkan army at Kosovo in 1389,

Ad

R iver

ri a

and defeated Bulgaria soon after in 1393. Along with military

Serbia Bulgaria Black Sea
 ti c
 Se
 conquest, the Ottomans brought Muslim settlers from Anatolia
 a
 Albania Rumelia
 to occupy main march routes and river valleys. In 1456
 Macedonia
 Athens fell to the Ottomans, followed by Bosnian and Albanian lands, and
 finally Belgrade in 1521.
 Thessaly
 Sicily Anatolia
 There was significant conversion of local people to Islam,
 Morea
 principally among Bosnians and Albanians, but also across the N
 Balkans. This conversion was gradual, continuing through-
 M
 e d Rhodes
 Crete Cyprus
 out the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and
 i t e
 r r a
 even later among some Albanians. Except for the devsirme,
 n e a n
 S e a
 the forced recruitment of Christian boys for special military
 Ottoman Empire in
 Southeast Europe
 and governmental service, this conversion to Islam was vol-
 Ottoman Empire in 1481
 untary. The Balkans had been a region of contention between
 Ottoman Empire in 1520
 western, or Latin, and eastern, or Byzantine, forms of Chris-
 Ottoman Empire in 1566
 Ottoman Empire in 1683
 tianity. In Bosnia and Albania neither form of Christianity
 had been well preached or well established. In contrast the
 Sufi missionaries brought a tolerant form of religion and the
 Ottoman state a system of order based broadly on religious Expansion
 of the Ottoman Empire into southeast Europe. XNR
 PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE
 affiliation. The advantages of being Muslim were economic

and cultural and included exemption from the head tax, privileges in land owning, and opportunities in state administration and the military, as well as links with the vibrant breakup of Ottoman power in the Balkans left many of them culture and society of Istanbul. vulnerable.

History and Main Developments	The
following period in the history of Muslims in the	
During the Ottoman period, lasting from the fourteenth	Balkans,
the time of growth of nation-states, began variably in	
century to the early twentieth century, the history of Muslims	the
nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with southern Greece	
in the Balkans largely parallels the history of the empire itself.	becoming
independent in 1821, followed by Serbia (whose	
When the Ottoman Empire was at its height in the sixteenth	northern
part had been autonomous since 1815), Romania,	
century, the Balkan cities of Edirne, Sarajevo, and Salonika	and
Bulgaria, all in 1878, and later by Albania in 1912. During	
(the latter with a significant Jewish population) were rich	these
times there were forced migrations, massacres, and	
cosmopolitan centers of trade and learning, with impressive	expulsions
of Muslims, especially from the eastern Balkans,	
mosques, madrasas (schools), and bridges. Three of Sultan	for the
new nation-states were largely conceived as ethnic	
Suleyman the Magnificent's grand wazirs—Ibrahim the Greek,	units
tied to language and a form of Christianity. In contrast,	
Rustem the Bulgarian, and Mehmet Sokullu, a Slav from	many
Balkan Muslims, who did not fit in the new nation-state	
Bosnia—were converted Muslims from the Balkans. At the	design,
were seen as allied with the Ottomans who had been	
end of the seventeenth century, Albanian Muslims from the	
increasingly ineffective and oppressive in the last century of	
Koprulu family (Mehmet, Ahmed, Mustafa, and Husein)	their
rule. Thousands of Muslims were forced to flee to	
served as grand wazirs and provided well-needed stability in a	Turkey.
This would continue throughout the twentieth century of decline. For, as	
western European countries gained	tury with Balkan Muslims from Greece,
Macedonia, Kosovo,	
power in trade routes and military prowess, formerly the	and
Bulgaria emigrating to the safety of Muslim Turkey. The	
purview of the Ottomans, the Ottoman Empire weakened	exceptions
to this were Muslims from the western Balkan	
economically and the Austro-Hungarian Empire took terri-	lands of
Albania and Bosnia. Most stayed in the Balkans	
tories from the Ottomans, including Hungary, part of present-	throughout
these times, although some Bosnian Muslims did	

day Croatia (1699), and later Bosnia (1878). The position of emigrate
in and after 1878. The large part of Bosnian Mus-
Muslim communities gradually declined as well until the
themselves Slavs, continued as landowners and free
lims,

102

Islam and the Muslim World

Balkans, Islam in the

peasants under Austria-Hungary's rule, and remained later as

0 50 100 mi.

part of Yugoslavia. As for the Albanian Muslims, some led the

0 50 100 km

Albanian nationalist movement for independence; overall,

Muslims made up 70 percent of the new independent state of

AUSTRIA HUNGARY

Albania. There were also smaller communities of Slavic

Muslims, Albanian Muslims, and Roma Muslims who stayed

SLOVENIA

ROMANIA

where they were and thus became minorities in different

CROATIA Vojvodina

Balkan lands.

Nationalism also came to the Turks. It is interesting that

an Albanian Muslim from Struga in present-day Macedonia,

BOSNIA Serbia

AND

Ibrahim Temo, was one of the four founding members of

HERZEGOVINA SERBIA

what became known as the Young Turks. The founder of

Sarajevo AND

modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, later known as Atatürk, was

MONTENEGRO

Adriatic

a Balkan Muslim from Salonika.

Sea

ITALY Montenegro

Kosovo

Later in the twentieth century, the Muslims in Bosnia

came to be seen as an ethnic group as well. Before World War

Bosnia After the Dayton

IA

Peace Accords (1995)

N

II they were considered a religious community. But after the

DO

Dayton Agreement Line

CE

war, with the secularization of the Communist Party and

AL

Federation of Bosnia N

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growing importance of “nationalities,” they officially became
and Herzegovina

NIA

Republika Srpska

an ethnic group under the label “Muslim” in 1968. Just as

“Jew” in the United States can have both ethnic and religious
meaning, so “Muslim” had both meanings in Yugoslavia.
Composition of Bosnia-Herzegovina following the signing of the
With the warfare in the 1990s, this ambiguity became a
1995 Dayton Peace Accords. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE
problem so that today the ethnic term for Bosnian Muslim is
“Bosnjak.”

Characteristics and Cultural Achievements	damaging
of the Gazi Husrevbegova Mosque in Sarajevo, as	
The Muslims of the Balkans are largely Sunni of the Hannafi	well as
the destruction of many more Islamic sites throughout	
school. There are also Sufi communities with more inclusive	Bosnia.
The famous bridge at Mostar, and the Oriental	
theologies, including the Sunni Naqshibandi, as well as the	Institute
in Sarajevo, where important historical documents	
Halveti, Mevlevi, Qadiri, Rifa i, Sa di, Melami, and Bektashi	of the
Ottoman period were housed, were both deliberately	
orders. Of these, the Bektashi rose to special prominence in	targeted
and destroyed. The war in Kosovo (1999) led to the	
Albania in the twentieth century, only to become a target of	
destruction of many Islamic monuments and documents	
Communist Enver Hoxha’s regime (1944–1991). Also in	there
as well. One of the purposes of these civil wars was to	
Bulgaria there are communities of Ali ids. As in other parts of	erase the
Islamic heritage of these regions of the Balkans.	
the Ottoman world, religious poetry known as merthiyes and	This is
not new. There were once many mosques in Belgrade	
nefes stems from these orders, and mevluds and ghazels from	that were
destroyed in the late nineteenth century. Such	
the larger Muslim communities.	
destruction was in marked contrast to the usual Ottoman	

policy that had promoted tolerance for Christian and Jewish institutions. Better known to the broader world than religious poetry is the remarkable architecture of Muslims in the Balkans. This includes the older sections of cities with their bazaars, mosques, fountains, hamams (baths), türbes (mausolea), madrasas (schools), Balkans. Nevertheless there remain Muslim communities in the Balkans. The greatest number of Muslims are still in Bosnia, and old Ottoman homes. One of the masterpieces of Ottoman architecture is the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne (1575) by Sinan. Although many were killed in the war and many more became refugees. The next largest population of Muslims in the Balkans is Sinan. Also well known were other remarkable mosques like in Albania, but many were secularized during the long the Ferhat Pasha Mosque of Banja Luka (1579), the Aladza communist rule. Albanians in Kosovo are also mainly Muslim. Mosque in Foca (1550), and the Gazi Husrevbegova Mosque. But of all the Albanian Muslims in the Balkans, those of Sarajevo (1530), all in Bosnia, as well as the famous in western Macedonia are among the most observant. They form at Ottoman bridge at Mostar in Herzegovina (1566). least one-third of the population, but have been kept out of most state jobs and universities. Bulgaria has three different Contemporary Situation and Concerns Muslim populations: Turks, who are the largest group; The war in Bosnia (1992–1995) between Serbian and Croatian group; Pomaks, who are Slavs living in the southern mountainous regions; and Roma, who are largely Muslim. During communist rule in famous mosques of Banja Luka and Foca and the severe rule in Bulgaria, there were at times direct policies to

Islam and the Muslim World

103

Bamba, Ahmad

“bulgarize” the Muslim peoples by forcing them to change capital of his order in 1887. Shaykh Ahmad Bamba was highly respected their Muslim names to Slavic Bulgarian ones, and there were respected for his learning and piety but he also attracted prohibitions against circumcision. In the 1980s over 300,000 followers who were struggling against the French occupation. Turks from Bulgaria went to Turkey rather than submit to The new these policies. Since then, some have returned and the poli- brotherhood spread rapidly and was associated with rumors cies in post-communist Bulgaria are not as restrictive. Romania with rumors of a possible uprising. In 1895, Ahmad Bamba was exiled has two small Muslim communities. In Greece, most Mus- to Gabon and was not permitted to return to

lings left or were part of the population transfers in the early Senegal
 until 1902. His return attracted a wave of new
 1920s. There remain, however, the Turkish Muslims of followers
 and more rumors of rebellion. The French exiled
 western Thrace in northeast Greece. him again in
 1903, this time to Mauritania. Ahmad returned
 to Senegal in 1907. Again large numbers of followers flocked
 An irony of the fighting in Bosnia at the end of the to him and the
 French were concerned. After 1910, however,
 twentieth century is that the attempt of Serbian and Croatian the French
 began to trust the Muslim leader somewhat more,
 nationalists to eradicate the Islamic history and the Muslim even turning
 to him for help on occasion. Most notably, he
 people of the region has resulted in a reinvigoration of Islamic recruited
 troops and raised money for French efforts in
 practices there. The Bosnians, who were once among the World War I.
 For this he was made a Chevalier de la Légion
 most secularized of Muslims, now include those who are d'Honneur
 in 1919. Ahmad Bamba, however, collaborated
 more observant. But the long tradition of tolerance and reluctantly.
 He was a religious man and a mystic, given to
 mutual respect of Balkan Islam, for which places like Sarajevo meditation
 and scholarship. His brotherhood was organized
 were justly famous, has been severely damaged. on a
 principle of total obedience, hard work, and self-denial
 and became the most powerful religious group in Senegal.
 See also Empires: Ottoman; Europe, Islam in.
 See also Africa, Islam in; Colonialism; Tariqa; Touba.

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BANNA, HASAN AL- (1906–1949)

Poulton, Hugh, and Taji-Farouki, Suha. Muslim Identity and the Balkan State. London: Hurst & Company, 1997. Hasan al-Banna

was an Islamic reformer and the founder of

Trix, Frances. "The Resurfacing of Islam in Albania." The Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood). Banna was born

East European Quarterly 28, no. 4 (1995): 533–549. in

Mahmudiyya, a town near Alexandria, Egypt. In addition

to receiving the traditional education in Qur'an, hadith,

Frances Trix elementary principles of law, and Arabic language, Banna

became a member of the Hasafiyya Sufi order during his teen

years. Although members of the Brotherhood would later

attack Sufism, Banna always acknowledged the strong influ-

BAMBA, AHMAD (1853–1927) ence of

Sufism in his religious outlook and social activism.

Ahmad Bamba was the founder of the Muridiyya (Mouride) In 1923,

Banna enrolled in Dar al- Ulum in Cairo, the

Brotherhood. Born in the Baol region in Senegal, Ahmad was national

teachers' training college, whose eclectic curriculum

initiated into the Qadiriyya Brotherhood (tariqa) by Shaykh of

traditional Islamic and modern Western subjects had been

Sidia in Mauritania. He founded his own brotherhood in shaped by

Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. In 1927, he

1886 and established the town of Touba (Senegal) as the was sent to

his first teaching assignment in a primary school

104

Islam and the Muslim World

Baqillani, al-

in Isma iliyya. Located in the Suez Canal zone, Isma iliyya

BIBLIOGRAPHY

was home to large numbers of European civilians as well as Abu Rabi ,

Ibrahim M. Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence

British military personnel. Banna was exposed daily to for- in the

Modern Arab World. Albany: State University of New

eign imperialism in a direct manner that he had not experi- York

Press, 1996.

ended in Cairo. He began to question the reasons for Egypt's
 Hasan al-Banna. Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949):
 political subservience and the means for its revival. Only
 Selection from the Majmuat Rasail al-Imam al-Shahid
 through a revival of Islamic consciousness among the masses,
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 Banna concluded, could imperialism be combated.
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 In March 1928, Banna and six other men founded an
 Revival. Edited by Ali Rahnema. London: Zed
 organization attached to the Hasafiyya order to "command
 1994.
 the right and forbid the wrong." By the following year, the
 Mitchell, Richard P. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. New
 organization was already referred to as Ikhwan al-Muslimin.
 York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
 The organization began as an educational society, meant to
 instill or revive Islamic convictions among ordinary Egyp-
 Sohail H. Hashmi
 tians. Its primary goal was to create an Islamic society based
 on the model of the earliest Muslim generations. Banna
 traveled throughout the canal zone, lecturing, collecting
 donations, organizing chapters, and building offices and
 AL- (?–1013)
 mosques. The Brotherhood's organization reflected Banna's
 Sufi background. Chapters consisted of groups of young men
 Bakr Muhammad b. al-Tayyib b. Muhammad, also
 organized hierarchically according to the level of commit-
 Ibn al-Baqillani, was an Ash'arite theologian and
 ment and knowledge demonstrated. Tying the various chap-
 jurisprudent. Al-Baqillani was regarded as the secters together was Banna, the
 murshid (guide) of the movement, and founder of Ash'arism for his
 contribution to the system and a majlis al-shura (advisory council) composed
 officially of twelve members, though sometimes more.
 Born in Basra he lived mostly in Baghdad, and studied
 By 1932 Banna had moved the headquarters of the Brotherhood to Cairo, reflecting his intention to play a much more
 al-Ash'ari's students Ibn Mujahid al-Tamimi and
 erhood to Cairo, reflecting his intention to play a much more
 'l-Hasan al-Bahili, and fiqh (jurisprudence) under Abu
 active role in Egypt's politics. The Brotherhood was also
 al-Shirazi and Ibn Abu Zayd al-Qayrawani. He
 firmly entrenched in regional politics by the late 1940s
 discussion meetings with representatives of other
 through branches in Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Sudan. Banna's
 in Shiraz, was sent to Constantinople as a special

Banna,

A

Hasan

ley:

of Islamic

Books,

BAQILLANI,

Qadi Abu

known as

Malikite

theology under

Abu

Abdallah

attended

schools

ideological vision may be gleaned from his numerous writings, the two most important being his memoirs (*Mudhakkirat*) and a published collection of his letters (*Majmu'at al-rasa'il*). For him Islam was a holistic creed, providing Muslims guidelines for private piety, public morality, and social justice. The al-Baqillani's books are mainly on theology. A large logical extension of this view was the establishment of an Islamic state. The leadership of such a state could only come from committed and informed Muslims, and the Brotherhood which largely collected and classified Ash'arite views, hood was to prepare itself for this role. Banna could not quell dissension within the Brotherhood of pre-eternity of the universe and elaborated once it entered the turbulent Egyptian politics of the 1940s. concepts in Sunni kalam, such as empty space, the His control over the "secret apparatus," the armed wing of continuous creation of accidents due to their incapability of the organization that planned and carried out attacks on more than one unit of time, and the rational possibility government officials and institutions, was particularly tenuous. However, he preserved the Salafi (*Salafiyya*) ous. More militant members refused to follow his agreement not interpreting Qur'anic expressions attributed with the Egyptian government to merge the Brotherhood suggesting anthropomorphism. Most of his books militia into the Egyptian army during the first Arab-Israeli lengthy polemics against other monotheistic religions. His skepticism toward the compatibility of ancient organization, Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi with Islamic doctrines led him to oppose the use was assassinated in December 1948 by a student associated logic in religious disciplines. In some issues of with the Brotherhood. In retaliation, the secret police assassinated Banna on 12 February 1949. later jurists.

See also *Ikhwan al-Muslimin*.
Ash'arites, *Ash'ari*; *Kalam*.

See also

envoy to
 and Saghr
 Well
 writings,
 work,
 preserved
 works,
 played a
 avoid the idea
 some
 lasting
 of
 tendency of
 to God
 include
 of formal
 Islamic
 influenced

Basri, Hasan al-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

coups. In power, the party in both countries effectively
 Chaumont, E. "Baqillani, théologien ash'arite et juriste
 centralized control of the economy in government hands and
 malikite, contre les légistes à propos de l'ijtihad et de instituted
 distributionist policies that originally benefited
 l'accord unanime de la communauté." *Studia Islamica* 79 both the
 urban and rural middle and lower classes, though
 (1994): 79–102. over time
 at the cost of economic growth and efficiency. Both
 Grunebaum, Gustave E., von. A Tenth-Century Document of the Syrian
 and Iraqi Ba th came to rely on religious minorities
 Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism: The Sections on Poetry to staff
 sensitive military and security positions—Alawis in
 of al-Baqillani's *I jaz al-Qur an*. Chicago: Chicago Univer- Syria and
 Sunnis in Iraq—as the popularity of the governsity Press, 1950.
 ments waned. A bitter split developed within
 the party in
 Haddad, Wadi Z. "A Tenth-Century Speculative Theolo- 1966,
 reflected in the extremely hostile relations between
 gian's Refutation of the Basic Doctrines of Christianity: Ba thist
 Syria and Ba thist Iraq. Like many ruling parties, the
 al-Baqillani." In *Christian-Muslim Encounters*. Edited by Y. Ba th lost
 much of its ideological élan once in power, and
 Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Zaydan Haddad. Gainesville: became the
 vehicle for increasingly personalized rule in Syria
 University Press of Florida, 1995. and Iraq.

M. Sait Özervarli See also Nationalism: Arab.

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BASRI, HASAN AL- (642–728) Devlin,
 John F. *The Ba th Party: A History from Its Origins to*
 1966. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1976.
 Hasan al-Basri was one of the most famous early Sunni Kienle,
 Eberhard. *Ba th v. Ba th: The Conflict Between Syria*
 theologians and ascetics. Born in Medina, he lived in Basra, and
 Iraq, 1968–1989. London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 1990.
 where he was renowned for his piety, learning, and eloquence. He produced
 sermons, short commentaries on the
 F. Gregory Gause III
 Qur an, aphorisms, and statements on ethics. In theology, he
 occupied a middle position on the subjects of free will and
 predestination. He believed that humans choose their actions, but that God

determines the outlines of fate. He BAZARGAN, MEHDI (1907–1995) criticized Umayyad caliphs and officials, but did not oppose them politically. His spiritual practice stressed self-reflective The son of a merchant from Tabriz, Mehdi Bazargan was born in contemplation. He is considered a father of Sufism and Tehran, Iran. Educated both in traditional Islamic appears as the source of many Sufi lineages. madrasa and modern schools, he completed his studies at Ecole Polytechnique and Ecole Normale in France. Muhammad See also Kalam; Tasawwuf. Mosaddeq (b. 1882) admired Bazargan’s engineering approach to social organization, such as Tehran’s fresh water Rkia E. Cornell project (c. 1952), and commissioned him to fill the gap resulting from the departure of British experts after the nationalization of Iran’s oil industry. He became a founder of the Engineering Association of Iran in 1945 and of the BA TH PARTY National Liberation Movement in 1961.

The Ba th Party is the governing party in Iraq and Syria, and Bazargan was one of a group of Islamic thinkers who is theoretically committed to the cause of Arab nationalism convened to discuss current issues in the early 1960s, and was and unity. The Ba th (Arabic for resurrection or renewal) especially interested in adapting Shi ite Islam to the techno-logical Party was founded by two French-educated Syrian school logical world without importing its ideology. Most people in teachers, Michel Aflaq (Greek Orthodox Christian) and this group became prominent leaders of the Iranian Revolu- tion. Salah al-Din al-Bitar (Sunni Muslim), in 1943. “Regional Bazargan was imprisoned along with other nationalist commands” of the Ba th were founded in many Arab coun- leaders in 1963. After the revolution of 1979, he became the tries, all in principle subject to the “national command” of the prime minister of the provisional government. Bazargan was founders. The party’s slogan, “unity, freedom and socialism,” later ousted due to the occupation of the American embassy rallied students, intellectuals, and army officers to its cause in and hostage taking by students and his meeting with Brzezinski in Algiers. many Arab states, and it played an important role in the tumultuous politics of Syria, Iraq, and Jordan in the 1950s. However, the party never achieved a strong mass following See also Iran, Islamic Republic of; Liberation Move and had little electoral success anywhere. The Ba th came to ment of Iran; Reform: Iran; Revolution: Islamic Revopower in Syria in 1963 and in Iraq in 1968 through military lution in Iran.

Bid a

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Mazyar Lotfalian tion: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal
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Rochelle Davis

BEDOUIN

The Bedouin are nomadic peoples of Arabia known in Arabic
as bedu, arab, and a rab. They are especially known for

BID A

keeping camels, whose domestication in the third millenium
made trade and raiding—their main occupations—easier. In
A bid a (pl. bida) is an innovation in theology, ritual, or the
addition, they keep flocks of sheep and goats, and more
customs of daily life, that did not exist in early Islam but came
recently, engage in seasonal agriculture and work in state
into existence in the course of history.

armed forces. Living in long, low-lying black tents made of
camel and goat hair and wooden poles, the Bedouin migrate The
term itself does not appear in the Qur an, be it that

on a seasonal basis in search of pasture for their animals. The the Holy
Book includes other derivations of the root bd . In

tent and its contents are individual property, but water, the hadith
literature bid a is often used in contrast with the

pasture, and land are the common property of the tribe. term

sunna. In this sense sunna denotes the exemplary standard for Muslim life, as
this was established by the prophet

Every tent represents a family, and an encampment of

Muhammad and the pious Muslims of early Islam; for this

tents—hayy— constitutes a clan, or qawm. A group of kindred

reason, a bid a, being a deviation from the normative sunna,

clans forms a tribe, or qabila, and asabiyya is the unconditional

was almost exclusively regarded as negative. This idea can be

loyalty of a clansmember to his or her tribe. A weaker tribe

found in the canonical collections of hadith literature and, for

buys protection by paying the stronger tribe a price—khuwa.

example, was put into words in the Prophetic saying: “The

Bedouin have been characterized historically by urban worst of all things are novelties (muhdathat); every novelty is Arab writers as vengeful and destructive, finding the agricul- an innovation (bid a), and every bid a is an error (dalala), and ture and craft of sedentary life distasteful. In his al-Muqadimma, every error “leads to hell.”

Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), the Tunisian philosopher-historian, hypothesized that civilizations have a predetermined life Apart from this negative understanding of the concept of cycle; they fall prey to the nomads in the frontiers whose bid a, a positive interpretation also could be given to the term. bonds of solidarity (asabiyya) are strong. However, oth- This was done by using another saying from the hadith ers have described Bedouins by their well-known values of literature. These words are attributed to the second caliph Umar who, generosity and hospitality and high standards of poetic after he had seen an innovation in the rite of the compositions. ritual prayer (salat), is reported to have said: “Truly, this is a good bid a.” On the basis of this saying the great jurisconsult As state power has infringed on Bedouin areas of control, al-Shafi i (767–820) made a distinction between good and moves to settle the Bedouin, to provide schools for children, objectionable bid as. As a result of this, the possibility was and to employ adults in wage-labor have met with mixed created to introduce new ideas and practices into Islam for success in Egypt, Jordan, Israel/Palestine, and the Arabian which there were no precedents in early Islam, but which Gulf states. Bedouin strive to maintain their culture, social could now be accepted as good innovations. Later scholars further manipulated the term bid a by adding various other, most benefits of technology, education, and health standards. often legal, adjectives to it. For example, the prolific Egyptian author Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (1445–1505) mentions See also Arabia, Pre-Islam; Asabiyya; Ibn Khaldun. the application of the five legal classifications (al-ahkam alkhamisa) to the term, thus making a distinction between

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- “forbidden,” “reprehensible,” “indifferent,” “recommended,”
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 “obligatory” bid as.
 California Press, 1986.
 Abu Lughod, Lila. *Writing Women’s Worlds*. Berkeley: Uni-
 Although this flexible interpretation of the concept of
 versity of California Press, 1993. bid a was
 thus known from an early period onward, various

Baily, Clinton. *Bedouin Poetry from Sinai and the Negev: Mirror* later scholars adhered to its negative interpretation excluof a Culture. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. sively. A well-known representative of this stream is the

Islam and the Muslim World

107

bin Ladin, Usama

theologian and jurisconsult Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyya
Usama's mother, one of four wives to Muhammad bin
(1263–1328), who spent his entire life fighting bid as, which Ladin,
was from Damascus, Syria. Usama has remained close
had been added to the original doctrine and practice of Islam, to her
throughout his life. He married one of his mother's
for example, the cult of saints. Under the influence of his Syrian
relatives, with whom he had a son. Usama attended
teachings, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792) school in
Saudi Arabia where he came under the influence of
founded the rigid and intolerant reform movement known as the thought
of Muhammad Qutb, the brother of an influen-
Wahhabiyya, which, for example, regarded the use of tobacco tial
Islamist ideologue named Sayyid Qutb and a Jordanian
and coffee as bid a. This Wahhabi ideology is also followed by activist,
Abdallah Azzam, who actively recruited Arab Musthe present-day Kingdom of
Saudi Arabia, where conse- lim fighters to mount a jihad against
the Soviet military

quently the concept of bid a in its negative sense plays a occupation
of Afghanistan in the early 1980s. That Usama
prominent part in religious and social discourse. An interest- bin Ladin
visited and lived for a while in Europe has been
ing example of this is the official view on the celebration of reported by
some writers, but it is unclear when that might
the birthday (mawlid) of the prophet Muhammad, an opinion have been,
where he actually lived in Europe, or what he did
that was voiced often by the Grand Mufti of the Kingdom, while he was
there.

Abd al- Aziz ibn Baz (1910–1999). This festival is strictly
forbidden, because it is regarded as a bid a, “while every bid a After
the Soviet army invaded Afghanistan in 1979, bin
is an error.” Despite the enormous respect for the Prophet, Ladin went
to Pakistan. There he met several leaders of jihadi
Wahhabis reject celebrating his mawlid because it is rightly movements
who were mounting resistance efforts against the
understood as a later innovation. Russians on
behalf of the Afghani Muslims. He joined forces
with Abdallah Azzam to recruit non-Afghani Muslims, mainly
On the whole, however, in present-day Islam only a Arabs, and to

raise money and purchase weapons for an minority adhere to this limited, negative interpretation of the armed resistance against the Soviet military. After al-Qa ida's concept of bid a, while the majority of Muslims approves of a growth and success, the two men had a falling out that led to the flexible interpretation, which is more compatible with mod- the assassination of Azzam. Usama's considerable inherited wealth ern beliefs and practices. (estimated at between \$270 and \$500 million) from his father formed an important material contribution to this See also Religious Institutions; Sunna. effort against the Soviets. According to several sources, another significant element in support of Arab militia resistance

BIBLIOGRAPHY in Afghanistan (alleged and never denied) was money from Fierro, Maribel. "The Treatises Against Innovations (kutub the United States, channeled through the Central Intellial-bida)." *Der Islam* 69 (1992): 204–246. gence Agency (C.I.A.) Goldziher, Ignaz, "Hadith and Sunna." In Vol. 2, *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien)*. Edited by S. M. Stern. Usama bin Ladin will not be remembered as a religious Translated by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern. London: scholar or intellectual in the Muslim world. He nonetheless Allen & Unwin, 1971. has attracted a considerable following, first of mujahidin Rispler, Vardit. "Toward a New Understanding of the Term (guerilla) fighters against real and perceived enemies of Islam, bid a." *Der Islam* 68 (1991): 320–328. such as the Soviet military and the U.S. In addition he has gained passive approval and verbal support for his cause more Nico J. G. Kaptein widely among Muslims around the world—many of whom openly disavow the terrorism and violence that is attributed to his leadership even while providing such support. Bin Ladin's writings include poetry and coauthored treatises and BIN LADIN, USAMA (1957–) statements that use code words and symbols (such as references to Crusaders and Jews) to express opposition to the Usama bin Ladin is a Saudi dissident and leader of the al- State of Israel, European Christendom, and the United Qa ida organization. He was born in 1957 in Saudi Arabia. States, especially their respective control of and military His father, Muhammad bin Ladin, was a Yemeni commoner encroachment on the Islamic holy sites in Jerusalem, Mecca, who became a successful building contractor. He moved his and Medina. family to Saudi Arabia in the 1930s. Muhammad sired seventeen sons and established the Saudi Bin Ladin Group, a Bin Ladin's theological worldview follows the Salafi and

construction firm that eventually won large contracts from Wahhabi
 puritanical interpretation and expression of Islam, as well as
 the Saudi royal family to renovate important icons of Saudi
 the trenchant articulation of this strain of Islam provided by
 and Islamic religion and culture. These included several
 the Egyptian dissident intellectual, Sayyid Qutb. Some
 buildings in the cities of Mecca and Medina and many
 observers have argued that although the fallen Soviet Union, the
 mosques, including the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.
 United States, and the globalization of capitalism

108

Islam and the Muslim World Biography and Hagiography

were the spectacular targets of bin Ladin's active career, in
 reflections as contributing to character development. Rather,
 fact it is accommodationist Muslim regimes (like his native
 biographical notices serve to establish origins and display a
 Saudi Arabia) that rely on U.S. and Western support that person's
 type or example through presenting his or her discrete
 have been the real targets of his criticism and activism.
 actions and sayings. The tabaqat genre, which is most
 popular in Arabic, might focus on certain religious profes-
 See also Fundamentalism; Jihad; Qa ida, al-; Qutb, sions such
 as the biographies of jurists, judges, Qur an reciters
 Sayyid; Terrorism; Wahhabiyya. and
 memorizers, or Sufis. Other tabaqat works chronicle
 individuals from a particular city or region, and some repre-
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 "centennial" biographies that record all prominent Mus-
 Gunaratna, Rohan. Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror. lims who
 died in a particular Islamic century.
 New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
 Tadhkira (memorial) works are collections of the lives of
 persons engaged in scholarly or religious activities. They are
 Richard C. Martin more common in later periods, especially in Iran, the
 Ottoman Empire, and South Asia.

Malfuzat are records of audiences of notable scholars or
 BIOGRAPHY AND HAGIOGRAPHY Sufis. This
 genre is indigenous to South Asian Islam where
 the early Indian Sufis are known largely through records
 Islamic civilization from an early period gave importance to preserved
 in this form. Malfuzat as a biographical genre often
 various biographical genres, for example, the life (sira) of the provides a
 more spontaneous, authentic flavor of the person
 Prophet, works establishing priority in joining the Muslim and his

circle in contrast to the more idealized portrayals of community, and lives of saints, but rarely, until the modern period, autobiographies. Individual biographies (tarjama, pl. tarajim) and autobiographies were less common in earlier periods although a small number may be found. Notable is al-Ghazali's *Deliverance from Error* (d. 1111) a narrative of his spiritual biography and the hadith collections. The *ilm al-rijal*, or search for truth. One should not neglect to mention the "science of the men," was a branch of Islamic historiography biographical significance of other related genres, for example verifying the reliability (ta dil) of hadith transmitters according to criteria such as their direct acquaintance with the famous accounts, such as those of the famous Ibn Battuta (1304–1369).

Prophet and their veracity and virtues. The qualities (fada il) In the medieval period bio- or autobiographical notices and special merits (khasa is) of important persons constitute a subsection of most hadith collections and reveal early Muslim and read like a curriculum vitae, that included the individual's concepts of charisma, character, or religious authority. Anteauchers, places visited, and works studied, transmitted, or other hadith topic that blossomed into a genre of biographical composition. Medieval Muslim autobiography and biography cal literature is asceticism (zuhd). Compilations on this subject often featured accounts of dreams or visionary experiences provide insights into the early development of Sufism and indicating that the tradition considered such events as important ascetic behaviors established rankings of merit and authority.

More recently, Western literature has influenced bio-Muslim religious biography and hagiography were composed in specific genres. One of the most important biographical forms is the *tabaqat* (ranks or classes). This name were related to the development of Urdu as a refers to the system for the arrangement of biographical prose language in the late nineteenth century and to notices according to notions of contiguity, rank, or virtue. efforts to combine Islamic and "modern" learning embodied The earliest extant example is the *Kitab al-tabaqat al-kabir* of in the Aligarh movement. Most significant among this trend Ibn Sa d (d. 845), which contains some 4,250 biographical are the

writings of Shibli Nu'mani (1857–1914), who prepared a series of monographs on “Heroes of Islam” including the inclusion of ordinary persons in the classical biographical studies of the caliph Umar, the jurist Abu Hanifa, the poet Rumi, and the theologian al-Ghazali, as well as the Prophet. This new style of biography was marked by critical evaluation and a rationalist treatment of the subject. building up and transmitting its specific worldview and culture. As the forces of westernization have increasingly penetrated many Muslim societies, the canons of modern literary forms does not present a series of events or cumulative culture have tended to favor the novel, short story, and poetry

Islam and the Muslim World

109

Biruni, al-

written in free verse over traditional biographical forms. Roded, Ruth. Women in Islamic Biographical Collections: from Ibn Sa‘d to Who’s Who. Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Pubcollective memorials and devotional biographies has also lishers, 1994. decreased. In most regions the traditional Islamic biographical forms have declined in importance as secular, literary life

Marcia Hermansen

stories take precedence and may provide inspiration for serialization as televised historical dramas.

Traditional genres of religious biography still persist in BIRUNI, AL- (C. 973–1050)

religious contexts and in more traditional segments of Muslim societies. In the modern period, however, a number of Al-Biruni was a polymath of the Islamic eleventh century who new developments have occurred. Among the most striking wrote in multiple scientific fields. Included among his subare: an increased use of religious biography for personal jects were astronomy, mathematics, pharmacology, and minedification; its use in reinforcing symbols of national or eralogy, and he also contributed important works of history regional identity; and its functioning to inspire or legitimate and cultural studies. political action and Islamist identifications. Al-Biruni originated from the region of Khwarazm, and

For example, in Iranian Shi'ism the lives of the imams
his name refers to the fact that he was born in a suburb of the
have been a source of inspired poetry and performances of
capital. Although Persian, he preferred to write in Arabic.
commemoration. A significant and instructive trend in their
When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna conquered Khwarazm in
modern use is that during the prerevolutionary period in Iran,
1017, al-Biruni was taken as a prisoner to his capital. He
the focus of Husayn's biography shifted from his role as tragic
became the court astrologer and then accompanied Mahmud
martyr to portraying him as an activist challenging the unjust
on his expeditions to northwestern India. This led al-Biruni
social order.

to study Sanskrit and Indian religions and customs, which he
The role of females also receives increased attention. recorded in
Kitab ta rikh al-Hind (Alberuni's India). His writ-
Traditional Muslim scholars now present early Muslim he- ings include
significant observations on the natural features,
roic women in ways that honor their contributions to Islamic social
structure, and religious practices of the non-Muslim
history while reinforcing traditional patterns of female be- Indians. He
was a prolific author of some 180 works of
havior. In contrast, the Moroccan feminist historian Fatima varying
lengths, including many important treatises on mathe-
Mernissi has presented a revisionist look at the lives of a matical and
astronomical topics.
number of prominent early Muslim women that attempts to
recover their independence of action and defiance of sup- See also
Astronomy; Historical Writing; Knowledge;
posed cultural norms. Zaynab al-Ghazali, a contemporary Science,
Islam and.

Egyptian activist in the Muslim Brotherhood, offered her
prison memories in Hayati (My life) in the form of a heroic BIBLIOGRAPHY
narrative with hagiographic undertones. Islamist autobiogra- Biruni, al-
Alberuni's India. Translated by Eduard Sachau.
phies and convert narratives of American and European London:
Keegan Paul, 1910.

Muslims open up further possibilities for hybridization in
biographical accounts.

Marcia Hermansen

See also Arabic Literature; Genealogy; Historical
Writing.

BODY, SIGNIFICANCE OF

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the locus of human existence and activity in

Biographical Materials.” *Religion* 18, no. 4 (1988): 163–182. Islam.
 Islamic law stipulates the regular purification of the
 Lawrence, Bruce B. *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant body*,
 requires the use of a body in performing rituals, and
 Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism. Tehran: Imperial views the body
 as the site of both social continuity and
 Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978. punishment in
 the case of violating social norms.
 Malti-Douglas, Fedwa. *Medicines of the Soul: Female Bodies and*
 Sacred Geographies in a Transnational Islam. Berkeley: Uni- Purification
 and renunciation of the body are required for
 versity of California, 2001. both men and
 women in Islamic law. Ritual purification
 Mojaddedi, Jawid. *Sufi Biographies from Al-Sulami to Jami: involves*
 washing and wiping certain parts of the body, and is
 Reworking Time Past. Richmond, Va.: Curzon, 2000. invalidated by
 natural bodily emissions (urine, feces, pus,

110

Islam and the Muslim World
 Bourghiba, Habib

Though these Muslim women wear their veils in slightly different styles, all of
 the women are sufficiently covered. © PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS

blood, vomit), sleep, unconsciousness, insanity, and sexual
 although some authorities also include in this the female
 contact. Most jurists also agree that touching one’s genitals
 voice. Crimes such as theft require the amputation of limbs
 (penis, vagina, anus) also invalidates purification. The ritual
 (hands and feet), and other crimes such as fornication require
 fast during the month of Ramadan requires keeping sub- death
 by stoning under certain circumstances.
 stances from entering the body (food, drink, medicine) and
 abstinence from sex. See
 also Circumcision; Gender; Ibadat.

The body is also of symbolic importance for the rites of
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the pilgrimage to Mecca. While in the sanctuary at Mecca
 Katz, Marion Holmes. *Body of Text: The Emergence of the*
 pilgrims are not allowed to eat the meat of wild animals or
 Sunni Law of Ritual Purity. Albany: State University of
 plants. Pilgrims are not allowed to have sex, and marriages New
 York Press, 2002.

performed during the pilgrimage are invalid. Nor are pil-
 Reinhart, Kevin A. “Impurity/No Danger.” *History of Religions* allowed to
 wear sewn clothing or apply perfume to
 ions 30 (1990–1991): 1–24.

their bodies. The hair and fingernails of pilgrims cannot be cut during the pilgrimage but are cut upon exiting from the Zannad, Traki. *Les lieux du corps en Islam*. Paris: Publisud, 1994. sanctuary at the end of the pilgrimage. Many classical sources report that the prophet Muhammad distributed his hair and

Brannon M. Wheeler

fingernails, cut at the end of his last pilgrimage, to his followers as relics.

Islamic law recognizes the body as the legal sphere of the BOURGHIBA, HABIB (1901–2000)

individual. The “private area” (urwah), the area which must

be covered in public, is defined differently for men and

Habib

Bourghiba was the most prominent leader of Tunisia’s

women. For men it is the area between the waist and the

Neo-Destour movement, which led that country to indepenknees, for women it is

the area from the neck to the ankles, dence from France in 1956.

Born into a middle-class family of

Islam and the Muslim World

111

Bukhara, Khanate and Emirate of

limited resources at Monastir in 1901, Bourghiba was edu-

and Chaghatay

rulers during the last decades of the fifteenth

cated at the prestigious Sadiqi College and at the Lycée

century. The

principal source of Muhammad Shibani’s au-

Carnot in Tunis; subsequently he earned a law degree at the

thority was

his claim of descent from Genghis Khan. He

University of Paris. After returning to Tunisia in the mid-

derived

additional authority from the fact that his grandfa-

1920s, he became increasingly involved in the Destour

ther, Abu

’l-Khayr, had ruled a large confederation of Turco-

(constitutionalist) movement, which was seeking Tunisia’s

Mongol

tribes in Western Siberia known as the Uzbeks. But

autonomy from France. By the 1930s he broke with its

Muhammad

Shibani also propagated Islamic legitimacy by

leadership, which he considered too socially and religiously

adopting the

title of caliph.

conservative, and founded the Neo-Destour party, which

tended toward secular and liberal nationalism.

Sovereignty in the extended Shibanid-Abulkhayrid family

was corporate, embodied in the sultans (agnatic princes who

Once independence came, however, he transformed the

traced their

descent from Abu l-Khayr through their father’s

Neo-Destour party—later the Destourian Socialist Party—

lineage)

under the overall khanship of Muhammad Shibani.

into a ruling single party. This action allowed him to gain and The khan

distributed the conquered territories as appanages maintain a tight grip over the Tunisian political process for (land grants) among the eligible Abulkhayrid princes. The three decades. He was elected three times without opposition crisis following the unexpected death of Muhammad Shibani to the presidency, ultimately becoming president for life in Khan in battle against Safavid Qizilbash troops (1510) led to a 1974. In the meantime, the economy stagnated or declined major reorganization of rule. A short power struggle between and the gap between the ruling elites and the masses widened, the leaders of the major Abulkhayrid clans was resolved in a not only materially, but also culturally. Various Islamist general meeting (quriltai) convened in 1512 in Samarkand. groups arose in a protest movement appealing to traditional Supreme sovereignty as khan was from then on nominally religious values. In November 1987, with Bourghiba's physi- assigned to the senior Abulkhayrid agnate.

cal and mental health clearly deteriorating, he was deposed by the sitting Prime Minister Zine el Abidine Ben Ali. Habib The appanages became hereditary dominions. The principal Bourghiba died in his native city of Monastir. appanages, each dominated by one of the Abulkhayrid cousin clans, were Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, and See also Modernization, Political: Constitutionalism; Miyankal (the region between Samarkand and Bukhara). In Secularism, Islamic. 1526 Balkh

and the lands between the Hindu Kush and the River Amu were regained and allotted to the Jani-Beg clan. BIBLIOGRAPHY This appanage

system remained relatively stable until the Murphy, Emma C. Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: from Bourguiba to Ben Ali. New York: St. Martin's open interclan conflict. Abdallah II, a member of the Jani-Beg clan, eventually established himself in Bukhara in 1557 and gradually expanded his domination over the other John Ruedy Abulkhayrid appanages. Abdallah took residence in Bukhara and initiated large-scale urban development projects.

The political process of electing a supreme khan on the basis of BUKHARA, KHANATE AND seniority and distributing the territory as appanages to the EMIRATE OF eligible junior members of the royal clan was continued by the Toqay Timurids, another clan that claimed descent from Genghis

Khan and took over in the secession crisis that were ruled by the khans of the Shibani-Abulkhayrid (1500 to followed the death of Abdallah's son in 1598. The number of appanages was 1598), the Toqay-Timurid (1598 to the late 18th century) reduced to two: Bukhara, the residence of the supreme khan families, and the emirs of the Uzbek Manghit tribe (1785 to and capital of the northern and central territo- ries of the 1920). The core territories of the khanate and emirate were of the Amu. the string of oases along the course of the river Zarafshan with the cities Bukhara and Samarkand. During most of the sixteen- The th century to mid-eighteenth centuries, Tashkent and Balkh military backbone of Abulkhayrid and Toqay-Timurid also belonged to the Bukharan dominions. rule were the Uzbek emirs, leaders of the Turco-Mongol nomadic tribal groups who had brought Muhammad Shibani In 1500, Muhammad Shibani drove the Timurids from to power. They gradually merged with the old ruling class of Transoxania and conquered a territory reaching from Tashkent Timurid Central Asia. The hierarchy of the emirs symbolito Khwarazm and Khurasan. Shibani, a descendant of Gen- cally followed a pattern of military-tribal organization that is ghis Khan through his grandson Shibani, had served Timurid thought to date back to the army of Genghis Khan. However,

112

Islam and the Muslim World

Bukhara, Khanate and Emirate of

The emirs were compensated for their services by assignments of pastureland and the revenues from villages. Originally given to an individual and frequently redistributed, these grants tended to become hereditary, and as a result certain emirid clans and their tribal followings became closely linked to defined territories. The Manghit tribal group thus came to dominate the oasis of Bukhara and the pasturelands around Qarshi.

The growing imbalance between the authority of the khan and the tribal leaders resulted in a radical change in the crisis that followed the temporary surrender of the khan of Bukhara to Nadir Shah in 1740. The ataliq Muhammad Rahim, an emir of the Manghit clan, was able to assume power in Bukhara and even to adopt the title khan in 1756. His cousin Shah Murad (1785–1800) abolished the khanate and ruled with the caliphal title amir al-mu minin (Commander of the Faithful), thus lending his nonregal status additional Islamic legitimacy.

The transition from the neo-Chinggisid khanate to the Manghit emirate can be characterized by two major developments: The legitimation of rule was now Islamic rather than based on descent from Genghis Khan, and the power of the non-Manghit Uzbek emirs was systematically reduced. The Manghit emirs of Bukhara created a small standing army and so were able to become largely independent of tribal military support. The connection of military resources and access to regional revenues that had always made the Uzbek emirs a potential threat to the rulers's authority was gradually dissolved. The Kalyan Minaret, built circa 1127, in Bukhara, Uzbekistan. The In the second half of the nineteenth century, the emirate of Bukhara was abolished in 1920 when its last amir, emirate of Bukhara appears to have become a fairly central-Alim, went into exile during the occupation of the city by Russian revolutionary troops. © DIEGO LEZAMA OREZZOLI/CORBIS ized state. The emirate was governed through a complex military-civil bureaucracy headed by a chief minister called qoshbegi. The territory was divided into provinces (twentythis does not mean that the Uzbek emirs were a closed group, seven in 1915) which in turn consisted of fiscal-administrative nor that they were restricted to military duty. The borderline units. The oasis of Bukhara was under direct administration, between military and civil administration was to some extent while the other provinces were governed by officials called beks. fluid. Service in the civil administration appears to have been an integral part of an emir's career. Already during the reign of the emir Nasrallah (1826–1860) the emirate felt the incipient impact of the conflicting imperi-On the other hand, high civil officials of nontribal back-alistic interests of Russia and Britain. In 1868, the emir ground could enter the ranks of the emirs. Until the mid-Muzaffar al-Din (1860–1885) had to accept the annexation of the eighteenth century, the highest offices were the ataliq, the the eastern part of his dominions, including Samarkand, by divanbegi, and the hakim. The ataliq (princely tutor) seems to tsarist Russia. The so-called friendship treaty between the have served as military-administrative counselor and a liaison governor general of Russian Turkestan and the emir of Bukhara between the khan and the sultans. Hakims served as gover-Bukhara in 1873 sealed the emirate's loss of independence. Though nors of territorial subunits of the appanages. The divanbegi nominally still a sovereign state, the emirate was was the head of the fiscal administration. However, to what gradually integrated into the sphere of influence of the extent this title (and others of lower rank) matched well-Russian Empire. In 1920, Russian revolutionary troops occudefined administrative duties

or rather were nominal ranks is pied Bukhara. The last emir, Alim (r. 1910–1920), went into
 difficult to determine. The high ranks of religious offices exile
 and the emirate was abolished.
 were filled by members of a limited number of families of
 noble descent (sayyid, khwaja), the most noteworthy being the A photo
 of the arched entryway to the Miri-Arab Madrasa
 Juybari khwajas. appears
 in the volume one color plates.

Islam and the Muslim World

113

Bukhari, al-

See also Central Asia, Islam in; Central Asian Culture today was
 prepared by Ali b. Muhammad al-Yunini (d. 1302).
 and Islam. Numerous
 commentaries have been written on the Sahih; in
 recent times, partial and complete translations of this collec-
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 been made in a number of languages. Al-Bukhari
 Becker, Seymour. Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara died in
 his hometown of Bukhara at age sixty.
 and Khiva, 1865–1924. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

See also Hadith.

McChesney, Robert D. Central Asia: Foundations of Change.
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 Robson, James. "al-Bukhari." In Vol. 1, Encyclopaedia of Islam.
 BUKHARI, AL- (810–870) Edited
 by H. A. R. Gibb, et al. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960.

Muhammad b. Isma il al-Bukhari, who was born in Bukhara
 Asma Afsaruddin
 in central Asia, compiled the most important hadith collection in Sunni Islam,
 called al-Jami al-sahih (The sound
 collection). Al-Bukhari is said to have started to learn hadiths
 ("the sayings" of the prophet Muhammad) at about ten years BURAQ
 of age, having been blessed with a remarkably retentive
 memory and a sharp intellect. At the age of sixteen, he made In sura 17:1
 of the Qur an, the prophet Muhammad, led by
 the pilgrimage and traveled to Mecca and Medina to study the angel
 Gabriel, journeys in one night (israq) to "the Far
 with well-known hadith teachers there. He next went to Distant

Place of Worship,” interpreted as Jerusalem. In the
Egypt, and spent the following sixteen years traveling through hadith,
Muhammad continues on to the heavens (mi raj),
much of Asia in the pious pursuit of hadiths. On his return to describing
his mount as a small white steed, called al-Buraq.
Bukhara, he began to scrutinize the roughly 600,000 reports Later
literary and art-historical traditions give al-Buraq a
he had collected. He is said to have applied the most stringent human face,
wings, and dappled coloration. This miraculous
standards in determining the reliability of these reports, steed is
depicted in the fourteenth-century world history of
which led him to record only about 7,397 of them. His Rashiduddin,
the fifteenth-century Timurid Mi rajname, and
painstaking efforts resulted in the Sahih, which by the tenth
sixteenth-century Safavid Khamsas of Nizami. Buraq’s imporcentury had
achieved near universal recognition among Mus- tance continues today,
appearing in Sunni paintings comlims, who regarded al-Bukhari’s collection as
including the memorating a hajj to Mecca, or in Shi ite popular art,
which
most reliable and sound hadiths attributed to the Prophet, often shows
al-Buraq alongside Husayn’s horse at Karbala.
based particularly on analysis of their chains of transmission.
The Sahih continues to enjoy an almost “canonical” status See also
Mi raj; Tasawwuf.
today, second only to the Qur an in importance as the source
for moral and legal prescriptions. The standard edition in use
Carel Bertram

114

Islam and the Muslim World

C

CAIRO

stretching along the axis of the Nile River. The atmosphere
of growing provincial autonomy in the period that followed
The foundations of present-day Cairo rest upon the ancient
fueled the ambitions of Ahmad ibn Tulun, a man of Turkish
capital of Memphis, one of the oldest urban settlements in the
extraction appointed as deputy for the governor of Egypt. He
world, which flourished between 5000 and 2500 B.C.E. Mem-
founded his own princely city slightly to the north of alphis was finally
surpassed by the seaport of Alexandria when Askar in 870 C.E.,
which was called al-Qata i (the Wards),
Egypt became a Mediterranean colony of the Greeks, but its
reflecting its feudal base. The awesome mosque of Ibn Tulun,
strategic position ensured continuous settlement. As a result,
built between 876 and 878, is one of the most prominent
the city was still thriving at the time of the Roman conquest

legacies inherited from that era and still stands, surrounded around 24 B.C.E. Although the region was contested by the by the crowded metropolis of today.

Romans and Persians at the opening of the seventh century C.E., it was finally the Arabs who prevailed, thereby setting The most significant event in the genesis of Cairo is into motion the genesis of Cairo or al-Qahira, The Victorious City, as it is still referred to in Arabic. Cairo would in time at the beginning of the tenth century. The Fatimid caliphate grow into one of the most important religious, cultural, and reached its full expression on Egyptian soil and it was its political centers of the Muslim world.

fourth caliph, Mu'izz al-Din, who gained sovereignty over the area in 969. His brilliant general Jawhar led the campaign The urban centers that sprouted under Islamic civilization and almost immediately began staking out the walls of a new surfaced from either army camps, that eventually developed palace city after his arrival. The city was initially called al-Fustat into permanent cities, or princely towns established to commemorate Mansuriyya but was renamed al-Qahira al-Mu'izziyya four memorate new dynasties and to affirm their authority. Cairo years later, to commemorate and celebrate the arrival of the was conceived out of an amalgamation of such regions, in caliph. With the coming of Mu'izz al-Din, Cairo or al-Fustat which an army camp settlement fused with the princely Qahirah was formally inducted into world history.

centers established at its periphery. As such, the successive stages of Cairo's genesis also capture the histories of her past Al-Qahirah was developed into a city of lavish beauty and masters.

intellectual vitality under the Fatimids. But the city remained largely inaccessible to common people from areas like Fustat, In 640 C.E. the forces of the illustrious Arab general Amr who could only enter the royal enclosure by special permit. ibn al-As reached what is present-day Cairo. He set up camp Ironically, the al-Azhar University, which is today recognized there and established the first mosque in Africa, which still as one of the most important intellectual centers of Sunni stands and is one of the most important religious icons of Islam, was established by the Fatimids to promote their Cairo today. The settlement itself came to be known as Shi'ite doctrine.

Fustat, which simply means "entrenchment," and eventually developed into a burgeoning city. The first major dynastic The closing of the eleventh century marked the beginning shift in the Muslim empire left its mark upon the Egyptian of

the first Crusade and also the decline of the Fatimid landscape as well and the Abbasid victory over the Ummayyads dynasty. In the period between 1164 and 1169 Cairo became in 750 C.E. gave rise to the princely town of al- Askar (the a pawn in the power struggle between the Seljuks of Syria and Cantonment). In the century that followed the communities the Christian forces in Jerusalem. Although still nominally of Fustat and al- Askar fused to form a combined settlement ruled by the Fatimids, true control of the city eventually fell Caliphate

the city. For example, Sultan Qalawun erected his famous hospital in the heart of the city during this era. Although the Cairo of the fifteenth century still surpassed any European city in terms of urban development and population, this period also marks the beginning of its decline. Cairo's economic prosperity was reduced considerably due to Vasco da Gama's successful circumnavigation of Africa and his arrival in India in 1498. The East-West Oriental spice trade with Europe, which passed through Egypt, was thereby severed, stranding Cairo in a backwater of the rapidly changing global map. Not even the Ottomans, who finally ousted the Mamluks in 1517, were able to hamper the city's downward spiral.

The modernizing reforms instituted by Isma'il Pasha in the late nineteenth century ultimately breathed life back into Cairo. These reforms ironically were inspired by the urban developments of modern-day Europe. Cairo is today the largest metropolis in the Middle East and is now being stifled by overurbanization resulting from overcentralization. This is but the latest challenge facing the City Victorious. Having always been at the forefront of Arab and Islamic trends, it is a challenge to which Cairo will surely rise.

See also Sultanates: Ayyubids; Sultanates: Ghaznavid; Sultanates: Mamluk; Sultanates: Seljuk.

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A 1996 aerial view of Cairo and the Nile River. Cairo evolved at Ibrahim, Saad Eddin; Sobhi, Hoda M; and El-Ahwal, Abdel the site of the ancient city of Memphis, one of the first urban settlements, dating from 5000 B.C.E. In the tenth century C.E., the K. "Problems of Over-Urbanization: The Case of Cairo."

Shi'ite Fatimid dynasty built a palace city called al-Qahira al- In The Middle East City: Ancient Traditions Confront a Mu'izziyya. Al-Qahira, or Cairo, was at that time a walled, beauti-

Modern World. Edited by Abdulaziz Y. Saqqaf. New York: Paragon House Publisher, 1987.

royal area was granted with special permission. © THOMAS HARTWELL/CORBIS SABA

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Raymond, Andre. "Cairo." In *The Modern Middle East*. Edited by Albert Hourani; Philip S. Khoury; and Mary C. Wilson. into the hands of the young Sunni governor Saladin (Salah al-London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1993.

Din) al-Ayyubi, sent to defend Cairo against the Crusader Rodenbeck, Max. *Cairo: The City Victorious*. London: Picacampaigns. Saladin in time established the Ayyubid dynasty dor, 1998.

and even reconquered Jerusalem. His mercurial rise contributed once again to the further transformation of Cairo. Rogers, J. M. "Al-Kahira." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Edited by E. Van Donzel; B. Lewis; and Ch. Pellat. Under him, the mosque of Amr was restored and al-Azhar Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

University was purged of its Shi'ite bias. A madrasa (school) was founded at the tomb of Imam al-Shafi'i soon after the Aslam Farouk-Alli Ayyubid conquest of Egypt and a mausoleum commemorating the great imam is still in existence today. But Saladin's most important and long-lived addition to the city was the Citadel, built for him in 1176 as a place of refuge and CALIPHATE

continuously expanded upon by later generations.

In classical and medieval Islamic history and juristic theory, By the fourteenth century Cairo was recognized as a world term *khilafa*, of which "caliphate" is the anglicized capital, reaching its zenith under the Mamluks. Cairo's great denotes the political headship of the Muslim community growth and development took place in this period. In spite nity. The term *khalifa*—which is used in the Qur'an with of constant forays against the Crusaders and Mongols, the reference to Adam (2:30) and David (38:26), besides seven Mamluk rulers still devoted energies to the development of other occurrences in the plural—is understood in Sunni

116

Islam and the Muslim World

Caliphate

juristic theory as the successor of the prophet Muhammad. several of them now refused to continue their tributary status,

The position of the caliph is the most central of all political and some renounced allegiance to the new faith as well. Abu Bakr's institutions in the history of classical Islam, and issues per- secure first challenge was to subdue these rebellious tribes to against the legitimacy of those occupying this office, the future of the nascent caliphate. The armies he sent however, scope of its powers, and the theoretical and practical accom- conquests modations forced upon it during the course of its long career but embarked on an extraordinarily daring path of History of the Institution armies now began operations simultaneously in the Byzan- Sunni Muslims believe that Muhammad did not appoint time territories of Syria and Palestine and in the Sassanian anyone to succeed him on his death. According to this view, territories. The degree to which the conquest of the Byzantines which has also been generally adopted by modern scholars of time and Sassanian territories was the result of careful planning Islamic history, a number of the companions of Muham- ning or coordination from Medina is uncertain; yet by the mad congregated in Medina immediately after his death to time Abu Bakr died (634), two years after the death of Muhammad, deliberate on the question of his succession. At this meeting, becoming the early Islamic state was already on its way to Abu Bakr, a member of Muhammad's tribe of Quraysh and becoming a major world empire. one of the most influential of his companions, was elected as The the first caliph. The succession was soon recognized by the caliphate beginnings of the administrative organization of the other companions, including Ali, the initially recalcitrant Umar ibn are credited to Abu Bakr's immediate successor, register cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, who was later to become the focus of the legitimist claims of the Shi'a. The (diwan) for the payment of the troops and for the community. latter's view of Muhammad's succession is squarely at odds with that of the Sunnis. To them, Muhammad had, in fact, were It was in his reign that the first garrison towns were designated a successor in the person of Ali, and most of the established in the conquered lands, a system of taxation was put in companions of the Prophet were culpable for subverting this place, and efforts were made to minimize the social and explicit testament, as indeed were the successors of the first- economic disruptions inherent in this rapid conquest. Yet

generation Muslims for their continued denial of the claims it was not
just the conquered people but also the new
of Ali's descendants, the imams, to the political and religious
conquerors who had to cope with the changes set in motion
headship of Islam. by the
expansion of the Medinan state. Entire tribes came to
settle in the newly acquired territories, and, quite apart from
As the rival Shi'ite and Sunni perspectives on early Islam— such
rivalries as they may have brought with them from their
and especially on the locus of legitimate authority after earlier
environs, new grievances and conflicts were provoked
Muhammad—suggest, there are competing, often irreconcil- by the
competing claims of those who had converted to Islam
able, narratives that comprise the history and historiography early or
late (which determined the share of one's stipends),
of the early caliphate. In the form that these and other by the
unfamiliar demands of the nascent state on its subjects,
narratives have come down to the present day, they are also and by the
conduct and policies of the caliph or his agents.
relatively late (with the earliest extant sources on the caliphate
dating from the 9th century), and their content and structure Such
resentments came to the surface in the reign of
often reveal considerable instability in how they were trans- Uthman
ibn Affan (r. 644–656), the third successor of
mitted or variously rearranged by different hands before, Muhammad,
who was eventually murdered in Medina by
and even after, being committed to writing. Early Islamic
disaffected Arab tribesmen from the garrisons of Kufa, Basra,
historiography may provide rich clues to the controversies on and Egypt.
The murder of Uthman inaugurated the series of
questions of religious and political authority during the first bitter
conflicts within the Muslim community that are collecenturies of Islam, but it
does not serve well as a reliable guide tively known as the fitna—a highly
evocative term suggesting
to the history of the caliphate. Yet, if sources do not lend a time of
temptation and trial, dissension, and chaos. This
themselves to a detailed reconstruction of the careers of civil war,
Islam's first, was to continue throughout the reign
individual caliphs during Islam's first two centuries or more, of
Uthman's successor, Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–661), and
modern scholars generally agree that even the tendentiousness it ended
only with the latter's assassination and the rise of the
of the extant accounts does allow an overview of the caliphate's Umayyad
dynasty (r. 661–750). The events of these years
history along something like the following lines. were
debated by Muslims for centuries: It is to these events
that later Muslims looked in explaining and arguing over

The caliphate of Abu Bakr (632–634), which signified the their
sectarian divisions, some of which were to prove permacontinuation of the
polity that Muhammad had founded in nent. Even in later centuries,
it was never easy to explain how
Medina, was challenged by a number of tribes in the Arabian the first
community of believers, formed by the Prophet’s
Peninsula. They had acknowledged Muhammad’s authority own
guidance, had fallen into such turmoil so soon after
by embracing Islam and sending tribute to Medina, but his death.

Islam and the Muslim World

117

Caliphate

The Umayyads. Like their predecessors, the Umayyads too rulers that
medieval Arab chroniclers and many modern
were members of the Quraysh tribe. Unlike their predeces- scholars
have often represented them to be. As Crone and
sors, all four of whom came, after much controversy, to be set Hinds have
shown, their coins, their official pronounce apart from subsequent rulers and to
be revered by Sunni ments, and their panegyrists often characterized
them as the
Muslims as the Rashidun, the “rightly guided” caliphs, the
“deputies of God,” a formulation frowned on by the religious
rise of the Umayyads marked the establishment of a caliphal scholars but
one that suggests something of the scope and
dynasty. Mu awiya (r. 661–680), the founder of this dynasty,
seriousness of Umayyad religious claims. The caliphs are
based his rule on careful cultivation and manipulation of ties known to
have given decisions on matters involving Islamic
with tribal notables (ashraf), and it was through such ties that law and
ritual, and some of them are featured as authorities in
he was able not just to govern but also to have his son, Yazid I early
collections of hadith. Above all, the existence of a
(r. 680–683), recognized as his heir. This system of rule powerful
centralized political authority provided the crucial
through tribal intermediaries was short-lived, however. On context in
which the early development of Islam and of
Mu awiya’s death, several disparate revolts—often character- Muslim
communal and cultural identity took place.
ized as the second civil war—erupted in different parts of the
Yet the growing community of Muslims also posed serious
empire. Among these was the revolt of Husayn, the son of Ali
challenges to the Umayyads. Since the conquest of the
and the grandson of the Prophet, who was killed in Iraq in 680
Middle East, the economic well-being of the state was based
along with a small band of his followers. Though hardly
on the principle that the non-Muslims paid the bulk of the

momentous at the time it occurred, this event was to acquire taxes on the land, while the Muslims were responsible for profound importance in the history of Shi'ite Islam as the only the religiously obligated taxes on their wealth. In theory, symbolic focus of Shi'ite piety and religious identity. At the anyone who joined the ranks of the Muslims was entitled to time, however, far more serious threats to the Umayyads the same concessions; in practice, a large influx of previously were represented by the revolt of Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr in taxed non-Arabs threatened the revenues of the empire, with the Hijaz, in Arabia, and by factional warfare between Arab the result that the new Muslims (the mawali or "clients") tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia. In 684, with the civil war often continued to be taxed as if they had not converted to still in progress, Marwan ibn al-Hakam (r. 684–685) was Islam. The Umayyads never satisfactorily resolved the probelected caliph in Syria, marking the transfer of ruling authorlem of how to integrate the new non-Arab Muslims into the

ity from Mu'awiya's descendants, the Sufyanid clan (of which Muslim community, and they thereby created considerable Uthman had been a member), to another clan of the Umayyad resentment against their dynasty. This was compounded by family. This clan, the Marwanids, was to rule as caliphs until the grievances of those Arabs who had given up their military the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty in 750.

careers and settled down in the conquered lands, but felt discriminated against or unfairly treated by the military The Marwanids governed their empire through powerful generals and their (sometimes non-Muslim) tax-collecting generals appointed from the capital, Damascus, and through agents. There was, moreover, increasingly destructive tribal increasingly elaborate administrative departments (diwans). factionalism within the Umayyad army that severely weak-

Late antique administrative structures and traditions continened the caliphate both through faction-based military reued under the Umayyads even as they underwent sometimes

volts and the systematic persecution of members of a faction rapid changes that expressed the evolving Arab and Islamic each time a rival came to power.

identity of the new empire. Around the turn of the eighth century, the language of the administration was itself changed Shi'ite groups led a number of revolts against the Umayyads, from ancient Persian and Greek to Arabic and a new system as did the Kharijites, erstwhile followers of Ali who had separated of coinage, clearly asserting the Islamic identity of the new from him when he agreed to negotiate with what the rulers, was instituted. This identity was expressed even more the

Kharijites regarded as Mu'awiya's iniquitous party. The strikingly in monumental architecture, of which the two most revolt that brought the Umayyad dynasty to an end in 750 famous extant examples are the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, also began as a Shi'ite movement that called, as had many others lem, built during the reign of the caliph Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705), and the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, built before it, for returning the rule back to the rightful descendants of the Prophet and for rule according to the under his successor al-Walid I (r. 705–715). "book of God and the sunna of His Prophet." It was not, however, the descendants of Ali but those of al-Abbas, an Though the Umayyads are often portrayed as worldly uncle of the Prophet, that came to power with what is often "kings" in Arabic historiography (an unfavorable image that characterized by modern scholars as the "Abbasid revolution." owes much to the fact that early Islamic historiography is largely the work of those who were unfavorably disposed The Abbasids. The new center of the empire was Iraq rather toward this dynasty), it was under their rule that Islamic than Syria, and bureaucrats of Iranian origin were prominent religious, cultural, and political institutions began to take in the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258) from its inception. The their distinctive shape. The caliphs, though far removed from new empire was, like its predecessor, also an "Arab kingdom," the austere lifestyle of the Rashidun, were hardly the ungodly and indeed there were important continuities between the

118

Islam and the Muslim World
 Caliphate

Umayyad Caliphs

Umayyah

Harb

Abu l-As

Abu-Sufyan (c. 565–653; Meccan chief)

Affan

al-Hakam

Yazid

2. Mu'awiya I r. 661–680

Umm-Habibah? Muhammad

(Gov. of Syria, 639)

(Gov. of Syria, 639–661)

the Prophet

(d. 632)

3. Yazid I r. 680–683

4. Mu'awiya II r. 683

Umm-Kulthum and Ruqayyah?1.

Uthman r. 644–656 (figurehead)
 5. Marwan I
 r. 683–685 (chief aide
 to Uthman, 644–656;
 never generally recognized
 as caliph
 Muhammad
 6. Abd-al-Malik r. 685–705
 Abd-al- Aziz
 (generally recognized from 692) (Gov. of Egypt)
 7. al-Walid I r. 705–715 8. Sulayman r. 715–717 10.
 Yazid II r. 720–724 11. Hisham r. 724–743
 15. Marwan II
 9.
 Umar II
 r. 744–750
 r.
 717–720
 13. Yazid III r. 744 14. Ibrahim r. 744 12.
 al-Walid II r. 743–744
 Mu awiyah
 Abd-al-Rahman I
 (emir at Córdoba;
 ancestor of the
 Spanish caliphs)

Claimants to the caliphate or caliphs are set in bold type, and are sequentially numbered.

SOURCE: Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Genealogy of the early caliphs.

Umayyad and the early Abbasid caliphates. Yet, the latter was the justification for their claims to the caliphate. This was to much more inclusive in terms of the ethnic origins of its remain a major basis of their legitimist claims, though it was soldiers and bureaucrats and much more successful in assimilating its non-Arab subjects into the Islamic empire. Its scarcely the only one. The early Abbasid caliphs also tried to invoke, especially in their regnal titles, the messianic expectaideological emphases were also different from its predecessors rife at the time; they sought, as had the Umayyads in sor's. Unlike the Umayyads but like the Alids, the Abbasids

their own ways, to bolster their authority with appeals to preemphasized from the outset their kinship with the Prophet as Islamic royal traditions and symbolism, and they presided

Islam and the Muslim World

119

Caliphate

over elaborate circles of patronage that involved a broad spectrum of the cultural and religious elite of the time. Baghdad, founded by al-Mansur (r. 754–775) as his new capital, had evocative imperial symbolism inscribed in its very design, but it soon also became the center of culture and solidify the ranks of the early Sunni scholars than it did learning, and of interaction not only between various Muslim groups and emerging schools and sects but also between happier to align themselves with the Sunni religious Muslims and non-Muslims. asserting their own roles in the community's religious life than they were in confronting or challenging them. The first century of Abbasid rule was a time of extraordinary cultural and religious efflorescence, not just in Baghdad but also in the major provincial towns. It was during this time the end of the first century of Abbasid rule, the that the eponymous founders of the major schools of Sunni still in control of large parts of his realm, but his and Shi'ite law flourished. The systematic collection of the traditions of the Prophet, the hadith, began to take place and it was rapidly shrinking. Some of the first extant works of hadith date in all but name, to this period, as does the earliest major biography of the heart of the empire, the *Sira* of Ibn Ishaq (d. 767). Under royal patronage, systematic efforts were made to translate ancient philosophical and scientific works into Arabic, and this was the age in later decades contributed substantially to the that saw formative developments in Islamic theology, notably and economic weakness of the Abbasid state. This

the rise of the rationalist Mu'tazila, as well as the beginnings of a pattern of a shrinking state and the caliph's increasing dependence on military generals was to continue for much of subsequent Abbasid history. From the middle of the tenth century, the caliphs came under the sway of ruling families and political turmoil. A number of Shi'ite revolts, of which the most serious took place in Medina and Basra in 762, threatened the caliph himself, in all but name. The Buyids, a family of Shi'ite military adventurers from Iran, ruled what was left of the Abbasid caliphate from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century. They were supplanted by the staunchly Sunni Turkish Seljuks, who then oversaw the Abbasid caliphs after the revolution. The empire was also shaken by a destructive civil war between two sons of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), eventuating in the murder of the incumbent caliph, al-Amin (r. 809–813), and the succession of his brother and the warlords, the symbolic significance of the caliphate declined in effective political power, and for all the humiliations that individual caliphs were meted out at the hands of the governor of Khurasan, al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833). This institution grew during these centuries. The Shi'ite Buyids murdered, and the widespread uncertainty and disorder that not only maintained the caliphate but sought also to legitimize their own rule by seeking formal recognition from the caliphs. The Seljuk sultans and their wazirs were often far more powerful than the caliph or his officials, but they too continued to be formally subservient to the caliph.

Unlike his Abbasid predecessors, al-Ma'mun made strong claims to religious authority, namely to an ability to lay down at least some of what his subjects must believe. Toward the end of his reign, however, he was weak, and depending on the personal abilities and

end of his reign, he instituted the mihna, an inquisition to enforce conformity to the theological doctrine that the Qur'an ought to be regarded as the "created" word of God. Irrespective of the provenance of this idea or its theological merit, it allowed the caliph to assert his own authority as the arbiter of the community's religious life. The inquisition was apparently intended not only to extend the scope of caliphal groups, which he reorganized with himself at their authority but also to humble many of those scholars of hadith and law whose growing influence in society the caliph resented and who consequently were among the principle seriously stem the effects of the long decline the

120

Islam and the Muslim World Caliphate

caliphate had already undergone. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the caliphate of Baghdad was terminated by the Mongols, whose ravages included the destruction of large parts of the eastern Islamic world. The caliphate was revived—and the Mongol tide however, denied that any but their own number was finally stemmed—by the Mamluks of Syria and Egypt, but the Abbasid caliphs of the Mamluk era never had the prestige or the symbolic capital possessed by many of their predecessors in Baghdad. The Mamluk era and, with it, the shadow community—the imam. Since the time of their sixth imam, Abbasid caliphate ended with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517. largely quietist political views: The imam did not have to show his entitlement to this position by actually taking up Ideological Challenges to the Caliphate

initiative
prominent
Notable
al-Qa'im (r.
had waned
(futuwwa)
head, to
reign. But
very much to
such the
teenth century, the
bayt, and indeed their
together at the hands of the Mongols, whose
the "acceptable one
rida)
Ali,
properly
the person
Ja'far
arms against

the iniquitous order, as certain other Shi'as

From the time of its inception, the caliphate faced challenges thought he must. This meant that, despite tensions, the of varying degrees of gravity to its existence. Many of these Imamis could continue to live in peace under the caliphs. But the Isma'ili challenges were political. Civil wars resulted in some of the Shi'as, differing with the Imamis on the identity of major shifts in the caliphal office: the end of the Rashidun era those of Ja'far's descendants who were to be recognized as and the emergence of the Umayyads; the transfer of the imams, thought and acted differently. A state established by caliphate from the Sufyanids to the Marwanids; the Abbasid the Qarmatis Isma'ilis in northeastern Arabia gave much grief to the revolution; and the war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun. Abbasids during the tenth century. In the early tenth There was secession of territories that had once been part of century, a stronger and more ambitious Isma'ili state, the caliphate, internal rebellions and warfare with external caliphate of the Fatimids, was established in Ifriqiyya (modern Tunisia) from where it moved, in loss of effective caliphal control of day Tunisia) from where it moved, in 969, to Egypt.

the heartland of the empire itself and, indeed, even of the The Fatimids saw themselves as Isma'ili imams as well as caliphs' own freedom of action. Some of the challenges to caliphs, demanding absolute authority over their followers the caliphate were also ideological, in that they denied the and challenging, with considerable might and a splendor to legitimacy of those who occupied this office or contested the match, the legitimist claims of all other rival states and rulers. basic assumptions on which the Sunni institution of the The pressure of these claims was felt widely, and not just by caliphate was predicated. The Kharijites, for all the antagonism to the Abbasids. Thus it was in response to them, and not nism within their ranks, denied the legitimacy not only of primarily as an affront to the Abbasids, that the Umayyads Uthman's later years but also that of most of his successors. who had been ruling Spain ever since the fall of the Umayyad Their position that a ruler who was guilty of a grave sin ought caliphate in Damascus, began to also style themselves as to be deposed brought them into frequent and bloody conflict caliphs in the tenth century. The Abbasids, however, outlived with the government. Indeed all but the most moderate of the both of these claimants to the caliphate. And while the Kharijites were eventually eliminated, but not before they Fatimid caliphate was in existence, the Shi'ite Buyids of Iraq had forcefully raised the question of what constituted a were happier to pay nominal allegiance to the Sunni Abbasids

legitimate ruler, under what circumstances must an unjust than they
were to the Fatimids, and even the Qarmati Isma'ilis remained
and sinful ruler be deposed, and what were the terms of
opposed to the latter. As for the population of Egypt, most
membership in the community of Muslims. As Crone has the Sunni
people preferred to remain Sunnis, and it was to
shown, some of the Kharijites as well as certain Mu'tazili the Sunni
Abbasid caliphate that the celebrated Saladin looked when
theologians were not convinced that the position of a caliph he terminated Fatimid rule in 1171.
was necessary at all, though this view did not attract much support from the Muslim community. The
Caliphate in Constitutional Theory

Detailed formulations of Sunni public law are the product of
If the history of the caliphate is viewed from the perspective of the majoritarian Sunnis rather than from that of the political
caliphate had largely ceased to be an effective
institution. The most influential of these, the *Ahkam al-Shi'a*, then the latter must be seen as representing a more
al-sultaniyya of the Shafi'i jurist al-Mawardi (d. 1058), was durable challenge to the legitimacy of the caliphate than had written in
the later Buyid period, when the caliphs had for decades
even the Kharijites. Divided into many different sects, the
lived in often humiliating circumstances under the
Shi'a agreed that the headship of the Muslim community tutelage of
their military overlords. Even so, the caliph
belonged properly to a member of the "people of the house" occupies
the center of al-Mawardi's exposition, with all powers of
(ahl al-bayt). What this phrase connoted was a matter of some
appointment and dismissal concentrated in his person, uncertainty in early Islam, though the term came to be to be
"delegated" to others as needed. The principal function generally understood to
refer to the family of the Prophet. As actions of the caliph, as al-Mawardi
saw them, were: the

Islam and the Muslim World

121

Caliphate

preservation of religion according to its agreed-upon principles have had
much practical efficacy, though it did serve as a pointed
reminder of the jurists' view that a ruler was legitimate the security of the
realm against internal and external threats; legitimate only insofar as he did not
flagrantly contravene the basic
undertaking jihad; the collection of the taxes as required by norms of
justice and of the shari'a—that is, as long as he
the sacred law, the shari'a, and the proper disbursement and allowed the

continuance of a world in which the scholars use of the revenues; and the appointment of the appropriate officials for discharging the various functions of the state; and to the community. For the most part, however, Sunni political close personal supervision of public affairs. Al-Mawardi's political thought had made its peace with the political realities long formulations were plainly idealistic; indeed, some of them before the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad. would have been so even when the Abbasids presided over a The resurrected Abbasid caliphate of Cairo did not receive large and powerful empire. Yet, in a milieu of political much attention from later scholars. Rather, jurists like Ibn decline, they served important functions. They were simulta- Taymiyya (d. 1328) ignored the institution altogether, focusneously a way of protesting against the existing circum- ing instead on the implementation of the shari a by the stances, through a rearticulation of caliphal privileges and his ruler—whoever he might be—in collaboration with the religcentrality to the life of the community, and a means of ious scholars. bringing juristic theory into some accord with changing circumstances. As for the former, it is noteworthy that the Historic and Symbolic Significance of the Caliphate caliph al-Qadir, under whom al-Mawardi wrote his treatise, The fundamental importance of the caliphate, irrespective of had himself made efforts to reassert some of his authority the actual conduct of individual caliphs or the political foragainst the later Buyids and, as Gibb has suggested (“Al- tunes of the institution, lies in what it symbolizes of the Mawardi's Theory”), this treatise may have been part of the classical history of Islam and of the Muslim community. The same effort. But, the jurist also made important concessions early caliphate was not only the force behind the military to changing times: The person elevated to the caliphate expansion of the Arab Muslims immediately after the death of ought to be the “best” of all those available, yet one who was Muhammad, it was also the institution that kept the Muslims not such could validly occupy the position; the caliph could together as a religious and political entity. For all the adhold his position even with his powers severely limited by a verse views that abound about the Umayyads in Arabic military usurper, provided the latter continued to abide by historiography, it was through their caliphate that the politithe shari a; and independent rulers of outlying provinces cal survival of the Muslim community was assured. And it was could be recognized as legitimate and indeed integrated into in the framework of the caliphal state, under the Umayyads

the caliphal system if they formally submitted to the caliph and then under the Abbasids, that the religious and cultural and did not contravene the shari'a. institutions of Islam evolved. The formation of Islam, its intellectual life, and culture in the first centuries, is, in short, Jurists like al-Mawardi sought to tread a difficult path not merely intertwined with but inconceivable without the between trying to formalize and legitimize the status quo, to caliphate. adapt the shari'a itself to the changing circumstances, and to encourage the existing authorities to conform in some manner. Even as it declined, the caliphate continued to represent ner to the shari'a. Later jurists went much beyond al-Mawardi the historical continuity of the Muslim community. It also in their concessions to realpolitik. For instance, al-Ghazali (d. 1111) represented the ideal of the shari'a's supremacy in the collective life of the community. The symbolic weight of the that any military usurper be deemed legitimate, for the effort caliphal institution continued to be felt, as long as the caliphate to remove him would inevitably result in political chaos and lasted, in the investitures sought by many of the rulers who bloodshed; indeed, whoever was recognized as caliph by the were independent of the caliphate in all but name. This military ruler was to be accepted as a legitimate caliph. Such symbolic power could be revived even long after the institujuristic formulations meant the recognition of a reality the tion associated with it had become extinct. For much of their jurists (or the caliphs, for that matter) were powerless to history, the Ottoman sultans had not claimed to be "caliphs," change. They also signified efforts to safeguard the historical yet even they began to do so from the late eighteenth century. continuity of the Muslim community. To concede that the This was largely meant to assert Ottoman authority over constituted political authority was (and for centuries past had those who lived in territories now lost to the sultan, and been) illegitimate would have meant that the overall political thereby also to bolster his weakening standing vis-à-vis the framework in which the community lived was fundamentally European powers of the time. Such claims on the part of the illegitimate, and, unlike the Shi'a, the Sunni scholars were not sultans had resonance in several Muslim societies, especially willing to go so far. Yet, as Khaled Abou El Fadl has shown, if as the latter came under colonial rule and began more they acknowledged the legitimacy of the existing order and anxiously to look for a visible symbol of the worldwide had a stake in its preservation, many Sunni jurists did not Muslim community. This sentiment found its most powerful

necessarily close all doors to the possibility of rebellion expression
in India, where what was in fact the Indian subcontinent against unjust rule. Leaving
such a possibility open may not tinent's very first mass-movement of
the colonial period was

122

Islam and the Muslim World

Calligraphy

launched in defense of the Ottoman caliphate at the end of Sanders,
Paula. *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo*.

the First World War—a movement that came to an end only
Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

with the formal termination of the Ottoman caliphate by Tabari,
Al-. *The History of Al-Tabari*. Albany: State University
Republican Turkey in 1924. That was not the end of the of New
York Press, 1985–1999.

symbolic significance of the caliphate, however. For it was in Tyan,
Emile. *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Vol. 1: Le
the debates surrounding the dissolution of the Ottoman califat.
Paris: R. Sirey, 1954.

caliphate that some of the first modern discussions on the Zaman,
Muhammad Qasim. *Religion and Politics under the*
“Islamic state” were to find their point of departure in the
Early Abbasids. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

twentieth century.

Muhammad Qasim Zaman

See also *Empires: Abbasid*; *Empires: Ottoman*; *Empires:*
Umayyad; *Kharijites*; *Khawarij*; *Monarchy*.

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Muslims have
always deemed calligraphy, the art of beautiful
writing, the noblest of the arts. The first chapters of the
Azme, Aziz al-. *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in*
Qur'an revealed to the prophet Muhammad in the early
Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities. London: I. B.
seventh century (suras 96 and 68) mention the pen and
Tauris, 1997.

writing. Writing in Arabic script soon became a hallmark of
Crone, Patricia. “Ninth-century Muslim Anarchists.” *Past*
Islamic civilization, found on everything from buildings and
and Present 167 (2000): 3–28.

coins to textiles and ceramics, and scribes and calligraphers
Crone, Patricia. *Slaves on Horses*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cam- became the
most honored type of artist. We know the names,
bridge University Press, 1980.

and even the biographies, of more calligraphers than any other type of artist. Probably because of the intrinsic link between writing and the revelation, Islamic calligraphy is meant to convey an aura of effortlessness and immutability, and the individual hand and personality are sublimated to the overall impression of stateliness and grandeur. In this way Islamic calligraphy differs markedly from other great calligraphic traditions, notably the Chinese, in which the text is meant to impart the personality of the calligrapher and recall the moment of its creation. Islamic calligraphy, by contrast, is timeless.

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The reed pen (qalam) was the writing implement par excellence in Islamic civilization. The brush, used for calligraphy in China and Japan, was reserved for painting in the Muslim lands. In earliest times Muslim calligraphers penned their works on parchment, generally made from the skins of sheep and goats, but from the eighth century parchment was gradually replaced by the cheaper and more flexible support of paper. Papermakers developed elaborately decorated papers to complement the fine calligraphy, and the colored, marbled, and gold-sprinkled papers used by calligraphers in later periods are some of the finest ever made.

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all Islamic calligraphy is written in Arabic script.

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was revealed in that language, and the sanctity of

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revelation meant that the script was adopted for many

Literature." *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988): 392–411. other
languages, such as new Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and

Safran, Janina M. The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus. Cambridge, Urdu.
Unlike many other scripts that have at least two

of writing—a monumental or printed form in distinct forms
Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard Uni-

versity, 2000. which the
letters are written separately and a cursive or

handwritten
form in which they are connected—Arabic has

Islam and the Muslim World

123

Calligraphy

The Arabic alphabet. Arabic calligraphy is done with a qalam, a type of reed
pen, rather than with a brush as in East

Asia. Islam's reverence for the written word contributes to calligraphy's
status as the religion's most honorable art

form. © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

124

Islam and the Muslim World

Calligraphy

only the cursive form, in which some, but not all, letters are

Calligraphers in early Islamic times regularly used the

connected and assume different forms depending on their rectilinear
styles to transcribe manuscripts of the Qur'an.

position in the word (initial, medial, final, and independent). Indeed, the
rectilinear styles might be deemed Qur'anic

hands, for we know only one other manuscript—an unidenti-

The cursive nature of Arabic script allowed calligraphers
fied genealogical text in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek no. 379)—

to develop many different styles of writing, which are usually
written in a rectilinear script. None of these early manuscripts grouped under two main
headings: rectilinear and rounded.

scripts of the Qur'an is signed or dated, and most survive only

Since the eighteenth century, scholars have often called the
in fragmentary form, and so scholars are still refining other

rectilinear styles "Kufic," after the city of Kufa in southern
methods, both paleographic and codicological, to group and

Iraq, which was an intellectual center in early Islamic times. localize the scripts used in these early parchment manuscripts This name is something of a misnomer, for as yet we have no of the Qur'an. idea which particular rectilinear style this name denoted. Scholars have proposed various other names to replace kufic, The major change in later Islamic times was the gradual including Old or Early Abbasid style, but these names are not adoption and adaptation of round hands for calligraphy. universally accepted, in part because they carry implicit From the ninth century calligraphers transformed the round political meanings, and many scholars continue to use the hands into artistic scripts suitable for transcribing the Qur'an term kufic. and other prestigious texts. The earliest surviving copy of the Similarly, scholars often called the rounded styles naskh, Qur'an written in a rounded hand is a small manuscript, now from the verb nasakha (to copy). The naskh script is indeed the dispersed but with the largest section preserved in the Chesmost common hand used for transcription and the one upon ter Beatty Library in Dublin (ms. 1417). It bears a note in which modern styles of typography are based, but the name is Persian saying that the manuscript was corrected by a certain also something of a misnomer, for it refers to only one of a Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Abu 'l-Qasim al-Khayqani in June 905, group of six rounded hands that became prominent in later and it is tacitly accepted that the rounded hand was developed Islamic times. As with kufic, scholars have proposed several in Iran or nearby Iraq, heartland of the Abbasid caliphate. In other names to replace naskh, such as new style (often abbreviated N.S.), or new Abbasid style, but these names, too, are the ensuing centuries calligraphers continued to develop and elaborate the rounded style, and from the fourteenth century not universally accepted. virtually all manuscripts of the Qur'an were written in one of the six round scripts known as the Six Pens (Arabic, al-aqlam Medieval sources mention the names of many other al-sitta; Persian, shish qalam). These comprise three pairs of calligraphic hands, but so far it has been difficult, even majuscule-miniscule hands, thuluth-naskh, muhaqqaq-rayhan, impossible, to match many of these names with distinct styles and tawqi -riqa , and calligraphers delighted in juxtaposing of script. Very few sources describe the characteristics of a the different scripts, particularly the larger and smaller variparticular style or give illustrations of particular scripts. ants of the same pair. Furthermore, the same names may have been applied to

different styles in different places and at different times. Various explanations have been proposed for this transition. Hence it may never be possible to link the names of specific formation of rounded book hands into proportioned scripts given in the sources with the many, often fragmentary, suitable for calligraphing fine manuscripts. These explanations range from the political (e.g., the spread of orthodox Sunni Islam) to the sociohistorical (e.g., the new role of the writing from early Islamic times, but in the early period the scribe as copyist and calligrapher), but perhaps the rounded style seems to have been a book hand used for most convincing are the practical. The change from rectilinear to rounded script coincided with the change from parchment to paper, and the new style of writing might well be connected with a new type of reed pen, a new method of sharpening the nib, or a new way that the pen was held, placed on the page, or moved across it. In the same way, the adoption of paper engendered the adoption of a new type of black soot ink (midad) by Ibn al-Nadim (d. 995) records the names of calligraphers (hibr) used that replaced the dark brown, tannin-based ink who worked in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, and both on parchment.

coins and the inscriptions on the first example of Islamic architecture, the Dome of the Rock erected in Jerusalem by From the fourteenth century calligraphers, especially those in the the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik in 692, show that from the eastern Islamic lands, developed more stylized forms of rounded script. The most distinctive is the hanging script known as nasta liq, which was particularly suitable for transforming ordinary writing into calligraphy. scribing Persian, in which many words end in letters with

Islam and the Muslim World

125

Capitalism

large bowls, such as ya or ta . Persian calligraphers conducive to free exchange. Where this system allegedly used nasta liq to pen poetic texts, in which the rounded edly differs from capitalism, which also

promotes economic

bowls at the end of each hemistich form a visual chain down freedoms, is that it avoids sharp inequalities, chronic corrupthe right side of the columns on a page. They also used tion, and mass exploitation. If Muslims restructure their

nasta liq to pen poetic specimens (qit a). These elaborately economic relations according to Islamic stipulations, say the planned calligraphic compositions typically contain a Persian proponents of Islamic economics, they can obtain all the quatrain written in colored and gold-dusted inks on fine, benefits of capitalism without incurring its costs. Specifically, brightly colored and highly polished paper and set in elabo- they can achieve prosperity, steady innovation, and material rately decorated borders. The swooping strokes of the letters security—all traits associated with today’s advanced market and bowls provide internal rhythm and give structure to the economies—within a framework based on honesty and brothcomposition. In contrast to the anonymous works of the early erly cooperation. period, these calligraphic specimens are frequently signed and dated, and connoisseurs vied to assemble fine collections, If this logic resonates with many Muslims, the reason is which were often mounted in splendid albums. that the current economic performance of the Islamic world

is generally disappointing. The predominantly Muslim coun- Calligraphy continues to be an important art form in tries included in the annual “Corruption Index” of Transparmodern times, despite the adoption of the Latin alphabet in ency International all rank as substantially “more corrupt”

some countries such as Turkey. Some calligraphers are trying than the typical advanced economy. Except for the small oilto revive the traditional styles, notably the Six Pens, and

exporting countries of the Arabian peninsula, not a single investigate and rediscover traditional techniques and materi-Muslim-governed state is among the world’s wealthiest counals. Societies teaching calligraphy flourish. The Anjuman-e

tries, and many Muslim countries are impoverished. The Khushnvisan-e Iran (Society of Iranian Calligraphers), for Islamic world’s participation in world trade is low in relation example, has branches in all the main cities of the country, to its share of global population. Although the basic ecowith thousands of students. Other artists are extending the nomic institutions of the Islamic world are formally similar to calligraphic tradition to new media, adopting calligraphy in those of the successful market economies, there is a consensus new forms, ranging from three-dimensional sculpture to oil that they do not perform as well.

painting on canvas. More than any other civilization, Islam

Like

many secular critics of capitalism, Islamists attribute this situation to Western imperialism. Starting in the eight-
See also Arabic Language; Arabic Literature; Art.

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crafts, monopolized natural resources, secularized the judi-

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They also lowered the Islamic world's standards

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transformation, which began around the elev-

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the institutions of the Islamic world also experienced changes, but these were

relatively minor. As late as the

Sheila S. Blair nineteenth century, the contractual forms recognized by the

Jonathan M. Bloom Islamic court system were essentially those developed a

millennium earlier. The concept of a juridical person had no

place in Islamic law. Nor did Islamic law recognize jointstock companies or

corporations. Although money lending

CAPITALISM

remained a

flourishing profession among both Muslims and

non-Muslims, there were no banks. For these reasons, among

Among the claims of the contemporary literature known as *others*, the

Islamic world's economic system was now ineffi-

“Islamic economics” is that Islamic law provides an economic

relation to the emerging capitalist system of the

Capitalism

West. It is this handicap that subjected the Middle East and designed to facilitate exchange and production. Nor can the the rest of the Islamic world to Western economic domination. lag be attributed to policies aimed at retarding growth. The Islamic world's structural transformation was delayed be- As this domination was taking shape, the Islamic world cause certain institutions well suited to the economic condiexperienced no general economic decline in the absolute tions of classical Islam produced unintended consequences.

sense. But it started showing clear signs of underdevelopment, as measured by the living standards, productivity levels, and Unintended Consequences

institutional dynamism prevailing in the West. One of these institutions was the Islamic inheritance system.

Outlined in the Qur an, the Islamic inheritance system re- In early stages of the West's economic ascent, the Islamic quires two-thirds of a person's estate to be apportioned world's market institutions were at least as efficient as their among members of his or her extended family according to Western counterparts, and in some respects more so. Its criteria dependent on the composition of the possibly numerpartnership laws, which were codified by jurists generally ous heirs and their relationships to the deceased. Prior to the familiar with the needs of merchants and investors, gave modern era, this system raised the cost of keeping productive traders a remarkable array of contractual options. Although enterprises intact across generations. Equally important, beinterest was formally banned, financiers easily circumvented cause the death of even one partner resulted in termination of the prohibition, which, in any case, was often interpreted the enterprise, and in the dissolution of its assets, the prevailloosely, as disallowing only exploitative interest charges.

ing inheritance rules created incentives for keeping partner- Disputes between partners, and between buyers and sellers, ships small and ephemeral. Consequently, the growing were settled informally through arbitration or formally through complexity that characterized the productive, financial, and the Islamic courts, whose jurisdiction covered all economic commercial enterprises of Europeans was not observed in transactions. A wide range of social service organizations, territories under Islamic law. By contrast, the relative flexiblincluding schools, charities, commercial centers, and rest ity of European inheritance regimes allowed practices destops for caravans,

were established in a decentralized manner signed to keep estates intact, such as primogeniture. These through waqfs, or Islamic trusts. The typical waqf also served practices facilitated the establishment of larger and longer as a wealth shelter, for its assets were relatively safe from lasting enterprises, which then stimulated the development of confiscation and its founder could shower himself, his relatives increasingly sophisticated accounting systems, specialized tives, and even his descendants with material benefits. To a markets, and contractual forms in order to minimize operational degree, the privileges enjoyed by waqf founders compensated ing costs.

for the chronic weakness of private property rights. For several centuries—estimates of the end point range from the Until the Western-inspired economic reforms of the fourteenth century to the eighteenth century—this system nineteenth century, Islamic civilization offered no corporate afforded the Islamic world a standard of living that was equal, structures capable of serving as prototypes for durable finance if not superior, to that of Europe.

cial or mercantile organizations. The one major Islamic institution The Rise of Modern Capitalism that some consider an exception is the waqf.

Meanwhile, the West underwent the momentous structural	Established
to provide a service in perpetuity, a waqf, like a	
transformation that resulted in capitalism. This transforma-	corporation,
tion included the strengthening of individual property rights,	Nevertheless,
it lacked most of the freedoms associated with	
the recognition of juridical persons in a growing number of	corporate
status. Most significant, it was supposed to refrain	
sectors, and a sustained broadening of the menu of contrac-	from remaking
tual forms available to investors, traders, workers, and con-	Still another
sumers. By the eighteenth century, and unmistakably by the	enhancing
material security, it dampened incentives for seeking nineteenth, the relative	
sophistication of Europe's economic ing stronger property rights.	
Economic historians generally	
institutions allowed its financiers and merchants to dominate	believe that
in the West the strengthening of individual	
economies all across the globe. The main reason why the	property
rights played a critical role in the rise of modern	
Islamic world fell into a state of underdevelopment is that	capitalism.
changes taking place outside the Islamic world had the effect	
of reducing the efficiency of pre-capitalist economic institu-	By the
nineteenth century, it was clear that the traditional	

tions based on Islamic law. economic
institutions of the Islamic world had become a
liability. The institutional borrowings that followed included
Why Islamic law itself failed to generate the basic institu- new forms of
organization, including complex partnerships,
tions of capitalism has long been a matter of controversy. One joint-stock
companies, and corporations. Another historical
thing is certain. The explanation is not, as nineteenth- and break that
occurred at this time was the establishment of
early-twentieth-century thinkers were inclined to believe, various
secular courts to adjudicate commercial and financial
that Islam is inherently hostile to commerce or prosperity. disputes
involving contractual forms alien to traditional Is-
The classical sources of Islam are replete with provisions lamic law.

Islam and the Muslim World

127

Cartography and Geography

modern capitalism. In fact, the infrastructure of capitalism
was inadequate, and Middle Easterners, being latecomers to
operating under modern economic institutions, lacked basic
experiences and resources. Significantly, it was during the
twilight of the traditional Islamic economic order and the
transition to modern capitalism—the eighteenth century to
the early twentieth century—that the Christians and Jews of
the region by and large gained economic ground against its
Muslims. Entitled since the early days of Islam to choice of
law, which they had sometimes exercised in favor of indigenous non-Muslim
contractual forms, the Christian and Jewish religious minorities began using
modern contractual
forms about a century before Muslims were able to do so.
Equally important, many operated under the protection of
European-operated courts, as opposed to local Islamic courts.

See also Communism; Economy and Economic Institutions; Globalization.

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and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to send top officials to Kuran, Timur. "Islam and Underdevelopment: An Old Puzzle Revisited." *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 153 (1997): 41–71.

the transition from an older, Islamic economic order to Western capitalism has left many Muslim countries in poverty and has led Law: Origins, Impact, and Limitations of the Waqf System. Some Islamists to blame the West for their countries' suffering and social turmoil. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. "tem." *Law and Society Review* 35 (2001): 841–897. Rodinson, Maxime. *Islam and Capitalism*. Translated by Brian Pearce (1966). Reprint, New York: Pantheon, 1973.

Weberian Thesis

The foregoing institutional explanation for the under-

Timur Kuran

development of the Middle East calls into question its most celebrated alternative: the Weberian thesis, which traces the origins of capitalism to the ideological creativity of the Protestant Reformation. Weber's argument was challenged CARTOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

by R. H. Tawney, who showed that capitalist institutions preceded, even created, what Weber called the capitalist spirit. Tawney's observation suggests that where capitalist institutions failed to evolve through locally driven processes, medieval and early modern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as in the Islamic Middle East, vigorous and successful manuscript collections, worldwide. Yet most of these maps entrepreneurship would be limited. There images of the world and various regions scattered throughout the institutions failed to evolve through locally driven processes, the medieval and early modern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as in the Islamic Middle East, vigorous and successful manuscript collections, worldwide. Yet most of these maps entrepreneurship would be limited. have lain virtually untouched and have often been deliberately ignored on the grounds that they were not accurate

At the time that Weber wrote, bilateral trade between the representations of the world. What many failed to see is that Islamic world and western Europe was almost entirely under these schematic, geometric, and often perfectly symmetrical the control of Europeans, who provided much of the requisite images of the world are iconographic representations of the financing, know-how, and transportation. It thus seemed that way in which the medieval Muslims perceived it. Granted, the Middle East lacked the entrepreneurship essential to these were stylized visions restricted to the literati—the

readers, collectors, commissioners, writers, and copyists of The
 “Wondrous” Tradition
 the geographic texts within which these maps are found. In
 actuality, maps occur in a wide variety of Islamic texts and
 However, the plethora of extant copies produced all over the contexts.
 A popular location for classical Islamic world and
 Islamic world, including India, testifies to the enduring and
 cosmographic maps is in the so-called Aja ib (“wondrous”) literary
 widespread popularity of these medieval Islamic cartographic
 tradition, which includes descriptions of flora, fauna, visions. For nothing less than six centuries (eight, if nineteenth-
 architecture, and other wonders of the world. Best known of this
 century South Asian examples are included), these carto-
 genre is the work of the thirteenth century Iranian writer,
 graphic visions were perpetuated primarily in one fossilized
 Zakariyya ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini (d. 1283), whose work Aja ib
 cartogeographic series: the *Kitab al-masalik wa al-mamalik* al-makhluqat wa ghara ib al-mawjudat (The wonders of
 (Book of roads and kingdoms). creatures
 and the marvels of creation) focuses on the wonders
 of the world—real and fabulous. Copies from the late thir-
 What all these extant maps say is that—at least from the tenth
 century onward (during the lifetime of the author)
 thirteenth century onward, whence copies of these mapbegan to incorporate
 illustrations of flora and fauna as well as
 manuscripts begin to proliferate—the world was a very deworld maps.
 pictured place. It loomed large in the medieval Muslim imagination. It was
 pondered, discussed, and copied with minor Copies of Siraj
 al-Din Abu Hafs Umar Ibn al-Wardi’s (d.
 and major variations again and again. 1457)
 Kharidat al- aja ib wa faridat al-ghara ib (The unbored
 pearl of wonders and the precious gem of marvels) offer a
 Al-Idrisi and Piri Re is
 variation of the Aja ib tradition that incorporates at least one
 The better-known examples of this Islamic mapping tradiworld map along with
 other cartographics, such as a Qibla
 tion, in contemporary Eastern as well as Western scholarmap (a way-finding
 diagram for locating Mecca), and inset
 ship, is the work of the twelfth century North African
 maps of Qazwin and other cities. Judging by the plethora of
 geographical scholar al-Sharif al-Idrisi (d. 1165). The Norpocket book–size
 copies that still abound in every Oriental
 man king, Roger II (1097–1154), commissioned al-Idrisi to

manuscript collection, the *Kharidat al-Ajaib* must have been produce an illustrated geography of the world. This yielded a bestseller in the late medieval and early modern Islamic al-Idrisi's *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq* (The book of world. Moreover, it is significant that this Arabic bestseller pleasant journeys into faraway lands), also known as the *Book always incorporated, within the first four or five folios, a of Roger*. Al-Idrisi divided the world according to the Ptolemaic world map.

maic system of seven climes, with each clime broken down into ten sections. The most complete manuscript (1469)

Eventually the classical Islamic world maps also crept into contains one world map and seventy detailed sectional maps.

general geographical encyclopedias, such as *Shihab al-Din*

The sixteenth-century Ottoman naval captain, Muhyiddin Yaqut's (d. 1229) thirteenth century *Kitab* Abu Abdallah

Piri Reis (d. 1554), was another Muslim cartographer who *Mu jam* al-Buldan (Dictionary of countries). The earliest

has become famous worldwide. Renowned for the earliest prototype

of this type of map is found in a copy of Abu al-Hasan al-Ustath map of the New World,

Piri Reis and his accurate Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad

al-Biruni's (d. after 1250)

early-sixteenth-century map of South America and Antarctica *Kitab*

al-ta'lim (Book of instruction). World maps are also

have been the subject of many a controversial study. Piri used to

open some of the classic histories. Copies of such

Reis also produced detailed sectional maps but—like the

well-known works as Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) *Muqaddimah*

Italian *isolarium*—he restricted himself to the coastal areas of (The

prologue) often begin with an al-Idrisi map, while

the Mediterranean. The second version of his *Kitab-i Bahriyye* copies of

the historian Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-

(Book of maritime matters) contains 210 unique topo-

Tabari's (d. 923) *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-al-muluk* (History of

cartographic maps of important Mediterranean cities and prophets

and kings) sometimes included a Ptolemaic "climate islands.

type" map of the world as a

frontispiece. Similarly, classical

Islamic maps of the world found their way into sixteenth-

The striking mimesis (geographical accuracy) of these two century

Ottoman histories, such as the scroll containing

Muslim cartographic traditions has caused the work of al-Seyyid

Lokman's *Zubdatu t-tevarih* (Cream of histories) pro-

Idrisi and Piri Reis to be elevated above the rest of the duced in

the reign of Suleyman I (1520–1566).

Middle Eastern mapping corpus in contemporary scholarship. Aside from the problems of attribution that abound with New Maps for New Purposes

these two cartographers (none of the extant al-Idrisi maps, for instance, date back to his time, while Piri Re is's map is (pilgrimage) manuals containing map-like pictures of the thought to be a copy of one by Christopher Columbus), sites proliferated. An excellent example of this prototype scholarly focus on this more mimetic end of the Islamic Futuh al-Haramayn (The conquests of the holy sites) mapping tradition has occluded an enormous body of maps manuscript series. Around the same time, a tradition began in that were much more popular in the medieval and early of including a glazed tile containing a schematic modern Islamic world than the work of al-Idrisi or Piri Re is. representation of the Ka ba adjacent to the mihrab (prayer

From the
hajj
holy
is the
mosques

Islam and the Muslim World

129

Cartography and Geography

niche). If the definition of precisely what constitutes a map of the Mapping Phenomenon can be stretched, then even the map-like images found in understand the mapping traditions that flowered Islamic miniature paintings can be incorporated into the Islamic world in the later middle ages and early modern Islamic cartographic repertoire. Islamic cartographic repertoire. In order to in the period, one has to go back to the tradition that sired them all. It can be argued that the fons origo of the Islamic mapping Some scholars believe that the source of this rich and tradition is none other than the so-called "Islamic Atlas." widespread medieval Islamic propensity to make maps lies in This carto-geographical tradition is best known by the title of the earliest Arabic textual references to maps. For instance, its most prolifically copied version: al-Istakhri's Kitab althe silver globe (al-Sura al-Ma muniya) that the Abbasid masalik wa al-mamalik (Book of roads and kingdoms). For caliph al-Ma mun (r. 813–833) is said to have commissioned convenience, this may be referred to as the KMMS mapping from the scientists working in his Bayt al-Hikma (House of tradition. The "S" at the end of this acronym is used to specify knowledge). The problem with the al-Ma munid silver globe those versions of this manuscript series that contain carto is that it is probably mythical. Other than an extremely vague graphic images (standing for Sura, pl. Suwar). passage cited in Abu 'l-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas udi's (d. 956) Kitab al-tanbih wa-al-ishraf (Book of instruction and Most of the KMMS maps occur in the context of georevision), there are no descriptions of it. Al-Mas udi's de- graphical treatises devoted to an explication

of the world, in
 scription is very confused. It suggests an impossibly compli- general, and
 the lands of the Muslim world, in particular.
 cated celestial map superimposed upon a globe, an extremely These
 “map-manuscripts” generally carry the title of Kitab alsophisticated
 armillary sphere of which there are no extant masalik wa al-mamalik,
 although they are sometimes named
 example until the fourteenth century. At least one scholar, Surat al-ard
 (Picture of the earth) or Suwar al-aqalim (Pic-
 David King, has interpreted this description to suggest an tures of the
 climes/climates). These manuscripts emanated
 astrolabe with world-map markings superimposed on it. from an
 early tradition of creating lists of pilgrim and post
 stages that were compiled for administrative purposes. They
 There also are a few references to maps from the end of
 read like armchair travelogs of the Muslim world, with one
 the first century of Islam (c. 702). Apparently, al-Hallaj ibn
 author copying prolifically from another.
 Yusuf, the Umayyad governor of the eastern part of the
 Muslim empire, commissioned maps, for military purposes,
 Beginning with a brief description of the world and
 of the region of Daylam (south of the Caspian Sea), as well as theories
 about it—such as the inhabited versus the uninhabited
 a plan of the city of Bukhara. Requests for maps for military
 parts, the reasons why people are darker in the south than in
 purposes are highly unusual in Islamic history. Not until the
 the north, and the like—these geographies methodically
 time of the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II (r. 1444–1446;
 discuss details about the Muslim world, its cities, its people,
 1451–1481) are there similar requests for maps for military
 its roads, its topography, and other such features. Sometimes
 purposes. Unfortunately, none of the al-Hallaj requests are
 the descriptions are interspersed with anecdotal matter, inextant, and there
 are no detailed descriptions of these maps
 cluding tales of personal adventures, discussions with local
 themselves.
 inhabitants, or debates with sailors as to the exact shape of the
 In Kitab al-buldan (Book of countries) Ahmad ibn Abi earth and the
 number of seas. They have a rigid format that
 Ya qub al-Ya qubi (d. c. late ninth century) reports that a plan rarely
 varies: first the whole world, then the Arabian Peninof the round city of
 Baghdad was drawn up in 758 for the sula, then the Persian Gulf, then
 the Maghreb (North Africa
 Abbasid caliph, al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The Egyptian chroni- and
 Andalusia), Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean, upper and
 cler al-Maqrizi mentions that a “magnificent” map on “fine
 lower Iraq, as well as twelve maps devoted to the Iranian

blue” silk with “gold lettering” upon which was pictured provinces, beginning with Khuzistan and ending in Khurasan, “parts of the earth with all the cities and mountains, seas and including maps of Sind and Transoxiana. The maps, which rivers” was prepared for the Fatimid caliph al-Mu izz (r. usually number precisely twenty-one, follow exactly the same 953–975) and even entombed with him in his mausoleum format as the text and are thus an integral part of the work. in Cairo.

The al-Balkhi Tradition and Controversy

The only extant source containing maps prior to the Kitab Not all these geographical manuscripts contain maps, howal-masalik wa al-mamalik series is a ninth-century copy of Abu ever. Rather, maps are found only in those referred to

Ja far Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarazmi’s (d. 847 C.E.) generally as part of the al-Balkhi/al-Istakhri tradition—the Kitab surat al-ard (Picture of the Earth). Composed primarily “Classical School” of geographers. This particular geographical of a series of zij tables (tables containing longitudinal and genre is also referred to as the “Atlas of Islam.” A great deal of latitudinal coordinates), it also includes four maps. Two are mystery surrounds the origins and the architects of this unidentifiable, one is a map of the Sea of Azov, and one is of manuscript-bound cartographic tradition. This is primarily the Nile. Of all the maps in this manuscript, only the map of because not a single manuscript survives in the hand of its the Nile appears to be directly related to maps of the Nile that original author. Furthermore, it is not clear who initiated the one finds in later carto-geographical works. tradition of accompanying geographical texts with maps.

130

Islam and the Muslim World

Cartography and Geography

Scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries hold the Middle East to its peripheries, they provide us with that Abu Zayd Ahmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhi (d. 934), who—as his insights from a broad range of time and space. The earliest nisba (patronym) suggests—came from Balkh in Central Asia, extant set of Islamic maps comes from an Ibn Hawqal manuinitiated the series, and that his work and maps were later script housed at the Topkapi Saray Museum Library firmly elaborated upon by Abu Ishaq ibn Muhammad al-Farisi al- dated to the year 1086 by a clear colophon. Counterintuitively, Istakhri (fl. early tenth century) from Istakhr in the province this manuscript also contains the most mimetic maps of all of Fars. Al-Istakhri’s work was, in turn, elaborated upon by the

existing KMMS copies. This version of the KMMS even has an Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Hawqal (fl. second half of the tenth century), who came from upper Iraq (the region known as the Jazira). Indeed, it is the world-map version of this manuscript as the Jazira). Abu Abdallah Muhammad al-Muqaddasi (d. c. 1000), from Jerusalem (Quds), is considered the last innovator in this series. That proliferates in a more embellished form via the Ibn al-Wardi (d. c. 1000), from Jerusalem (Quds), is considered the last innovator in this series. The striking mimesis of these maps stands in stark contrast to the maps of the later KMMS copies, which over the centuries The problem is that virtually no biographical information abandon any pretense of mimesis entirely. exists on the authors other than al-Balkhi. One is forced to rely on scraps of information in the geographical texts themselves. After the KMMS set, a series of more and more stylized selves for information about their authors. The difficulty is maps emerges that move further into the realm of objects d’art compounded by the fact that, in all the forty-three titles that and away from direct empirical inquiry. By the nineteenth century the Ibn al-Nadim credits to al-Balkhi, not one even vaguely KMMS maps become so stylized that, were it not resembles the title of a geographical treatise. According to the for the earlier examples, it would be hard to recognize them as biographers, al-Balkhi was famous as a philosopher and for the maps at all. Between these two extremes there are a series of KMMS his tafsir (commentaries on the Qur’an)—in particular one of KMMS world maps that range from somber in form and color known as Na m al-qur’an—which was praised by many judges. color (some even contain grids) to outright gaudy and lacking in fine He is not, however, known in the biographical record for his in fine detail. In the crevices of these maps the real and the imaginary, geographical treatises. Yet stories of how al-Balkhi sired the imaginary, the terrestrial and the cosmographical, and the empirical Islamic mapping tradition endure. It is for this reason that the empirical and the fictional dance confusingly in front of people of genre is generally referred to as the “Balkhi school of map- people of today. ping.” The attribution of a whole school of mapping to a shadowy, mythical father who was anything but a specialist on An ancient map appears in the volume one color insert. geography or cartography is unfounded. See also Biruni, al-; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Persian Language and The confusion is further compounded by the fact that Literature. many of the surviving copies contain either incomplete

colophons (inscriptions containing attribution of authorship)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

or no colophons at all. Additionally, the texts are sometimes

so mixed up in the surviving manuscripts that it is often Cosgrove,
Denis, ed. *Mappings*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.

difficult to disentangle them. The numerous incomplete and Goodrich,
Thomas. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A*
anonymous manuscripts, sometimes abridged, along with the Study of
“Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi” and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman versions translated into
Persian, only cloud the matter further. man Americana. Wiesbaden: Otto
Harrassowitz, 1990.

Hapgood, Charles H. *Maps of the Ancient Sea Kings: Evidence*
Images of Other Worlds of
Advanced Civilization in the Ice Age. New York: E. P.
Since none of the KMMS manuscripts date back to their Dutton,
1979.

original authors, the issue of authorship of the first carto-
Harley, J. B., and Woodward, David, eds. *The History of*
geographical manuscript and precisely what it looked like is
Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and
immaterial. What is relevant is that these geographical manu- South
Asian Societies. Chicago: University of Chicago
scripts include some of the earliest pictographic images of the Press,
1992.

world in an Islamic context. Since all images are socially
King, David. *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Disconstructed*, these
iconic carto-ideographs contain valuable tance to Mecca: Innovation
and Tradition in Islamic Science.

messages of the milieux in which they were produced. They Leiden:
E. J. Brill, 1999.

are a rich source of new information that can be used as
Kramers, Johannes Hendrik. *Analecta Orientalia: Posthumous*
alternate gateways into the Islamic past. They can tell about
Writings and Selected Minor Works. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954.

the time period in which they were copied, and provide hints
about the period in which they were originally conceived. McIntosh,
Greg. *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000
Since the extant examples stretch in time from the elev- Sezgin, Fuat.

Geschichte Des Arabischen Schrifttums:

enth century to the nineteenth, and range from the heart of
Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und

Islam and the Muslim World

131

Central Asia, Islam in

Ihr Fortleben im Abendland. Historische Darstellung. Frank- cities, and
measures were undertaken to induce conversion

furt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 2000. These patterns of Arab rule established under Qutayba Soucek, Svat. Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus. proved more enduring than his conquests. Following his London: The Nour Foundation, 1996. murder by mutinous troops in the Farghana valley in 715, Arab control in Transoxania was soon rolled back, and nearly Karen C. Pinto a quarter-century passed before the Muslim armies were able to take the initiative again. Local rulers such as the Sogdian king Ghurak regained their independence and successfully fought the Arabs, but a new force from the steppe—the CENTRAL ASIA, ISLAM IN Turgesh confederation—posed a more serious threat to Arab control. The Turgesh were able to raid deep into Transoxania Central Asia is a modern geographical designation covering and eventually into Khurasan as well. The death of the an area of considerable political, ethnic, and linguistic diver- Turgesh ruler in 737, however, led to the collapse of his sity, but marked by a distinctive cultural synthesis rooted in confederation; Ghurak died the same year, and soon after the meeting of the civilization of Inner Asia with that of the ward a new Umayyad governor of Khurasan, Nasr b. Sayyar, Middle East and the Islamic world. In terms of contemporary was able, during the 740s, to reconquer central Transoxania, political boundaries, it comprises the newly independent the Farghana valley, and parts of eastern Khurasan that had post-Soviet states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, reverted to local rulers, and to lead successful campaigns as Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, as well as adjacent parts of the far as Tashkent. Chinese province of Xinjiang, of northern Afghanistan, of northeastern Iran, and of the Russian Federation. Soon, however, the Abbasid revolution, a movement that took shape militarily in Khurasan, swept the Umayyads from The chief historical regions comprising Central Asia in- power; Abbasid agitation there began even before the arrival clude Mawarannahr, often called Transoxiana or Transoxania, of the famous Abu Muslim in 747, and both the Arab colonists the traditional heartland; the Farghana valley; the Tarim in Khurasan and Transoxania and local converts to Islam basin, often called Chinese or East Turkistan and now form- played significant roles in the success of the Abbasid cause. ing the major part of the province of Xinjiang in the People's Disaffection with Umayyad rule was particularly strong among Republic of China; the Syr Darya valley, with its commercial the local

converts, resentful of policies that relegated them to oasis towns; the steppe regions to the north known since the subordinate status vis-à-vis the Arabs. Nevertheless, the eleventh century as the Dasht-e Qipchaq; the region of the religiously tinged revolts that broke out in Transoxania Amu Darya delta to the south of the Aral Sea, known beginning in the late Umayyad era continued historically as Khwarazm; and Khurasan, typically regarded first decades of Abbasid rule. Abbasid control in as the northeasternmost province of Iran, but more often in fact remained tenuous until the revolt of Rafi closely linked with Transoxiana in political, ethnic, and beginning in 806. This revolt posed such a serious economic terms. threat that the caliph himself, Harun al-Rashid, was compelled to set out to deal with it. Following his death in 809, his son From the Arab Conquest to the Mongol Invasion al-Ma mun, installed as governor in Marv, succeeded in The Arab conquest of Iran brought Muslim armies to suppressing it, and after his elevation as caliph in 813, al-Khurasan, and raids were conducted as far as Balkh and into Ma mun—still based in Marv—conducted a series of decisive Transoxania already during the 650s, as Arab governors campaigns against independent local rulers that may be based first in Basra in Iraq and later (from 667) in Marv began regarded as the culmination of the Arab conquest of Central Asia. the dual policy of establishing garrison towns in some areas, Central Asia. with Arab families transplanted from Iraq, and elsewhere leaving local dynasts in power as tributary rulers. A new stage Almost as soon as it was solidified, Abbasid control in Central Asia in the conquest of Central Asia began with the appointment, Central Asia devolved upon local governors loyal to the caliph and in 705, of Qutayba b. Muslim as the governor of Khurasan. b. Layth was at least nominally dependent upon him. One of the b. Layth was Qutayba's ten-year career brought the military conquest of participants in al-Ma mun's suppression of the revolt of Rafi b. Layth was Bukhara and Samarkand as well as of Khwarazm, and the b. Layth was one Tahir b. Husayn, whom the caliph apinitiation of campaigns into Farghana and as far beyond the pointed governor of Khurasan in 821. The Tahirid dynasty ruled Syr Darya as Isfijab; it also saw important institutional devel- ruled Khurasan and Transoxania until its destruction in 873 by the opments, as Arab garrisons were established in Bukhara and by the Saffarids of Sistan. Members of the Samanid family also took Samarkand, troops were levied from the local population to also took part in al-Ma mun's campaigns, and served the Tahirids as serve with the Muslim armies, mosques were built in these Tahirids as

governors in Samarkand, Farghana, and Tashkent.

132

Islam and the Muslim World

Central Asia, Islam in

Samanid dynasts expanded their power through campaigns patronage yielded the Turkic Qutadghu bilig, a “mirror for princes” deep into the steppe, and with the collapse of the Tahirids completed around 1070 by Yusuf of Balasaghun for a received caliphal recognition as the rightful governors of Qarakhanid ruler of Kashghar. The Qarakhanids are also important, Transoxania. The real foundations of the dynasty’s power however, simply as the holders of power in much of Central were laid by Isma il Samani, who destroyed the Saffarids in Asia, at the regional and local level, for over two centuries. 900 and established Bukhara as the center of his realm. The Even as supreme power in Central Asia shifted to dramatic decline in the political importance of the Abbasid the Seljuks or the Qarakhitays or the Khwarazmshahs, local dynasties caliphs that preceded the Samanid era (900–999) left the linked to the Qarakhanid tradition continued to Samanids the rulers of an essentially independent state based rule in Samarkand, in parts of the Farghana valley, and in towns of the in Central Asia; their patronage of religious and cultural Syr Darya basin. The last known Qarakhanid institutions made tenth-century Central Asia one of the most dynast was removed by the Khwarazmshah Muhammad (tarvibrant and influential parts of the Muslim world. get of the Mongol invasion) only in 1209.

Well into the first half of the tenth century, the Samanids Of even greater significance for the Islamic world at large was the retained their ability to project their power into the steppe to third Muslim Turkic dynasty to appear in Central the north and northeast of Transoxania, but the Samanid era Asia during the Samanid era, that of the Seljuks. The Seljuk royal house also brought crucial developments in the political and cul- emerged, in the latter tenth century, as tribal leaders tural history of the Turks of Central Asia. The tenth century marks the beginning of the large-scale involvement of Turkic lower course of the Syr Darya, northeast of the Aral Sea. The peoples in Islamic civilization. Before this time, Turks from narrative of Seljuk origins links their adoption of Islam to a Central Asia had already played an important role in Muslim power struggle, again with conversion signaling a break with their former history as military slaves active at the caliphal court in overlord as well as an alliance against him with

Baghdad as well as other, more westerly parts of the Muslim world. The institution of Turkic military slaves would remain century the Seljuks were involved in the military an important avenue for the assimilation of Turkic (and political turmoil that accompanied the division of the other) peoples into Islamic civilization, and, beginning with realm between the Ghaznavids, in Khurasan, and the Ghaznavids, would yield a substantial number of ruling Qarakhanids, in Transoxania, and quickly dominated dynasties from India to Egypt. Ultimately more important regions, leaving the Qarakhanid dynasts as vassals but for Central Asian history, however, was the large-scale conquering the Ghaznavid presence in Khurasan version to Islam by Turkic peoples; this was happening along defeat of Mahmud's son and successor, Mas'ud, in the frontiers of Samanid Central Asia, but the tenth century Dandanqan, near Marv. Thereafter the Seljuks began also saw the establishment of Islam in remoter regions of phenomenal sweep through Iran and the Middle East, Turkic Inner Asia, far beyond the limits reached by Muslim Baghdad by 1055 and defeating the Byzantines in armies. During the middle of the tenth century, a member of 1071.

a Turkic dynasty based in East Turkistan, in the city of Kashghar, adopted Islam, evidently in the course of a power success in Central Asia itself was less overwhelming struggle with a rival member of the same dynasty. The west. By the first half of the twelfth century, narrative of his conversion, which was elaborated and celebrated from at least the eleventh century to the twentieth, Khurasan, of other groups of Oghuz ("Ghuzz") nomads identified him as Satuq Bughra Khan. The convert was successful, and the dynasty, which has come to be known as east came in 1141, when the sultan, Sanjar, was that of the Qarakhanids, soon expanded its territories to the the Qatvan steppe, northeast of Samarkand, by west, moving against the Samanid frontiers in the Syr Darya Qarakhitays. The latter, remnants of the Qitan people basin and, with the conquest of Bukhara in 999, effectively dominated northern China (as the Liao dynasty) putting an end to the Samanid state. In this case, however, early tenth century, had fled westward after their religious frontiers had shifted substantially; the Turks from China in the 1120s and dominated the steppe

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the steppe who conquered sedentary Central Asia were already Central Asia down to the Mongol conquest. The ready Muslims, and the ulema of Bukhara are famously Qarakhitays were for the most part absentee reported to have counseled the city's population that they with regard to Transoxania, and most regions were under no obligation to defend their Samanid rulers, the hands of local elites, whether Qarakhanid insofar as the Qarakhanids were good Muslims. as in the case of Bukhara, a prominent family of Hanafi jurists known as the Al-e Burhan. The Qarakhanids are of tremendous importance as the initial custodians of the Turkic/Islamic cultural synthesis and Qarakhitay defeat of the Seljuks provided an opportunity for expansion by a dynasty of local rulers based in

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Islam and the Muslim World

133

Central Asia, Islam in

Khwarazm, whose ancestors had assumed control there in the Khan's grandson, Hulegu, who had led the campaign of 1256–1258. The heartland of Transoxania, as well as Qarakhitay suzerainty, extended their power into Khurasan basin, parts of Khurasan, and the eastern parts of and into the lower Syr Darya valley, and by the beginning of Qipchaq, were nominally part of the ulus of the thirteenth century had become the most powerful ruler-son Chaghatay, though in fact, through much of ers in the eastern Islamic world. The ambitions of the half of the thirteenth century, this region was Khwarazmshah Muhammad (r. 1200–1218) led him to clash by Qaydu, a descendant of Genghis's son and first with the Ghurid dynasty based south of the Hindu Kush, with Ogodey. Not until the early fourteenth century did the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (who was intent on restoring Chaghatayid lineage reassert itself, under the khans Esen the caliphate's political power), with his Qarakhitay over- Kebek. In each of these western successor states of lords, and finally with the new Inner Asian power, the empire, the process of Islamization was under- Mongols under Genghis Khan. Muhammad's disastrous re- already in the thirteenth century, and by the second buff of the khan's diplomatic and commercial overtures led to the fourteenth century khans from each of the the Mongol invasion that, from 1216 to 1223, devastated

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paign of 1256–1258. The heartland of
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dynasties ruling there—as well as members of the much of Transoxania and Khurasan and destroyed the aristocracy and ordinary nomads—had become Muslims. Khwarazmian state.

By the 1330s, however, the Ilkhanid state was disintegrating, and The Mongol and Timurid Periods, 1220–1500 real power in most of the Chaghatayid ulus had Mongol rule was established in Central Asia well before the tribal chieftains, who made and unmade khans subsequent Mongol campaign of 1256–1258, which destroyed their own ends. It was in the western part of the the Abbasid caliphate and brought all of Iran and much of the realm that Timur, an emir of the Barlas tribe Middle East under Mongol control. The impact of the southern Transoxania, rose to power during the Mongol conquest likewise endured much longer in Central within a decade he had succeeded in consolidating his Asia than elsewhere in the Muslim world, above all through Transoxania and Khurasan and had begun the the political principles established in the thirteenth century and maintained, in one form or another, down to the Asia, but of Iran and much of the Middle East as well, eighteenth. These principles made sovereignty a prerogative reserved solely for blood descendants of Genghis west as Ankara. Following Timur’s death in 1405, his descendants were able to maintain control only over his Central (Chinggis) Khan. They inaugurated a political tension—Asian domains, in Transoxania, Iran, and Khurasan (where between Chinggisids with the theoretical right to rule, and Herat soon emerged as a cosmopolitan center of cultural powerful tribal chieftains with direct control over the nomadic patronage). The Timurid state in Central Asia fractured soon military forces crucial to the Chinggisids’s power—that would after the death of Timur’s son and successor Shahrukh in shape Central Asian political history down to the Russian 1447, with separate branches of the Timurid lineage holding conquest. The descendants of Genghis Khan alone could power in Khurasan and Transoxania.

bear the sovereign title khan, and were known by the Turkic term oghlan (the “sons,” par excellence). In the parts of the Uzbek Era, 1500–1865 The Mongol-ruled world that were Islamized, the princes of the Timur, though not a Chinggisid, clearly sought to evoke the legacy of blood who did not rise to supreme power (but always re-Genghis Khan’s conquests during his lifetime, and

maintained potential candidates for that role) were more often his successors likewise cultivated their Inner Asian heritage known by the Muslim term signaling sovereign authority, alongside their patronage of Islamic institutions. Neversultan. The tribal chieftains, by contrast, were known by the theless, the Timurids were regarded as usurpers by real
 Turkic term bek or what came to be its Arabic equivalent, emir Chinggisids, and the principal challenges to his rule in Cen- (with scions of the tribal elite referred to by the Arabo- tral Asia, and to that of his descendants, came from the Persian hybrid emir-zada, that is, “born of an emir,” typically nomads of the Dasht-e Qipchaq, ruled by Chinggisids from shortened to mirza). the lineage of Jochi. By the time of Timur, the Turkic nomads of the eastern half of the Dasht-e Qipchaq, who As the Mongol empire split along regional lines in the belonged to what remained of the Jochid ulus (i.e., the middle of the thirteenth century, different parts of Central “Golden Horde”), had come to be known by the designation Asia fell to different ruling lineages stemming from the four Uzbek (ozbek); the origin of this appellation is obscure, but is sons of Genghis Khan. Khwarazm, parts of the lower Syr ascribed by indigenous tradition to the impact of the adop- Darya basin, and much of the Dasht-e Qipchaq came to be tion of Islam by Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde (r. regarded as part of the realm (ulus) of the descendants of Jochi 1313–1341). (the “Golden Horde”), centered in the lower Volga valley, while much of Iran was in the hands of the Ilkhanid realm Timur himself faced invasions into his domains by nomadic armies from centered in Azerbaijan, that was ruled by descendants of the northern steppe led by various Jochid rulers

134

Islam and the Muslim World Central Asia, Islam in

and tribal chieftains. Timur’s efforts to secure stability and Chinggisids and the Uzbek khans of Transoxania, with towns peace on his northern frontier were continued by his succes- such as Tashkent, Sayram, and Turkistan held by the Qazaqs sors; Shahrukh succeeded in securing Khwarazm by 1413, but through much of the seventeenth century. his son Ulugh Beg’s meddling in Jöchid affairs led to his serious defeat by one would-be khan near Sighnaq in 1427. The Arabshahids. In Khwarazm, meanwhile, a separate Shortly after this event, a young prince from the lineage of Chinggisid dynasty supported by Uzbek nomads from the

Shiban (the fifth son of Jochi), named Abu 'l-Khayr Khan, succeeded, with the aid of the powerful chieftains of the forces that occupied the region after the defeat of Muhammad Shiban Khan. This dynasty, often referred to as the Arabshahids, extended its control to the south, Uzbek tribes of the Dasht-e Qipchaq, and established a confederation strong enough to challenge the Timurids and maintained power in Khwarazm to the early eighteenth century. One of its members, Abu 'l-Ghazi Khan (r. 1643–1663), is known for his harsh measures against the attacks from the Qalmaqs (i.e., the Kalmyks or Oyrats, nomads inhabiting the frontiers of the Khwarazmian western Mongols) in the mid-fifteenth century, and collapsed his reorganization of the Uzbek tribes of Khwarazm, after Abu 'l-Khayr Khan's death (c. 1469), but the founder's grandson, known as Muhammad Shiban Khan, succeeded in reformulating a substantial part of the coalition by the end of the fifteenth century. As internal dissension weakened the Khan following the defeat at Marv, was not a centralized Timurid state in Transoxania, Shiban Khan succeeded in conquering Samarkand and Bukhara in 1500, consolidated linked appanages assigned to Chinggisid princes who took his hold on Transoxania and seized Khwarazm by 1505. He part in the conquest. There were thus separate and essentially moved across the Amu Darya to attack the Timurids in co-equal Chinggisid sultans based in Samarkand, Bukhara, Khurasan soon after the death of the last powerful Timurid, Tashkent, Balkh, and other appanages, with the senior member of the extended ruling clan recognized as khan. The in 1507. His ambitions were cut short late in 1510 when he equilibrium that maintained this decentralized system broke was defeated and killed in battle with the Safavid ruler Shah Isma'il near Marv. The Safavid victory led to a virtually total culmination in the gradual, and bloody, consolidation of power by Abdallah Khan. The latter's success in

Dasht-e
Safavid
of Muhammad
influence internal Timurid
Turkmen
oasis, for
and for
down in the
princes that
withdrawal of Uzbek forces from
Abdallah Khan. The

years, however, the Uzbeks, led by Muhammad Shibani eliminating
rivals meant that when his son was murdered
Khan's nephew Ubaydullah and other descendants of Abu 'l- shortly
after Abdallah's own death in 1598, the tribal chief-
Khayr Khan, had expelled the Safavid forces and their Timurid tains and
urban elites of Transoxania were compelled to seek
supporters (including Babur, who would found the Mogul a Chinggisid
khan from an altogether different Jochid line empire of India) from Transoxania.
Khurasan became a age, one that had recently been dislodged from
its hereditary
battleground between the Safavids and the Uzbeks, with realm along
the lower Volga by the Russian conquest of the
Herat changing hands several times during the sixteenth commercial
emporium of Astrakhan. This dynasty, known
century. variously as
that of the Janids, the Ashtarkhanids, or the
Toqay Timurids ruled Transoxania and Balkh until 1747.
The Qazaqs. The Qazaqs with whom Muhammad Shibani
Khan fought were of precisely the same ethnic stock as his Despite
the stability seemingly implied by the long reigns
Uzbek followers; the name qazaq ("freebooter") had been of
Ashtarkhanid rulers such as Imam Quli Khan (r. 1611–1642),
applied pejoratively to the components of Abu 'l-Khayr Abd
al- Aziz Khan (r. 1645–1681), Subhan Quli Khan (r.
Khan's Uzbek confederation who broke with Abu 'l-Khayr
1681–1702), and Abu 'l-Fayz Khan (r. 1711–1747), this era
and followed other Chinggisids out of his coalition. The saw the
steady erosion of the khans's authority in favor of
essentially political, rather than ethnic, distinction between powerful
tribal chieftains, and the steady diminution of the
Qazaq and Uzbek remained somewhat fluid through the state
itself. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the
sixteenth century. After their Uzbek kinsmen moved with the power of the
Chinggisid khans had been seriously weakened
Shibanids or other Chinggisids into Transoxania, Khwarazm, both in
Khwarazm and in Transoxania, to the benefit of the
and Khurasan, the Qazaqs occupied the Dasht-e Qipchaq, tribal
aristocracy, and political instability was exacerbated by
and continued their large-scale, seasonal pastoral nomadic economic
dislocation and external military threats. In migrations. The Qazaqs too
were ruled by Chinggisid sul- ticular, the renewed success of the
Mongol Junghars (Oyrats)
tans, and came to be divided into three loosely affiliated units in the
Dasht-e Qipchaq sent waves of Qazaq refugees into
(zhüz) known in the West as "hordes." The middle Syr Darya
Transoxania in the 1720s, devastating the region's agriculvalley became the
focus of frequent wars between the Qazaq tural base and prompting in

turn the flight of much of the

Islam and the Muslim World

135

Central Asia, Islam in

sedentary population there into the Farghana valley and The khans
of Qoqand were also closely involved in affairs of East
other areas. The Junghar threat also induced some Qazaq quite
Turkistan, where political structures had developed Uzbek era.
Chinggisids to seek protection from the Russian empire, and
differently from those of western Central Asia in the
the formal submission of these khans later served as a pretext
There, dynasts of the lineage of Chaghatay had withstood
for the extension of Russian control over the Qazaq steppes.
challenges from both the Timurids and the Uzbek
Chinggisids to the west, and from the Mongol Junghars to
The Afghan Turkmen. The political and military weakness the north,
down to the late seventeenth century. Shifting political
of Central Asia was further underscored by the invasion of
alignments involving rival branches of a family of Naqshbandi
Nader Shah, the warlord of the Afshar tribe of Turkmens
khwajas (descendants and Sufi successors of a
who seized power in Iran in 1728, driving out the Afghans
sixteenth-century shaykh of Transoxania known as Makhdum-e
who had put an end to the Safavid dynasty six years earlier. A zam), which
had been established in the region from the
His conquest of Bukhara and Khwarazm in 1740 helped late
sixteenth century, contributed to the conquest of the
launch the final stage in the transition to the new dynasties of region by
the Junghars in 1681, putting an end to the
Uzbek tribal origin that would rule much of Central Asia into Chaghatayid
dynasty. The Junghars installed Afaq Khwaja (d.
the second half of the nineteenth century. In Bukhara, a 1694), leader
of the Aqtaghliq ("White Mountain") khwaja
chieftain of the Manghit tribe who had formerly served the faction, as
their governor in Kashghar. Struggles between the
weak Ashtarkhanid ruler Abu l-Fayz Khan had the latter khwaja
factions continued after his death, leading the Junghars
ruler deposed and killed soon after Nader Shah's assassina- first to
deport the leaders of both factions, and later to switch
tion in 1747. In Khwarazm, Nader Shah's conquest led to an their
support to the rival Qarataghliq ("Black Mountain")
extended period of profound disorder, culminating in the faction.
occupation of the capital, Khiva, by the Yomut tribe of
Turkmens in 1768. In this case it was a chieftain of the The Manchus.
By the middle of the eighteenth century,
Qonghrat tribe, who likewise had filled important state posi- however,

khwaja contenders were seeking support against the
 tions under the Chinggisid khans there, who succeeded in Junghars
 through the growing power of the Manchu empire
 driving out the Yomuts and restoring order. The Manghit (the Qing
 dynasty of China). The climactic struggle between
 and Qonghrat dynasties thus established ruled Bukhara and the Manchus
 and the Junghars for domination of the Inner
 Khiva, respectively, even after the Russian conquest, surviv- Asian
 heartland culminated in the total destruction of the
 ing as protectorates of the Russian state until 1920. Junghar state
 in 1758. The khwaja state too was destroyed, as
 the Manchus incorporated both the Tarim basin and the
 Nader Shah's career also set the stage for the emergence Junghar
 homeland into their empire (it would become known
 of Ahmad Shah Durrani (r. 1747–1773), the Afghan warlord as the
 “New Province,” Xinjiang, of China), but the khwaja
 who was able to seize the regions of Balkh and Herat to add to lineages
 continued to stir up rebellions among the Muslims of
 his base in Qandahar and Kabul, and thereby forged the basis the region,
 with the active support, beginning in the 1820s, of
 for modern Afghanistan; the Manghits of Bukhara continued the khans of
 Qoqand based in the Farghana valley. A major
 to contest the loss of Balkh, however, and permanent Afghan uprising of
 Chinese Muslims from 1862 to 1876 kept the
 control of the region that became known as “Afghan Turkistan” Qing
 dynasty occupied as the Qoqandian adventurer Ya qub
 was not secured until the middle of the nineteenth century. Bek carved
 out his own state, with the support of an Aqtaghliq
 khwaja based in Kashghar. The suppression of the revolt led
 The Khanate of Qoqand. In the Farghana valley, finally, to the Qing
 reconquest of the Tarim basin by 1878. The
 another Uzbek tribal dynasty took shape in the first half of the Turkic
 Muslim population of East Turkistan was able to
 eighteenth century, as chieftains of the Ming tribe made the reassert its
 independence sporadically following the collapse
 town of Qoqand (or Khuqand) their base and extended their of the Manchu
 dynasty in 1911, with several attempts to
 control throughout the valley; this region proved to be the create an
 East Turkistan Republic during the 1930s and
 most economically dynamic area of Central Asia during the 1940s. The
 Chinese communist victory in 1949 led to the
 eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the Ming dynasty region's
 incorporation into the People's Republic of China as
 was able to exploit the valley's agricultural and commercial the
 Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The PRC's colowearth to build a state that
 became the most powerful in nization policy brought a massive influx
 of Han Chinese that

Central Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century. has reduced the Muslim component to approximately 60 percent of the region's population. Under Alim Khan (r. 1798–1809) and his brother Umar Khan (r. 1809–1822), the khanate of Qoqand expanded to the north, seizing Tashkent and the towns of the middle Syr Darya; further Qoqandian expansion into the Dasht-i Qipchaq late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, brought both Qazaq and Qirghiz nomads under the khanate's control, and led inevitably to a confrontation with the Russian empire, which was expanding into the same regions from the north. Qoqand—were long failed: They crushed the power of the tribal chieftains,

136

Islam and the Muslim World

Central Asia, Islam in

instituted military reforms that lessened their dependence on identities and mores that would create the modern Soviet nations of Central Asia. The Bolshevik victory in the Civil War was followed, in Central Asia, by an administrative apparatus for state administration, and concentrated far more power in their own hands than any Chinggisid khan had held reorganization that reflected both practical concerns and Lenin's rhetoric about national self-determination. This "national delimitation" drew borders for the new people's republics, but in part on the basis of older administrative units, but in part on the basis of ethnographic and linguistic surveys conducted by Russian commercial ties with Central Asia had developed by scholars and officials using a somewhat arbitrary set of ethnic and national designations. The trarily chosen set of ethnic and national designations. The basic work of the last successor states of the Golden Horde opened status of was done by 1924; changes in the hierarchical status of Siberia to Russian conquest. By the latter eighteenth century, the units thus created, within the system of union republics, Russian encroachment from the Volga-Ural valley and Siberia had reduced the Qazaqs to vassal status. The suppression that

comprised the ethnically defined structures of the USSR, of Qazaq revolts in the 1830s and 1840s brought Russian continued until 1936, leaving five union republics—the Kazakh, forces into the Syr Darya valley, where they attacked Uzbek, Kirgiz, Tadzhik, and Turkmen republics (using the Qoqandian outposts already in the 1850s. Russianized names that were official through the Soviet period)—in western Central Asia.

The outright military conquest of southern Central Asia followed the freeing of Russian military resources by the end Soviet policy demanded the strict subordination of naof the Crimean War, and by the suppression of Muslim tional identities to the construction of socialist society. Howresistance in the North Caucasus. Russian troops moved ever, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s local elites were against the towns of the middle Syr Darya valley in 1864, and able to develop considerable autonomy in republican affairs, seized Tashkent in 1865. Operations southwest of Tashkent and, within limits, to give expression to Sovietized national brought confrontations with Bukharan troops, culminating cultures. In the 1980s Soviet reformers sought to rein in the in the Russian capture of Samarkand in 1868 and the estabentrenched national bureaucracies, citing corruption and lishment of a Russian protectorate over the khanate of Bukhara. abuses of power in the republics. Increasingly vocal national- A Russian force marched on Khiva in 1873 and forced a ist movements demanded the assertion of cultural and politisimilar arrangement on the Qonghrat khan. Further defeats cal rights, culminating in declarations of sovereignty by all of of Qoqandian forces brought the submission of that khanate the Central Asian republics. With the failed coup attempt of as well, but repeated revolts and social unrest in the Farghana August 1991 and the dissolution of the USSR later that year, valley led Russian officials to dissolve the khanate of Qoqand each of the republics declared independence. By that time, in 1876 and bring its territories under direct Russian rule. however, the local communist elites had co-opted the nation- The Turkmen nomads to the south of Khwarazm put up a alist movements and ensured their hold on power, now as stiffer resistance, surrendering to Russian control only after a nationalists rather than communists. The 1990s saw, in all the massacre of Turkmen men, women, and children at Gok Central Asian republics, a rollback of political rights asserted Tepe, near modern-day Ashgabat, in 1881. By 1895, negotiaduring the last years of the Soviet regime, the often brutal tions between the Russian and British empires had defined stifling of political dissent, and the total monopolization of

the southern border of the Russian holdings in Central Asia, power by the former republican communist parties, now corresponding to the present-day borders of the Central appropriately renamed. At the same time, the republican Asian republics with Iran and Afghanistan. elites appeared to be committed to the enterprise of nation-building, Russian rule at first brought few changes to the daily lives understanding their power to be rooted in existing of Central Asian Muslims, but growing contacts between political structures rather than in any revolutionary transformation of Russians and Central Asians, as well as economic changes mation of the prevailing conceptions of communal identity, which those brought on by increased trade with Russia, led to the emergence of small native circles intent upon revitalizing local society through educational and cultural changes. Following See also Central Asian Culture and Islam; Commuthe 1905 revolution in Russia, these groups—known as jadidists, nism; Reform: Muslim Communities of the Russian a term applied to reformist Muslims throughout the Russian Empire. empire—became increasingly concerned with political issues, and it was from among them that the Russian Bolsheviks BIBLIOGRAPHY would find their first allies among the native population Bacon, Elizabeth. Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study following the revolutions of 1917. These reformist circles in Culture Change. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, were important for launching the reevaluation of communal Press, 1966.

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137

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138

Islam and the Muslim World Central Asian Culture and Islam

times. Manichean communities were active in Samarkand limited, but
important, Shafi i presence in some areas. The
until the tenth century, Christian groups can be traced into region of

Tashkent became a bastion of the Shafi'i school in the fourteenth century, and Buddhism was not supplanted (and produced the noted tenth-century jurist Abu Bakr Qaffal from the northeastern part of the Tarim basin until the al-Shashi), as did the town of Taraz, while parts of Khwarazm were predominantly Shafi'i until well after the Mongol conquest. Already before the Samanid era, however, the supreme center of Islamic learning, literature, and art. The Hanafi school in Bukhara, and in the rest of Transoxania, was credited to the imam Abu Hafs al-Bukhari Cultural Patronage and Religious Scholarship (d. 877), and from the tenth century to the fourteenth, The full flowering of Islamic science and literature, in Persian Transoxania was by far the most productive region of the Muslim world and Arabic, came in the tenth century under Samanid patronage in terms of the scholars and books that would define the Hanafi tradition. The Samanid court at Bukhara sponsored the Persian poets Rudaki and Daqiqi, and the compilation of the Shahname (Book of kings) by Firdawsi (who later enjoyed Ghaznavid The Samanid era saw the formulation of the theological patronage as well); Arabic poetry was also cultivated, as were school associated with the name of Abu Mansur Muhammad al-Maturidi (d. c. 944) of Samarkand. His translations from Arabic and other languages into Persian. Theological The Samanids also patronized scientific endeavors, building elaborations, on a Hanafi foundation, defined the lines of on traditions that had produced pivotal works instrumental in religious thought that dominated the eastern Islamic world the development of astronomy and mathematics in the Islamic for centuries and, with the active support of Seljuk patronage, world at large, and later in western Europe as well. Whereas became firmly established in the Middle East beginning in the ninth century scholars of Central Asian origin, such as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was the era of Seljuk Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarazmi, Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi, patronage, indeed, that produced many of the great classics of and Abu Abbas Ahmad al-Farghani, were drawn west to Hanafi jurisprudence in Transoxania. The central works Baghdad, Samanid patronage kept these figures' successors at include the Usul of Fakhr al-Islam Ali b. Muhammad al-Hameeli, so to speak, and made tenth-century Bukhara the scene Pazdawi (d. 1089), the Mabsut and Usul al-fiqh of Muhammad of a remarkable intellectual synthesis marked especially by b. Ahmad al-Sarakhsi (d. c. 1096), known as "Shams al-scholars of encyclopedic breadth. The compendium of all A'imma," and the Hidaya of Burhan al-Din Ali

al-Marghinani

branches of scholarship known as the Mafatih al-ulum was (d. 1197).

The activities of Hanafi jurists extended to juridical produced for the Bukharan court by Abu Abdallah Muhammad al-Khwarazmi, and an important tradition of geographical estates and power they were able to amass was comcal study was sponsored by Samanid officials. The encyclopedic mon. The most famous case is the family known as the Al-e

tradition shaped the work of the remarkable Khwarazmian al-Burhan in Bukhara, whose members were recognized as the Biruni (d. 1048), who distinguished himself in the natural chief civil authorities in the city even by the non-Muslim sciences as well as in history and geography, and who later Qarakhitays. served the Ghaznavid sultans Mahmud and Mas'ud as well. The illustrious polymath Ibn Sina (d. 1037), especially re- The Mongol conquest naturally meant a setback for the nowed in medicine and philosophy, spent his formative institutional foundations of Islamic religious culture, and for years in Samanid Bukhara. state

involvement in the application and interpretation of the sharia, but its impact on religious life was not as far-reaching Perhaps the most important contribution of pre-Mongol as is often supposed. If the transmission of juridical traditions Central Asia to the religious culture of the larger Islamic in Central Asia is considered there is little evidence of any world, however, lies in scholarship on hadith and in the substantial discontinuity coinciding with the establishment of juridical sciences and theology. Already in the ninth century, Mongol rule.

With the conversion of the Mongol elites to under the Tahirids, Central Asia produced several of the Islam, patronage of Islamic scholarship, literature, art, and compilers of the major collections of hadiths regarded as architecture expanded. During the fourteenth century a numauthoritative throughout the Muslim world, above all the two ber of important Turkic religious works were produced and pivotal traditionists, Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Bukhari (d. dedicated to khans and tribal chieftains of the Jochid and 870), who lived much of his life near Samarkand, and Muslim Chaghatayid realms. Timur patronized religious scholars as b. Hajjaj of Nishapur (Ar. Nisabur) (d. 875). The growth and well as artisans and poets, often bringing prominent figures development of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, which from the regions he conquered back to his capital in Samarkand, came to dominate interpretation and application of the sharia and scholars such as Sa'd al-Din Taftazani (d. 1390) and Ali in much of the Ottoman-ruled world and in the Indian Jurjani (d.

1413) thus worked for a time in Transoxania; on the other hand, some jurists found the cultivation of the Central Asia has been predominantly Hanafi in its juridical heritage under Timur and his successors abhorrent orientation throughout the Islamic period. There was a Mongol and quit the Timurid realm for the Ottoman state or other

Islam and the Muslim World

139

Central Asian Culture and Islam

parts of the Muslim world. By the Timurid era, in any case, of that competition, many groups appear to have experithe Hanafi school's dominance in Central Asia had become a mented with different ways of legitimizing the authority and virtual monopoly. Hanafi juridical scholarship continued in efficacy of their specific ritual and devotional practices and Transoxania into the twentieth century, until the closure of their claims of spiritual preeminence, appealing to visionary sanctions of all madrasas by the Soviets in the late 1920s. Early in the various sorts, hereditary transmission, demon- Uzbek period, patronage of the religious sciences took on a strated spiritual results, and other signs in addition to the silsila, new political importance in light of the emergence of the which would become the normative mode of legitimation Shi ite state of Safavid Iran. The ulema of Transoxania by the latter fifteenth century. Some of these Sufi communisupported the Uzbek rulers by declaring the Qizilbash to be ties, moreover, were actively engaged in Islamization, not in the equivalent of infidels, thereby justifying the constant the sense of changing the beliefs of the Turkic nomads who raiding and open warfare in Khurasan through the sixteenth became based in southern Central Asia through the Mongol invasion and seventeenth centuries. The religious frontier thus estab- lished was rarely an insurmountable obstacle to commerce or sense of forging social and economic bonds with nomadic intellectual exchange, but nevertheless set the further devel- communities that were undergoing the profound dislocations opment of religious culture in Central Asia apart from its of the Mongol era (i.e., tribal reorganization and adaptation traditional connections to Iran. to the enclosed nomadism of Transoxania and Khurasan).

Sufism in Central Asia

By the

late fifteenth century, the Naqshbandiyya was

The most important religious development of the post-

emerging as

the dominant Sufi tradition of Central Asia, Mongol era was the rise of Sufi communities organized largely through the efforts of Khwaja Ubaydullah Ahrar, a native of Tashkent who spent much of his life in Timurid transmission, and their emergence as important factors in Samarkand, and who exemplified the political engagement political and economic history. The history of Sufism and the cultivation of economic power that became the (tasawwuf) in Central Asia down to the Mongol conquest hallmark of the Naqshbandi order. At the same time, the remains poorly studied, but it appears that by the tenth Naqshbandiyya was beginning its expansion beyond Central Asia, into the Ottoman Empire and the Indian subcontinents, some with local roots and some imported from outside continent. The decentralized polity of the early Uzbek era favored Central Asia, had coalesced under the designation of tasawwuf. intensified competition among representatives of the In the eleventh and twelfth centuries major new patterns of Naqshbandi, Yasavi, and Kubravi orders, but Naqshbandi dominance was assured by the second half of the sixteenth Sufi activity and organization appear with the career of Abu century. From then until the early eighteenth century, the Sa'id b. Abil-Khayr (d. 1049) of Mayhana, in present-day Naqshbandiyya was a truly pervasive influence in all aspects Turkmenistan, who cultivated a high public profile in of Central Asian political, economic, and cultural life. Ghaznavid Nishapur, and with the hereditary Sufi tradition of Ahmad-e Jam (d. 1141), whose natural descendants remained prominent well into the Uzbek era. Religious life, beginning with the introduction of the Mujaddidi (renewal) current of the Naqshbandi order, which had taken The Mongol and Timurid periods saw the crystallization shape in seventeenth-century India, into Central Asia. The of Sufi traditions that would dominate religious life in Central Asia down to the nineteenth century, in the form of for rulers seeking to counter the limitations on their power organized orders that emerged around silsilas traced back to imposed by entrenched urban and tribal elites, and several the prophet Muhammad through prominent saints of the Mujaddidi shaykhs were closely allied with khans of the thirteenth century. One was the Kubravi tradition, whose Manghit and Ming dynasties in promoting religious "reeponym, Najm al-Din Kubra, died in 1221 during the Mongol

form” in a way that undermined traditional Sufi groups and attack on his native Khwarazm. Another was the Yasavi the popular practices associated with them. The late eighth tradition, named for Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi, whose center of eenth and nineteenth centuries saw several reform efforts of activity was the middle Syr Darya valley. The Khwajagani this type, which entailed the condemnation of many longtradition emerged in the thirteenth century as well, among established religious practices that had diffused from Sufi the disciples of Khwaja Abd al-Khaliq Ghijduvani, from a circles into the larger society as un-Islamic innovations. Local town near Bukhara. This tradition produced a lineage that Sufi traditions survived, however, as did the local customs became known as the Naqshbandiyya, after Baha al-Din fought by the reformers, and the real blow to Central Asia’s legacy of Naqshband of Bukhara (d. 1389). Representatives of these Sufism came only with the Soviet era. and other traditions were engaged in vigorous competition with one another, for court patronage and for popular sup- Pilgrimage and Shrine Culture port, in the context of the political and social turmoil of One of the most characteristic features of Islamic religious Transoxania and Khurasan in the fourteenth century. As part practice in Central Asia, and one that linked the lower classes

140

Islam and the Muslim World

Childhood

with the religious and social elites, was the widespread phe- Afghanistan; the expansion of Muslim education and literacy nomenon of pilgrimage (ziyarat) to saints’s shrines (mazars). into the nomadic regions, especially among the Qazaqs; the This phenomenon was closely linked, but never entirely incorporation of shrines and sacred lineages into the religious coterminous, with the spread of Sufism. Shrine-centered practice, social structure, and epic traditions of the nomads; religious practice is evidenced already in the tenth century, the prominence of hereditary religious and social prestige in and by the twelfth century there is extensive information on families linked to eminent local jurists and, especially, Sufi the large numbers of shrines in Khurasan in the hagiographies saints of the past; the permeation of kinship structures and focused on the life of Abu Sa id b. Abu l-Khayr. From the communal life by elements of Sufi practice and thought; and same century dates the incident of the discovery of the the expansion of religiously defined and regulated occupareputed grave of Ali near Balkh, under the Seljuks, suggest- tional organizations in urban and rural

environments, integrating already the political ramifications of cultivating shrine traditions, as well as the compilation of the earliest guide to worldview that infused labor and its fruits with sacrality and holy places in Central Asia, entitled *Lata'if al-azkar*, by a religious meaning.

member of the Al-e Burhan of Bukhara. By the Mongol era, shrine culture was well entrenched, and appears to have See also Central Asia, Islam in; Maturidi, al-; Pilgrimage played some role in the acculturation of the Mongol elites and age: Ziyara; Tasawwuf.

ordinary nomads to the Muslim environment. Ibn Battuta reported that even pagan Mongols brought offerings to the shrine of Qutham b. Abbas, the famous martyred Shah-e Basilov, V. N. "Honour Groups in Traditional Turkmenian zinda in Samarkand, and there is some evidence of shrines Society." In *Islam in Tribal Societies: From the Atlas to the serving as portals, in effect, for passage from the world of Edited by Akbar S. Ahmed and David M. Hart.*

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forgotten sites.

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The centrality of shrine-centered religious practice in the
daily lives, and in connection with the most pressing human

Devin DeWeese

needs, of the majority of Central Asian Muslims is a major,
and visible, part of the complex of normative religious customs that
characterized traditional life in Islamic Central

Asia. Other elements of this complex are more difficult to

CHILDHOOD

trace in literary sources from earlier centuries, but it seems

clear that, during the Uzbek period at least, religious trends

Childhood in

Islam, like childhood in any great religious

that were evident already in the Mongol and Timurid eras

tradition,

is seen generally as a period of education and

were solidified and became the standard features of tradi-

training, a

time of socialization for the future adult. The child

tional Islamic life down to the social and religious upheavals

is seen as

the crucial generational link in both the religious

launched by the Soviet regime in Central Asia during the late

community

and the family unit, the key to its continuation,

1920s. Some of these elements include the continuation of

the living

person that ties the present to the past. The idea of

madrassa-based juridical education in such cities as Bukhara,

childhood,

the place of the child, the duties of the child are

which continued to attract students from among Muslim

basic issues

and have been since the beginning of Islam.

communities in the Russian empire as well as from India and

Childhood

ends in a formal sense at the age of puberty, when

Islam and the Muslim World

141

China

performance of the religious duties (Five Pillars) marks the
early age, children are given responsibilities.

from a very

ritual passage into the early stages of adulthood.

Girls are

expected to help in the home and care for siblings;

boys may be asked to help in family business or on their

Socialization of the child takes place primarily within the

father's

farm. This traditional picture, in practice, is changfamily unit, the home, and

the father and mother are ulti- ing, as people in the Muslim world

become more mobile, and

mately responsible for their offspring. However, grandpar-

as the

family group becomes more attenuated. The father is

ents, aunts, uncles, and cousins are also expected to participate still seen

as head of household, but the mother frequently

in a child's rearing and usually did so in the past. Religious shares

economic responsibilities by working outside the home, socialization also takes place in the home (for boys and girls) and this places stress on family expectations for both sons and daughters. and in the mosque (for boys) but also in the Qur'anic school. Free public education has supplemented, but not replaced, or kuttab (for boys and girls). A knowledge of the Qur'an is replaced, Qur'anic education for all children. deemed necessary for a child's religious development, and Still, most parents, even the poorest, try to send their sons and the basic approach to childhood as a time of learning daughters to the kuttab. rather than as a carefree time for play remains. To become a full member of the Islamic community, a child is expected to Socialization for values of the society begins even earlier, learn the Qur'an, respect parents, and gradually assume as soon as a child is conscious of others. These values vary responsibilities within the family and the religious community somewhat according to geographical, historic, and economic nity, so that the untutored child becomes the disciplined differences within Muslim communities but in general they Muslim adult. are designed to develop aql or reason in the child and to make the child mu addab, one who is polite and disciplined. In the See also Circumcision; Education; Gender; Marriage. Arab world, a child is taught respect for food, for religion, for the kin group, hospitality to guests, and, above all, respect for BIBLIOGRAPHY and obedience to the authority of the father. Ghazzali, Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abi Hamid al-. Ayyuha Most Muslim societies might be classified as patrilineal al-Walad. Cairo: Dar al-Itisam, 1983. (the exception being parts of Southeast Asia, in which a Warnock Fernea, Elizabeth, ed. Children in the Muslim Middle matrilineal descent is observed). In the reckoning of one's East. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995. descent in patrilineal societies, one's kin-group membership passes through the male line on the father's side. This means Elizabeth Warnock Fernea that all children retain their father's name throughout their lives, but a daughter, unlike a son, cannot pass membership on to her children. Male and female descendants inherit from the father, according to the specifics of Islamic legal codes. CHINA See East Asia, Islam in This hierarchical organization means that the oldest male, father or son, holds authority over his descendants, but is also the primary economic provider for the group, and thus controller of the group's economic resources. In exchange,

the male head of household is expected not only to provide for but to protect the group, including sons and daughters, throughout their lives.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM

The history of Christian-Muslim or alternatively Muslim-Christian relations began at the inception of Islam in the first half of the sixth century of the Common Era. As Islam began to spread beyond the Arabian Peninsula soon after the death of the prophet Muhammad in 632 C.E., the encounter between Muslims and Christians entered a new phase of mutual members to the group, and the birth of children confers tary, political, and social interactions. A century later, while these kinds of interaction continued along the already farand in Islam. "When a man has children he has fulfilled half flung borders of the new Islamic empire spreading from his religion, so let him fear God for the remaining half," states Spain to one of the hadiths of the prophet Muhammad. majority Christian and majority Muslim polities. They reflected the weight of different theological and political con- texts on daily Further, throughout childhood, there is strong socializa- social life, leading to a variety of mostly tion for future roles in the family and the Muslim community; polemical and apologetic stances that Christians and Muslims

142

Islam and the Muslim World

Christianity and Islam

developed regarding each other. This religious and political which his prophetic message was being accepted or rejected at each mix came to a head during the period of the major Crusades moment of his reception of Qur'anic revelations, a process (twelfth to thirteenth centuries C.E.), creating the subsequent that lasted about twenty-three years. In terms of dominant paradigm in Christian-Muslim relations, the re-Christianity in particular, there is at best a conditional acpercussions of which are still felt to this day, and especially ceptance of Christians, and at worst a judgment associating them to since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. But not all The both shirk (polytheism/idolatry) and kufr (unbelief). historical periods or geographical locations were the same;

various Christian voices referred to in the Qur'an are, for pockets of mutually beneficial encounters existed here and there on both sides of the transient political borders. More- over, the history of Christian-Muslim relations has not unfolded in isolation from other religious and, more recently, mainstream, seventh-century Christian theologies, by benonreligious worldviews. ing preserved in the Qur'an, negatively predisposed subsequent generations of Muslim interpreters of Christianity. A

The Period of the Prophet Muhammad's Life: Circa contextual sociopolitical reading of these various passages, 570–632 C.E.

harking back in part to the old Islamic hermeneutical principles, all of which have entailed in the past century serious especially important when the passages are juxtaposed debates as to their validity as historical sources, it is nevertheless historically, either within the period of the Prophet's life or less possible to suggest a likely course of events in this first for contemporary ideological purposes.

period of Muslim-Christian encounters. Prior to 610 C.E., the year when the prophet Muhammad received the first Qur'anic

The First Islamic Conquests: 632–750 C.E.

revelation, his encounters with Christians probably took place during his caravan trips into greater Syria, as the between 632 and 750 C.E., two numerically important religious systems become incorporated under Muslim political control: Eastern Christianity, both Chalcedonian (i.e.,

ters with Christians of unknown theological leanings passing Byzantine) and non-Chalcedonian (especially Monophysite through Mecca. The biography of the prophet Muhammad and Nestorian), and Zoroastrianism. By then, Jews constituted only a small minority of the population scattered across historically verifiable. For instance, soon after 610 C.E., the the newly conquered areas, and did not represent any political

Prophet met with Waraqa ibn Nawfal, who was a cousin of
 threat. The first to try to make sense of Islam as the religion of
 the Prophet's wife Khadija. Waraqa ibn Nawfal was a Christian
 rulers were Eastern Christians, since Western scholar who confirmed the
 Prophet's mission. Another
 ern (that is, Roman) Christians were not affected directly by
 encounter is said to have occurred in 615 C.E., when early
 the Muslim conquests until the later part of this period, and
 converts to Islam migrated for a short while to the Christian
 mostly in the Iberian Peninsula lying at the Western fringe of
 kingdom of Axum (Abyssinia). In 628 C.E., a delegation of
 the new Islamic empire. In all cases, however, Christians
 Christians from the town of Najran in South Arabia came to
 perceived Islam within their own respective theological
 visit the Prophet in Medina, and sometime before the Prophet
 worldviews. As early as around 660 C.E., the arrival of Arab
 died, in 632 C.E., he would have sent letters to existing rulers
 Muslims is interpreted by the Monophysite Armenian bishop
 such as the Byzantine emperor Heraclius and the Negus of
 Sebeos as a judgment of God in light of Genesis 21:12–13,
 Axum, as well as the Sassanian emperor Chosroes. These five
 instances demonstrate a variety of possible or imagined en- according
 to which Muslims are identified as Arab descen- counters, all of which have been
 used for various goals in dants of Hagar and her son Ishmael, who
 were promised by
 Muslim-Christian relations, both at the time of their produc- God to
 become a great nation. This theological interpretation and in subsequent
 interpretations. tation was linked to a political
 situation wherein most
 Monophysite and Nestorian Christians welcomed the arrival
 The varieties of Qur'anic passages addressing Christians of Arab
 Muslims, for it put an end to their political subordinadirectly or indirectly
 (as people of the book, together with tion to the Byzantine
 Christians. As the new rulers took
 Jews, for example) reflect the transforming nature of the control
 over the course of the eighth century, new interpretaprophet Muhammad's
 encounters with them as his own tions developed. For both
 Monophysites and Nestorians,
 status changed over time. The same applies to the other two Islam
 came to represent a judgment on the part of God
 religious systems he interacted with in Arabia: Judaism and against
 those who accepted the Christological definitions of
 Meccan polytheism. In all three cases, the variation in tone, the
 Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.). As for those Eastern
 from tolerance to polemics, seems to reflect the extent to
 Christians under Muslim control who continued to support

Christianity and Islam

The Tomb of St. John the Baptist in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, which was built on an earlier church, is said to house the skull of John the Baptist, valued by both Muslims and Christians. Over the centuries, despite much polemical opposition and violence, Christianity and Islam maintain many important similarities and have shared many positive encounters.

ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

the Byzantine or Chalcedonian theology, such as the Melkite covenant (ahl al-dhimma), erroneously understood by some John of Damascus, they came to describe Islam as a Christian today as second-class citizenship. This concept was based on two tian heresy.

Qur'anic references (9:8, 10) initially referring to idolaters in general. This covenantal concept helped regulate

The early Muslim conquerors followed the momentum Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians as political minorities who built toward the end of the Prophet's life: The first phase of received protection from ruling Muslims in exchange for poll interaction with Christians (and Jews) was confrontational, taxes. Yet, the situation and opportunities for advancement and all Jews and Christians were expelled from the Arabian varied tremendously from one individual Christian to another, Peninsula. It was not until the later seventh and eighth other, and from one geographical area or historical period to centuries, when Muslim political conquests began to take another. For example, many educated Christians reached root in majority Christian and Zoroastrian areas, that more high positions of power during the Umayyad and subsequent lenient attitudes and practices developed, legitimized by a Abbasid dynasties, especially in the fields of medicine, phiretrieval of the earlier and more tolerant Qur'anic passages losophy, and administration.

toward Christians in particular. These interpretations and legal elaborations were needed to formalize the relationship The Stabilizing of Relations: 750–1085 C.E.

of Muslims to the Christians and Zoroastrians who formed a In the three centuries that followed the takeover of the majority of the population in their respective western and central Islamic lands by the Abbasid dynasty in 750 C.E., eastern halves of the new (Islamic) Umayyad Empire (661–750 the Islamic world rose to its apex of cultural, religious, and C.E.). This new political context also explains why, to the political efflorescence. This pax islamica resulted in much theological concept of the people of the book (ahl al-kitab),

tolerance toward its internal religious minorities in genused by the prophet Muhammad to link the Jewish, Chris- eral, albeit within an Islamic dhimmi paradigm of power. tian, and Islamic notions of divine revelation, was added a The translation of mostly Greek and Syriac philosophiparallel and pragmatic concept of the people of the protective cal and scientific works into Arabic during the middle of

144

Islam and the Muslim World

Christianity and Islam

the ninth century culminated in the establishment of Caliph first Crusades in Clermont, France, in 1095. By the fall of Al-Ma mun's (786–833 C.E.) bayt al-hikma (house of wis- 1096, a people's expedition was galvanized by Peter the Hermit. dom). It was later directed by the Nestorian Christian trans- Numbering about twenty thousand, it ended up lator Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809–873 C.E.). As a positive disintegrating before leaving Europe. In its wake, however, it example of Christian-Muslim relations at the center of the left a trail of suffering. Many lives were lost, and whole Jewish Abbasid Empire, the bayt al-hikma internally promoted intel- communities were exterminated. lectual pursuits of truth and resulted in a striking degree of interreligious tolerance and mutual influence, especially among At the same time, an amalgamation of five armies from the educated elite. Externally, as the empire's borders contin- different parts of Western Europe responded to the call: they numbered to be disputed, a pronounced antagonism arose among between fifty and sixty thousand. They crossed over into both Western European and Byzantine Christians, who feared Asia Minor in 1097, captured Antioch in 1098, and the power of the then-greatest empire on earth. Among conquered Jerusalem on 15 July 1099. The Christian popula- tion of Western Christians, the most obvious development was linked to the slow Reconquista efforts in Spain that culminated in the treachery just prior to the Crusader conquest. The Muslim Christian takeover of Toledo in 1085. This movement was governor, together with some of his military garrison, was allowed fueled by very negative anti-Islamic rhetoric. As for Byzan- safe-conduct at the moment of the conquest, but the remaining tine Christians, the continuing warfare also helped sustain Muslim and small Jewish civilian populations were massacred: more polemical views of Islam, building on the earlier notion More than forty thousand lives were taken. In that Islam was a heresy with the difference that authors now contrast,

when Saladin re-conquered Jerusalem in 1187, no blood was
 had access to original Qur'anic and other Arabic writings (or
 spilled upon entering the city. By 1302, the Crusaders
 translations of them) to sustain their polemical arguments.
 had gradually lost control of all their small prin- palities
 Yet, some Byzantine writers were more moderate, acknowl-
 on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.
 edging some similarities between Christianity and Islam,
 such as the common basis in monotheism. In
 contrast to this military approach to Muslim-Christian
 relations, smaller but significant rapprochements were taking
 During the same period, an equally diverse spectrum of place from the
 eleventh century onwards. They allowed for
 views on Christianity emerged among Muslims. While there
 the transmission of knowledge from the Islamic world into
 was better access to mainline Christian theologies, greater
 Christian Europe, with the translation of Arabic works into
 knowledge did not always result in greater tolerance and
 Latin. This began primarily in Spain and Sicily with the
 understanding. Many factors explain the rise in Muslim
 rediscovery of the ancient Greek heritage, now greatly enpolemical attitudes
 toward Christianity: changing demoriched by centuries of Muslim commentaries.
 This movegraphic realities, wherein Christians were still the majority in
 ment took place in both older monasteries and newer
 many central areas of Islamdom, but the balance of numerical
 educational establishments such as language schools, colpower was gradually
 shifting in favor of Islam; changing
 leges, and universities, first in Bologna, Salerno, Montpellier,
 theological realities within the Muslim community, includ-
 Paris, and Oxford prior to 1200 With this rapid increase in
 ing the search for Islamic legitimization in Biblical roots;
 efforts to understand the Muslim world, with key figures such
 social competition, especially in times of economic difficulas the Italian
 Francis of Assisi (1182–1226 C.E.) and the
 ties; and the need to defend Islam against other major
 Spaniard Raymond Lull (c. 1232–1316 C.E.), important seeds
 worldviews. But not all Muslim perceptions of Christianity
 were polemical, and not all Muslim authors lived in situations of the
 later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European Renwhere the above factors were
 equally present. As different aissance were sown in the very midst of
 an internal Christian
 Christian theologies produced different perceptions of Islam, resistance
 to the Crusades.
 so did different Islamic theologies (Mu tazili, Ash ari, Maturidi,
 The New Balance of Power: 1300–1500 C.E.
 traditionalist, Sufi, and so on) produce different perceptions
 The defeat of the first Crusades did not end the desires of

of Christianity.

European Christians for expansion, nor did it stop certain

The Period of the Crusades: 1085–1300 C.E.

Muslims

from continuing their own. The Reconquista gradu-

After the fall of Toledo in 1085, Western Christians became

ally

expanded to include the whole of the Iberian Peninsula,

emboldened by the successes of what they have called the

ending

with the fall of the last Muslim kingdom in Grenada in

Reconquista. Their success was in sharp contrast to the Eastern

1492. At

the other end of the Mediterranean, Ottoman

Byzantine Christians, who had suffered great territorial losses

expansion

crossed over into southeastern Europe in 1354,

at the hands of the Muslim Seljuk Turks in the aftermath of

eventually

ending the Byzantine Empire with the capture of

the battle of Manzikert in 1071. A decade later, Byzantine

Constantinople in 1453. They won the battle of Kosovo in

emperor Alexius (r. 1081–1118) took power and later re-

1389 and

Nicopolis in 1396, making them rulers of the

quested help from Western Christians to fight back the

Balkans.

The expansion stopped at the gates of Vienna in

Muslims. Pope Urban II responded with the preaching of the

1529. A

similar siege took place again in 1683, demonstrating

Islam and the Muslim World

145

Christianity and Islam

the strong Ottoman pressures on Central and Eastern Europe

gradually

make them colonial masters not only over majority

for over a century and a half.

Muslim

countries, but over almost the entire planet. While

this surge in European colonialism was particularly successful

At the same time, by the end of the fifteenth century, the

among the British, French, Dutch, and Russians, who divided

southwestern Europeans, especially the Spaniards and Portuguese among themselves

most of the Islamic world, it still

guese, gained new strategic power through three combined

remained strong among the older imperial powers of Spain

discoveries: Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of the Americas and Portugal,

while the newer national polities of Italy,

as in 1492; Vasco de Gama's navigation around Africa via the

Germany, and Belgium also vied for their share of the world.

Cape of Good Hope in 1497, which opened up a new spice

A few Muslim areas retained a degree of political independence, trading route to

Southeast Asia that avoided central Muslim

lands, such as what later became Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and

lands; and Magellan and Pigafetta's westward circumnavigation

(to a lesser degree) Iran, which had to balance pressures from

of the earth by 1522 C.E. These discoveries suddenly enlarged the British in the south and the Russians in the north, a the predominantly Mediterranean geographical scope of the prelude to the later pressures of the Cold War by their first eight centuries of Christian-Muslim interactions into respective successors the United States and the Soviet Union. the beginnings of a global one, adding new Christian mis- Thanks in part to large oil revenues, both Saudi Arabia and sionary pressures, especially in West Africa as well as South and Southeast Asia, where Muslim rule had been gradually Iran would later become the launching pads for two disexpanding for centuries.

tinct, transnational, and anti-Western Islamic political ideologies confronting Western imperialism: Khomeinism and The New European Christian Rise in Power: Wahhabism. The first began with the Iranian Revolution of 1500–1800 C.E. 1979 and the latter produced as one of its offshoots the

In the sixteenth century, the rapid takeover of ocean routes extremist al-Qa ida, with the resulting terrorist attacks on key symbols of worldwide ushered in a new age of European Christian power. It resulted in a gradual encroachment on increasingly vast areas of inhabited lands through a forceful combination Intertwined with the growing European colonialism of of military, political, economic, and missionary activities. the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Christian While these new, long-term processes were unfolding on the missionary movement continued unabated, although it was peripheries, the Ottoman Empire continued to be a threat to now linked to a civilizational project of modernity under the central and eastern European Christian powers and the stood as democracy and the rule of law within new nation-

Mughal Empire slowed down European incursions into state structures. This European colonial project legitimized South Asia. in the eyes of most Europeans their own increased militarization at home and the interconnected colonial control of

In between the Ottoman and Mughal empires, the Safavid peoples worldwide. European colonialism eventually frag- Empire (based primarily in Iran) vied for control of central mented the world, including the Islamic parts of it, into Islamic lands. Dynamic internal Muslim transformations unavoidable yet often unmanageable semblances of nation continued to flower along traditional lines, both within those states. This project had to do as much with older competing three centralized empires and on many peripheries of Islamic Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Christian identities as

expansion, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, and in southeast with newer, non-Christian philosophies (deism, atheism, and northwestern Asia. However, few understood the utilitarianism, materialism, human rights, and the like), a significance of the new technologies that led to the magnipoint often misunderstood by many generations of Muslims. The attitude of the European encroachment along many peripheries who have reduced the modern West to Christianity. In turn, of the Islamic world and their disruption of traditional intermany Westerners, whether religious or not, have themselves. The main sources of economic revenues, such as the spice and silk, simplistically essentialized the complexities of the Islamic roads, due to new ocean trade routes. These technological threats were also ideational and symbolic, as with the new world, wanting to believe that it is quintessentially unmissionary efforts to spread worldwide the already embattled modernizable. They have forgotten how many centuries it took Western forms of European Christianity, even when conducted with Catholic and Protestant Christianities to come greater sensitivity to local customs, as exemplified in the to terms with modernity, and fail to consider the ongoing struggles of efforts of the first Jesuits in the later half of the sixteenth parts of the Orthodox Christian world, not to century in India, China, and Japan. These combined proc- mention vast numbers of Christians in economically disadesses would subsequently increase in speed and depth, leading vantaged areas around the world. to tension and confrontation between Muslims and Chris- Orientalism is a long-standing, scientific tradition of intians worldwide on a much wider scale. terpretation of the Other developed in Western universities The Period of European Colonialism and Western especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to ex- Imperialism: 1800 onward plain “Eastern” realities from Morocco to Japan. This tradi- With Napoleon’s brief conquest of Egypt in 1898, Europeans tion reinforced the stereotype of Islam as unmodernizable. embarked on a political and military trajectory that would Orientalists only too often contributed to the rationale for

146

Islam and the Muslim World Christianity and Islam

colonial domination of the world, especially in Muslim areas. But by the end of the Cold War in 1989, Westerners and Muslims This explains why, since the late nineteenth century, many Muslims had lost a common enemy in communism; they could now Muslims have become suspicious of efforts on the part of could now

turn more directly onto each other, in what is still
 non-Muslim Westerners to interpret Islam. However, with often
 reduced to a simplistic West versus Islam dichotomy.
 increased migrations of Muslims from majority Muslim countries to the West and
 the increase in conversions to Islam In contrast, mostly among
 educated and cosmopolitan
 among both European and U.S. citizens, especially among elites,
 the late twentieth century witnessed the emergence of
 African Americans, together with the increased Westernization a genuine
 Christian-Muslim or Muslim-Christian dialogue.
 of important segments of majority Muslim countries, new This new
 movement stressed the importance of listening to
 Islamized Western and secularized Islamic identities have one
 another and learning from each other's tradition. This
 emerged in the last half century challenging the existence of a process,
 carefully attuned to ensuring a better power dynamic
 West/Islam dichotomy as was promulgated by orientalist between
 its participants, has often led to common statements
 thinking. by Muslims
 and Christians on a variety of issues. Sponsored
 at times by international religious organizations, govern-
 In addition to colonialist and orientalist discourses, the ments, or
 non-governmental organizations, these dialogues
 already complex internal Western dynamic spawned new have
 opened up new avenues of understanding that aim to
 competing economic and political ideologies, such as liberal- respect
 the differences and have built on the similarities that
 ism, socialism, and communism, eventually spreading the exist
 among Christians and Muslims. While participating in
 Cold War (1950–1989) unto the rest of the non-Western dialogue
 does not require a liberal theological point of view, it
 world, into newly formed nations that were already strug- tends to
 attract religious people with such a perspective, often
 gling to define themselves in the new, postcolonial era. This limiting
 the potential impact this approach could have on
 resulted in various hybrid forms of political ideology, such as
 transforming the history of Christian-Muslims relations topan-Arabism,
 Indonesian pancasila ideology, and the crea- ward one of greater
 understanding and cooperation given the
 tion of Pakistan along ethnic rather than religious lines (even wealth of
 information now available on their shared history.
 though Pakistani identity was initially the effort to transform
 a South Asian Muslim identity into a national/ethnic one). Conclusion
 For every national case, the Islamic heritage in majority The
 history of Muslim-Christian relations includes a wide
 Muslim countries was problematized differently, resulting in spectrum
 of interactions encompassing all aspects of human

a variety of Muslim and Islamic nationalisms that rivals the extreme interpretations need to be avoided because variety of secular and Christo-secular Western nationalisms. wrong historically. The first is reductionism. It is dangerous to reduce this complex history to one of endless confrontations. The greatest force underlying the modernization (often reduced to Westernization) process ensuing from Western Islam and Christianity, treating them as mutually exclusive colonialism and post-colonial economic imperialism, most realities that turn every Christian and Muslim into unavoids recently known under the concept of globalization, has come able enemies. The examples of constructive interactions in the name of science and has been linked to a philosophy of between Muslims and Christians in both times of peace and war are positivism. These combined claims to truth have reinforced too numerous to justify oversimplifying this history into one the various new technologies with which they are associated. of military confrontations. The second danger is to deny the While most Muslims have adopted Western scientific education as part of various nationalist educational projects, this among Christians, Muslims, and others within Christian and ever-rapid increase in scientific knowledge has continued to post-Christian as well as Muslim and other societies. These dynamics provide a secularizing West its military and political superiority, undermining traditional faith-claims both at the center and patterns, as well as a spectrum of beliefs that range from inclusive of power in the West and on the Muslim and other peripheries. to exclusive and are held by both sides in what have become the two numerically largest religious identities today. A resistance to positivist science and liberal Christianity Knowing this history requires a sensitive understanding at first developed in the United States in the second decade of the dawn of a yet insecure future for the human race. the twentieth century, taking the form of Christian Protestant fundamentalism. Fundamentalism later spread around See also Balkans, Islam in the; Crusades; European the world under different names and varying forms, resulting Culture and Islam; Islam and Other Religions; Judain the ideologization of anticolonial and, later, anti-imperialist ism and Islam; Religious Beliefs. religious discourses. Eventually it fueled a few religious revolutions and coup d'etats, the most memorable being that

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form of accommodation has led to the creation of a network Economy,
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Islam and the Muslim World

147

Circumcision

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Patrice C. Brodeur

CIRCUMCISION

The role of circumcision (khitan) in Islamic society has
shifted dramatically due to issues of gender, custom, and law.
Nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an, circumcision was a common practice in Arabia
that was incorporated into the Islamic
legal system to varying degrees and for a variety of reasons.
Both Josephus and Philo of Alexandria note its presence in
Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia prior to the coming of Islam.
Philo observes that Egyptian males and females were circumcised after the
fourteenth year before marriage, while Josephus
claims the Arabs performed it just after the thirteenth year, at
the time Ishmael was circumcised.

The minaret of a mosque and the belltowers of Christian churches
cohabitate in Bethlehem on the West Bank. LEFTERIS PITARAKIS/AP/ Legally,
Islamic scholars debate whether the practice is

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS obligatory

or sunna (customary), or whether its obligations be
extended solely to males, or to males and females. Al-Shafi'i
considers the practice an equal duty for both sexes, while
Borrmans, Maurice. Guidelines for Dialogue between Christians Malik and
others consider it sunna for males. The disagree and Muslims. Translated by R.
Marston Speight. Mahwah, ment over gender requirements continues in
current cultural

N.J.: Paulist Press, 1990.

practice. Female circumcision is embraced in southern Egypt,
Brown, Stuart E., ed. Meeting in Faith: Twenty Years of Ethiopia,
Somalia, the Sudan, and West Africa, and a minor
Christian-Muslim Conversations Sponsored by the World Council form is

practiced by Southeast Asian Shafi is in Indonesia and of Churches. Geneva: W.C.C. Publications, 1989. Malaysia. It is condemned by many Muslims and non-Muslims Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*. who reside outside of these areas, mostly for humanitarian Oxford, U.K.: Oneworld, 1993. and health reasons. Many legal schools also deliberate the Goddard, Hugh. *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations*. time a circumcision should be performed. Some recommend Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, 2000. the seventh day following the birth of a male child, while Goddard, Hugh. *Christians and Muslims: From Double Stan- others propose its performance after a child reaches his tenth dards to Mutual Understanding*. Richmond, U.K.: birthday. Again, such legal variation is mirrored in contem- Curzon, 1995. porary practice. In the Middle East, circumcision occurs between the ages of two and seven, while in Europe and Haddad, Juliette Nasri, ed. *Declarations Communes Islamo-Chretiennes: 1954–1995*. Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq, 1997. North Africa male Muslims are circumcised in hospitals immediately after birth. Suffice it to say that today there is no Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, and Haddad, Wadi Saidan, eds. standard orthodox practice when it comes to circumcision. Christian-Muslim Encounters. Gainesville: University Press Not all Muslims practice circumcision (specifically, those in of Florida, 1995. China), and many who do adhere to vastly different cul- Hillenbrand, C. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Edinburgh: tural norms. Edinburgh University Press, 1999. Laiou, Angeliki E., and Mottahedeh, Roy Parviz, eds. The The justifications for circumcision also vary dramatically Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim in Islamic sources and practice. Many hadith link circumci- World. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research sion with purification (tahara). It often appears in lists that Library and Collection, 2001. include other acts of general hygiene, including the clipping

148

Islam and the Muslim World

Clothing

of nails, the use of the tooth-stick, the trimming of mus- common in the region since Roman times (qamis or thawb). The earlier taches, and the depilation of both the armpits and the pubic form of Arab dress, unseamed wrapped garments region. Some hadith also link the practice back to Ibrahim, (izar and

rida), have survived as the consecrated garments who circumcised himself at the age of eighty with a pickax. (ihram) worn by pilgrims to Mecca. The thawb is well suited to desert Unlike Judaism, Islam does not view circumcision as the sole heat, providing both protection from the sun and signifier of the covenant between God and his people. Circumcision stands as just one of many tests Ibrahim performed burnus) may also be worn. Typical materials are cotton or fine wool, with to demonstrate his adherence to the true faith. Many Muslims bypass these exegetical intricacies and simply take the borders. To this might be added sashes and shawls. Men's view that Muhammad mandated the practice. The legal and head coverings might be a turban, or a simple shawl bound at the customary support for circumcising just prior to the onset of the forehead, arranged on the head according to status, puberty also suggests the practice was performed as a rite of affiliation, local usage, or practical need. Turbans are the passage, one that would ready an individual for marriage. As a most well known of Muslim headgear, however. Hats or caps rite of passage, male circumcision ceremonies in places like may also be worn either separately or under turbans. Women's Java and Morocco are accompanied with purificatory rites, clothing is based on the same basic garment forms but differs in color, sacrifices, and feasts. When conducted today, female circumcision is a much less celebratory act, rarely accompanied by women's garments were traditionally hidden by veils that covered all such festivities. To interpret circumcision in Islam from a covered all parts of the body to the ground or only head, religious studies standpoint, the manipulation of the genitalia shoulders, and face.

exemplifies ultimate divine control over one's human, procreative instincts. Thus one cut symbolizes a total submission to God. Turkic dress was widely influential throughout the Islamic world. The Seljuk Turks emerged from Central Asia, establishing dynasties in Iran and Asia Minor by the eleventh century. By See also Ada; Body, Significance of; Gender; Law. century. By the mid-sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire encompassed most of the lands surrounding the eastern

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Mediterranean.

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Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986. consisted of loose-fitting trousers (salvar, don) and a shirt

Kister, M.J. Concepts and Ideas at the Dawn of Islam. Aldershot, (gomlek), topped by a variety of jackets (cebken), vests (yelek), Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate/Variation, 1997. and long coats (entari, kaftan, uc etek). The use of coats and trousers derived from their nomadic origins in Central Asia.

Robinson, Francis. Atlas of the Islamic World Since 1500. New York: Facts On File, 1982. Trousers protect a rider's legs from chafing, and coats or jackets can be more readily donned or doffed than tunics while on horseback, as required in a variable climate. Layer-Kathryn Kueny

ing of garments was an important aesthetic element. Garments were arranged to display the patterns and quality of fabrics on all layers and add bulk to the body image. The more CLOTHING formal the occasion or the higher the status of the wearer, the more layers worn, with richer materials further indicating Islamic dress has for centuries been used to symbolize purity, wealth. Colorful sashes that added mass to the body image mark status or formal roles, distinguish believer from also served as a repository for weapons and personal articles.

nonbeliever, and identify gender. Traditionally Muslims were Ottoman Turkish headgear typically consisted of a brimless admonished to dress modestly in garments that did not reveal hat or cap in a variety of sizes and forms indicating official the body silhouette and extremities. Head coverings were status, gender, and regional identity. Scarves were usually wrapped into also expected. However, dress forms vary in different periods a turban over the hat. The form of the turban and regions, as does interpretation of and adherence to indicated status, occupation, religious affiliation, or regional Muslim dress codes. The most prominent forms of Near origin. Women's scarves were wrapped and tied around the Eastern dress can be classified as Arab or Turkic/Iranian in head, frequently in layers, with a larger veil worn over all in public. form, with degrees of blending between the two modes occurring where interaction between these cultures has been greatest. Specific forms of dress were worn by Ottoman officials throughout the Ottoman Empire. The nearly five-hundred-year presence Arab dress can be seen from northern Syria to North of Ottoman rule throughout much of the Arab world led to Africa. The basic dress of both men and women is based on some blending of garment forms, particularly in the simple tunic, an unfitted garment pulled on over the head, northern

Arab regions adjacent to Anatolia, and also in urban

Islam and the Muslim World

149

Clothing

Modesty in dress was enjoined in Islam for both men and women, although the particulars of pious modesty are not precisely defined in the Qur'an. The body of Islamic law and scholarship, however, has provided more specific directives that have nonetheless been applied differently in different times and places. Generally some sort of headcovering or veiling (hijab) is mandated for both men and women. In some countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia all women are required to veil, although the forms of veiling vary. In some other societies veils may be a matter of choice.

Throughout the Islamic world, dress has been used to manage distinctions of rank, gender, and religion. Under Ottoman law, for example, dress of the various religious communities within the empire was regulated, with specific colors and forms of headgear, shoes, and garments defined. Garments, particularly coats, were an important aspect of court ceremonial throughout the Muslim world. The court reception of emissaries, celebration of religious holidays, installation of officials, or honoring of heroes always called for the presentation of ceremonial robes and other textile gifts, with the richness of the fabrics or fur linings a mark of the degree of honor conferred upon the recipient. The wearing of luxurious materials such as silk and gold thread was often restricted, however, although such restrictions were often ignored. The wearing of silk, particularly next to the skin, was widely held to be an impious luxury for good Muslims. A colorful satin cloth that had a cotton weft and silk warp, and therefore a cotton inner surface and a silk outer face, allowed the wearer to conform to this religious admonition while enjoying the luxurious outer appearance of a silk

Traditional male Arab dress is depicted in this 1936 postcard from garment.

This textile was widely used in the Islamic world, the region. CORNELL COSTUME AND TEXTILE COLLECTION

known as kutnu in the Near East, and mashru in northern

India and Pakistan. However, the most pious avoided luxurious materials and colors, and wore clothing of simple wool,

Arab centers of the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. cotton, or linen.

The adoption of buttoned vests or jackets of silk or wool decorated with embroidery, and the loose-fitting trousers Beginning in the nineteenth century, westernization of

called salwar in Turkish or sirwal in Arabic are evidence of dress occurred together with modernization of political, such borrowings in Arab dress. The dress of Muslim sub-military, and educational institutions, since initially modernization was officially perceived as consonant with Islam there in the eleventh century. westernization. Also the emergence of a modern textile industry in many regions led to the disappearance of the more Traditional dress in Iran shares with that of Turkey forms costly handmade textiles once used in traditional dress. Since indicative of nomadic origins, with layered coats and salwar as dress had long been closely regulated under Muslim law, typical features of dress. These forms were also introduced departures from traditional dress became highly charged into Muslim northern India from Central Asia by the Turkic political and social issues. The banning of the turban and the Gaznevids in the eleventh and twelfth century, and by the introduction of the fez by the Ottoman sultan Mahmut II in Moguls in the sixteenth century. Such forms are reflected in 1829 (as well as a westernized military uniform) caused great Mogul court dress, where for men trousers (pajama) were controversy as did similar decrees in Iran in 1873. These typically combined with front-opening coats or jackets of reforms were intended to symbolize modernization of military length and cut (angarkha or jama). For women, the tary and administrative institutions, yet a century later the fez characteristic ensemble might include a bodice or tunic (kurta had become a symbol of Ottoman traditionalism. Following or choli) and skirt (gaghra), and/or trousers (salwar), as well as a the founding of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) veil. The exquisitely fine and complex silks and cottons of met resistance when he banned the fez in 1925, and even India are a distinctive characteristic of dress from this region. more so when he urged abandonment of the veil for women.

150

Islam and the Muslim World

Coinage

Since mandated ideas of proper dress had for centuries been conquered lands to the treasury, first located in Medina, then in Damascus the means of distinguishing Muslim from non-Muslim, these during the Umayyad period. The monetization of the issues continue to have great emotional force throughout the economy that resulted from this expansion required not only Muslim world. In the 1980s and 1990s dress reemerged as a large amounts of cash (coins) but also a standard

symbolic flashpoint between religious conservative and secularist elements in Islamic societies. In response, the silver dirham, modeled on the Sassanid drachma, was adopted, with the coins being provided by the former Sassanid mints. Examples of traditional clothing appear in the volume one color insert.

Economic expansion continued with the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate, but the silver dirham remained the unit of currency. As mints did not generally issue gold coins, the market had to rely largely on the Byzantine solidi to meet its gold currency needs. The solidi themselves suffered wear and tear, which led at times to a less than uniform weight. Similarly, the silver dirhams in circulation, or those minted by the Muslims, showed discrepancies. Strong pressure there- by the Muslims, University of New York Press, 2000.

fore existed for a standard currency, including a unit based on gold, Koçu, Resat Ekrem. *Türk Giyim Kusam ve Süsleme Sözlüğü* (Dictionary of Turkish: (Dress, Accessories, and Embellishment.) Ankara: Sümerbank, 1969. Muslims.

Lindisfarne-Tapper, Nancy, and Ingham, Bruce, eds. *Languages of Dress in the Middle East*. Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Curzon Press, 1997. such as Umar I, Ali b. Abi Talib and Mu awiyah, which went only as far as adding an Islamic inscription or date to existing Byzantine or Sassanid coins, Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 685–705), the Umayyad caliph, took the initiative. Between 696 and 698, he changed the form as well as the weight of the dinar and dirham and regulated minting. The coins emphasized the emerging power of Muslims and of Islam as a religion, with Modern Times: A Short History. Edited by Norman Stillman. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2000. but Allah and

Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.” Unlike Byzantine and Sassanid coins, the reformed coins did not bear the Caliph’s image.

The pre-reform dinar had weighed approximately 4.55 grams, but Abd al-Malik reduced it to 4.25 grams. The COINAGE fineness of the dinar was set at a minimum 96 percent gold alloy. The weight of the pre-reform dirham had been approximately 3.98 grams, but Abd al-Malik standardized it to 2.97 grams. When Islam emerged in 610 C.E., Mecca did not have its own coinage. Instead, it relied entirely on the coins of neighboring regions, particularly the Byzantine and Sassanid empires. This weight remained largely unchanged until the mid-ninth century C.E. The fineness of the silver dirham Being both a trading town and a pilgrimage center, Mecca was also maintained at near 96 percent. Though the capital, Damascus, attracted a wide range of the coins in circulation at the time, minted some coins, particularly gold dinars, Abd Neither the prophet Muhammad nor his immediate political al-Malik did not centralize minting in that city. This function was given to successors sought to change this. When the Muslims conquered provincial mints, and here the caliph relied heavily on queried much of the Byzantine and Sassanid empires after the death of the Prophet in 632 C.E., they left the administrative coinage reform on the eastern regions of the caliphate. Later, structures of these regions, including their mints and coinages, caliph Hisham b. Abd al-Malik (r. 724–743) also tightened largely intact. control over the quality of both dinar and dirham.

As a result of the Muslim conquests of the seventh century Abd al-Malik’s reformed coinage set a standard that . . . rapid economic expansion and currency circulation occurred in C E continued in some respects well into the following Abbasid period. In curred in the Near East, along with Muslim migration from powerful order to standardize further the coinage of the Abbasid caliphate, the caliph al-Ma mun (r. 813–833) introduced began to flow out to Muslims from the Central Treasury (bayt introduced new coinage in 821 and 822. He abolished inclual-mal) in Medina during the caliphate of Umar I (r. 634–644), sion of the caliph’s or the provincial governor’s name on coins, and there was substantial inflow of taxes and tributes from the coins, ordered that both gold and silver coins should follow

Colonialism

refers to the theoretical dinar and dirham of the Muslim jurists (fuqaha).

Despite the variation in the quality of the coinage under different dynasties, certain features introduced by reformers remained common. These included inscriptions symbolizing the religious basis of the coinage, an indication of the mint year, the mint name, and often the name of the caliph or ruler under whom the coin was issued. Coins from Islamic dynasties have therefore an important historical significance. Apart from their commercial role, they can tell us much about the political and economic condition and the artistic and aesthetic tendencies of the time.

In the modern period, each Muslim state has its own coinage and, like other countries, has abandoned the gold standard, even though Muslim jurists have not relinquished the concept of the gold dinar or the silver dirham in their legal texts. In many juristic discussions, money proper is still the dinar and the dirham of early Islam. However, as part of a wider Islamic revival, the idea of a specifically Islamic standard unit of currency, a dinar, has been revived, though not necessarily based on the earlier gold dinar. The most visible aspect of this was the adoption in 1975 of the Islamic Dinar as its unit of accounting by the Islamic Development Bank, an An 1877 banknote for fifty Kurush from the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the Muslim empire after Muhammad's death, international Islamic financial institution whose shareholders Muslim conquerers did not impose their own currency system on are member states of the Organization of the Islamic Confertheir subjects, because Mecca did not have its own coinage. ence (OIC). The value of the Islamic Dinar is equivalent to Instead, it used the currency of nearby areas. Today, each Muslim one SDR—Special Drawing Right—of the International nation has its own currency. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI (A) Monetary Fund.

See also Economy and Economic Institutions; Law; specific design guidelines and inscriptions, and appears to Networks, Muslim.

have centralized the production of coin dies. His successor, al-Mu tasim, however, reintroduced the addition of the caliph's name. In the post-Mu tasim period, some Abbasid

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Ehrenkruetz, Andrew S. Monetary Change and Economic His caliphs even added the

name of the heir-apparent or would-be successor. From the early ninth century to the middle of the tenth century C.E., the vast Abbasid caliphate thus acquired a significantly uniform coinage, which vastly aided internal and external, and Muslim and non-Muslim, commerce and trade. These dinars and dirhams were imitated in Europe and elsewhere.

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With the decline in Abbasid power, the disintegration of the caliphate, and the emergence of independent provinces and dynasties, central control of the coinage as well as its uniformity were lost. Independent provinces began minting their own dinars and dirhams and determining the fineness of their coins. Although the fineness of gold dinars was at times maintained and even excelled, for instance under the Fatimid caliph al-Amir (r. 1101–1130) and the Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil (r. 1218–1238), large variations did occur. For this reason, there is disagreement among scholars on the use of the terms "Islamic dinar" and "Islamic dirham" as a standard unit of currency in the Muslim world, particularly in respect to modern colonialism goes back to the era of European discovery of the post-tenth-century C.E. period, except insofar as it connects exploitation of raw

COLONIALISM

Modern

152

Islam and the Muslim World

Colonialism

materials with missionary ideas. Since then colonialism has taken several and different forms, and various colonial powers have initiated a system of indirect rule, such as the various (such as the Portuguese and French in Africa, French and East Indian Companies. In this way vast colonies could be British in the Middle East and South Asia, the Dutch in ruled remotely through the "resident," the agent of indi-

Southeast Asia, the Spanish in South America) tried to support their own hegemonies in Europe as well as competing and contesting materially and politically in order to control the colonial restructuring was accompanied by profound changes in the new world economy. The socio-psychological sphere of Muslim societies as well. Traditional systems of society, values, and relations were gradually replaced by abstract, anonymous state formations were other phenomenon: White colonial regions became independent agents—whether through direct or indirect rule. This process as they became semi-sovereign vis-à-vis their colonial powers ushered in new societal formations, especially in the motherlands. At the same time European industrial countries entered the political sphere, since with the increasing expansion of the colonial sector, traditional forces came to break down or contested for the safeguarding of raw materials, markets, and colonial possibilities of emigration in what they considered to be looked for alternative structures. But not all sectors and areas unexploited and virgin regions. They were seized by the politically dominant colonial sector, as their integration was not always profitable, such as in parts of Colonial Expansion and traditional and tribal areas. They were consequently ignored, Modern colonial expansion and colonization (when few European settlers appeared in the Muslim world) started in the and they still are socioeconomically neglected areas. The wake of the breakdown of Muslim empires, from within the colonialization of the Islamic world in the nineteenth century boundaries of the territorial European states established in century occurred over several decades. The process can be divided into three phases: from 1820, when colonial power the eighteenth century into the borders of national markets. was already firmly established, to 1856, when Muslim countries Hence, colonialism did not expand beyond traditional and tries struggled for recognition in the changing geopolitical primitive societies but into closed political entities, such as reality; and, from 1856 to 1880 nearly all Muslim countries the territorial princely states or successor states, which had lost their economic and financial independence and became replaced the great empires. By the eighteenth century the dependent on the Europeans. During the period from 1880 world economy was already reorganized, and European expansion to 1910 most of these countries—apart from those Muslim countries—pansion had gradually changed the terms of trade for Muslim countries controlled by the Ottoman caliphate—were subject countries. A tremendous societal upheaval occurred as parts

to direct colonial military and political control: economic of the traditional society were increasingly integrated into colonialism had become political colonialism. In this situation world market relations. This complex process came about

tion of political subservience, the traditional urban divines, primarily through technical innovation (e.g., perennial irrigation systems), investment of capital, and privatization of legitimization of the ruler. At the same time, in the colonial landed property (e.g., the 1793 permanent settlement in urban sector, Islamic repertory was gradually used as an India). Next to the traditional urban and agrarian sectors, ideology and a mobilizing force by those societal formations colonial urban and agrarian sectors were established, using a that had become partly integrated into this colonial sector. In colonial infrastructure. The previously important nomadic contrast to this, in the traditional agrarian sector Islam sector was noticeably marginalized. A colonial administrative prevailed in the form of egalitarian peasant culture, as can be and military force was set up, visualized in new settlements, seen from a number of Sufi and Mahdi movements.

such as civil lines and cantonments. The education system was replaced or paralleled by a new European one suiting The idea of universal caliphate, which had been used by the Ottomans colonial interests. since the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly for reasons of foreign policy, became a vehicle for In doing so two broad patterns were followed: direct rule, pan-Islamic propaganda, notably by Sultan Abd al-Hamid II. virtually excluding indigenous political structures, as favored Though this propaganda was politically unsuccessful and led by the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas, and by the to the demise of the caliphate in 1924, the propaganda French in Africa (especially after the French Revolution); and triggered a hefty discussion of the idea of a universal caliphate indirect rule, which by contrast, incorporated traditional outside of Turkey: On the one hand the validity of the idea indigenous political structures and was favored by the British was questioned (Abd al-Raziq); on the other, Indian Muslims in South Asia, the Dutch in Southeast Asia, and by the staged a khilafat movement. A colonial crackdown, however, Germans and Belgians in Africa. The reasons for these put this movement down.

differences were pragmatic—the cost-effectiveness through the involvement of few Europeans—as well as ethnocentric, The Second World War accelerated the process of wherein non-whites and whites were considered fundamen-

decolonialization but left the former colonies with basic
tally different, and therefore were controllable only by their structural
problems that were a result of colonialism, such as

Islam and the Muslim World

153

Colonialism

insufficient societal integration, artificial boundaries, and colonial
traders, and rulers. Therefore, contemporary denarrowly based economies.

bates became the starting point for the
colonial reception of
Oriental society. Naturally, the oscillating processes between
Beside these socio-historical and political developments, Europeans and
non-Europeans openly and latently shaped
one needs to consider the normative aspect underlying the both
societies. If projection is considered to be a cultural
colonial process: A colonial collective image of Islam was technique
for self-affirmation and demarcation, then assigncreated, going as far back as
the Crusades and revived at a ing a collective (negative) identity to
the (colonialized) “other”
time when Europeans had started to project their own imagi- implied the
colonialists’ generating their own identity in a
nations onto Muslim societies—a phenomenon that historian specific
colonial context. Indeed, some European enlighten-
Edward Said has called “Orientalism.” In this view, the ment
figures even had gone as far as to use the “Orient” as a
heterogeneous Islamic world was reduced to a monolithic, didactic
background to criticize their own urban societies,
antimodern, and anti-intellectual world excluded from world thereby
setting out the frame of reference for their own
history. identities.

Nineteenth-century colonial politics was legitimized as The
intrinsic impact of reciprocity and mutuality of the
evolutionary and modern, while the “Orient” was constructed colonial
process may have found one political manifestation
as a cultural space, diametrically opposed to the values and in indirect
rule, which was, however, not implemented in its
norms of the West, which were considered to be inherently totality,
because the British administration got involved in
universal. This unidimensional social evolutionism proclaimed internal
affairs of these societies very quickly, at times resem-
Europe as embodying hegemonic power. In doing so, various bling the
French system of direct colonial administration. In
discourses about the Orient promulgated the societal decline, India one
manifestation of British indirect rule was the
dogmatism, despotism, and irrationality of the region. Even-

establishment of an honors system and the issuing of titles. tually this hegemonic claim produced new “Orientalist” The residency system provided for the cultural success of sciences. imperialism, a success that found its climax in the “invention of tradition” as it represented colonial authority in Victorian Against the backdrop of a postulated universal evolution- India through different devices, such as highly ritualistic ary history, the Orientalist sciences analyzed the object “Ori- events to mark Queen Victoria’s accession in 1876 to the title ent” in its historical development, making use of the Hegelian “Kaisar-e Hind” (Empress of India, combining the imperial categories of alienation and reconciliation. In this way, colo- titles of Roman “Caesar,” German “Kaiser,” and Russian nial administrations were provided with a “scientifically “Czar.”) proven” image about the stage of development attained by the Orient, which was seen to be alienated from its classical The nineteenth-century Orientalist image and action not high culture. Cultural theories provided the colonial admin- only cemented the dominant image of the Orient in the istration with this Orientalist image, which ran counter to the West but also affected the self-statement of the Orient. Consequently historical one of classical high culture. On the basis of this this image changed non-Western practices construction, colonial measures to “reconcile” the Orient concretely—from blind imitation of modernization to a total rejection of with its alienated tradition were to be implemented as an Western society, thereby forming a “strange export of progress. Thus terms like “modern” and “tradi- alliance” between western Orientalism and Muslim foundational” or “primitive” became scientific categories, establish- mentalism, whence one side satisfied the essentializing fantaing an epistemological supremacy of Europe that was firmly sies of the other. established politically.

Colonialism and the Emergence of Movements

In this way authority was created on the object “Orient” Islamic not only for the Europeans but also gradually, through The deep traces of colonialism that changed the whole reciprocal perceptions, for the “Orientals” themselves. Sub- landscape of the Muslim world brought about new social subsequently, authority was derived from the instrumentalization formations, and new Islamic movements:

of the Weberian demand for “value-free” social sciences, that became “objective” insofar as they were considered to be not • Reform Islam was prominent among pastoral and

ideologically biased, but unquestionably “true.”

tribal societies, based on Wahhabiyyan and other ideas.

While the power relations cannot be ignored, it is important to note the cultural hybridization of the colonial process, areas, first against feudal rule and later opposed for example, the reciprocity of colonializer and colonized. In doing so, the figure of

Indeed, the colonized peoples had a function in the colonial process, for the establishment of European dominance the establishment of “Muhammadan Paths” was essentially based on the cooperation of local informants, Muhammadīyya) in the colonized regions.

• Reform

prophet

hence

(turuq

154

Islam and the Muslim World

Communism

This kind of mystical approach found its climax in Islamic garb. This normative replacement the movement of the Mahdi of Sudan. enabled these

Islamic classicists to transcend traditional

• A third trend was Islamic modernism, represented and legitimize modern developments within the primarily by intellectuals, bureaucrats, and the military, and manifested in creations of the colonial identity-switching is most important, providing this system, like the Aligarh Movement in India, the political Islam with its particular dynamics.

Young Ottomans, and the so-called pan-Islamic movement. The latest

development in the wake of colonialism is the emigration of large Muslim communities to Europe and North America. These movements adjusted to the new conditions and

The migration pattern follows colonial and opted for the integration of the colonial system with Islamic historical traditions, that is, Maghrebians in France,

theology. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Sayyid Ahmad Khan Southeast Asian Muslims in the Netherlands, South Asian Muslims in Britain, and Turkish Muslims in Germany.

different their motivations may have been. Precondition for the ideologization of Islam was a renewed call for the Fundamentalism; Orientalism. See also

reintroduction of independent reasoning (ijtihad) at the cost

of adherence to one's school of law (taqlid). Timeless categories developed in the course of Western civilization were now

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mostly in the metropolises of their colonial motherlands—

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secularized urban (post-colonial) state regimes, traditional

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middle-class opposition movements that stood for some kind

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of a reconstruction of a Muslim state.

Jamal Malik

Subsequently, after political independence following the

Second World War, the new Muslim states were mostly

centralized and secularized, based on military or bureaucratic

elites with state capitalism or socialism favoring the ruling

elites. Islamic modernism was replaced by secular national-

COMMUNISM

ism, co-opting Muslim leaders who would legitimize this

centralism. To be sure, the identity-giving Islamic symbolism

Both

communism and Islam pose solutions to social, moral,

was used for the mobilization of wider strata of society.

economic

and political order. Their differences, however, are

numerous and fundamental. Communist movements have

The nonpolitical Muslim religious associations mostly

developed

throughout the Islamic world but they have been

stayed quietistic, while new movements among parts of the

limited to

a narrow social base, and have most often been

ulema played on their Islamicity. Some of them referred to

composed of

non-Muslims. Communist groups became deeply

concepts tuned to colonial society, basically so as not to fall

involved

with debating the Marxist-Leninist theoretical reabehind completely in terms of

political influence. The oppositions for this failure to obtain mass

support. These debates

sition movements stood for the reconstruction of a Muslim

further

fragmented most communist movements in the Islamic

state and reorganized Islam in different ways, for example,

world.

Communism in the Middle East was never a serious

the theory of the caliphate providing an extended interpreta-

contender

for power, and the collapse of the Soviet Union

tion to legitimize power, rendering Islam into a comprehensive system that was to counter Western ideologies. Islamic scholars critiqued communism in several areas. One branch of this Muslim cultural manifestation is of Foremost, communism denies the existence of God. In doing quite some importance. For example, religious fundamentalism, which has to be seen as a reaction to colonial encroachment as well as a demarcation against folk-religious traditions, communism. Rather than the communist dialectic, and the reevaluating Islam in terms of political ideology, was elaborated upon only during the 1930s. movement of history from capitalism to communism, Islam views history as a search for faith and truth. Historical Its carriers were integrated into the post-colonial system, development of society ends when Islam is accepted, not due to which they adopted and adapted its major terms, when capitalism is swept away by communism. Finally, in

Islam and the Muslim World

155

Communism

seeking social justice, Islam does not seek to make all persons Islamic Revolution of 1979. These groups were eliminated or equal; it accepts that some will have more than others. Islam driven out of Iran as the clerics consolidated their power. achieves social justice through acceptance of the obligation of those with more to provide for those with less, through The Iraqi Communist Party (ICP, founded in 1934) has processes such as zakat (alms giving). played a role out of proportion to its size in Iraqi politics, beginning with its participation in the independence movement. Before the Second World War, communist movements in ment against the British. The overthrow of the Hashemite kingdom in the Middle East consisted of small groups of intellectuals, 1958 brought the party to national importance. The ICP drawn to its anticolonial stance. The post-war environment, a mobilized a quarter-million demonstrators against with Soviet expansionism and the collapse of the colonial militia. Its conservative coup attempt in 1959, and had its own armed opportunity to reach the masses. Soviet support to these espousing Arab unity and anticolonialism, immediately was plunged into groups was not automatic. The Cold War saw the Soviet

conflict with the ICP after seizing power in
 Union faced with often-contradictory policies of supporting 1963, and
 quickly outstripped it in influence. In 1974, all
 communist revolutionary movements and supporting gov- opposition
 parties, including the ICP, were consolidated into
 ernments aligned with Soviet interests. For instance, support the
 Progressive National Front (PNF), which allowed the
 to the Egyptian government under Jamal Abd al-Nasser was Ba ath to
 firmly control the opposition movements. From
 valuable to Soviet interests, but conflicted with addressing 1978 to
 1979, the government arrested and executed many
 the needs of the Egyptian Communist Party. In other cases, ICP leaders,
 while others fled the country.
 such as Iran, the Soviets provided clandestine support to the
 communists. Meanwhile, under the Eisenhower Doctrine, Only one
 Middle Eastern state, the People's Republic of
 the United States formalized its opposition to communist Yemen, has
 had a Marxist government. While a British
 movements in the Middle East. Under this doctrine, the colony, a
 violent independence movement developed with
 United States intervened militarily in Lebanon in 1958, and Soviet
 support. Following independence in 1967, the Sovietformed the Baghdad Pact
 against Soviet expansionism. Nei- funded National Liberation Front, a
 Marxist group, took and
 ther the United States nor the Soviet Union fully understood held power.
 The Front was convulsed by factionalism, and
 the driving forces of the area, as was demonstrated to each in quickly
 became more ideological and repressive. To divert
 Iran and Afghanistan in the late 1970s. popular
 dissent, the Front fought skirmishes with neighboring Oman, Saudi Arabia, and
 North Yemen. When the Soviet
 In Egypt, Palestine, and Lebanon in the 1920s, well-to-do Union collapsed,
 South Yemen no longer received Soviet aid,
 intellectuals founded communist or socialist political groups. and the
 long-standing attempt to merge North and South
 After the Second World War, the Syrian Communist Party, Yemen under a
 single, noncommunist government, officially
 which had attracted support from Kurds and other minori- succeeded in
 1990, although outbreaks of unrest still occur.
 ties, grew to some importance in the 1950s, but never became
 a serious contender for power. The Lebanese Communist The late
 1960s saw a resurgence of splinter communist
 Party, outlawed until 1970, never gained more than a few movements
 among students and intellectuals, as Maoism and
 thousand members. The Egyptian Communist Party shared Guevarism
 became popular. These movements had no sigthe anticolonial views of Nasser, but
 he banned the party and nificant mass appeal, but because of the violent

tendencies of imprisoned its leaders following his 1952 coup. Since then, the groups, they had some political impact as governments communism in Egypt has been represented by a number of attempted to control them. Some Palestinian groups abperipheral splinter groups. sorbed these ideologies and their emphasis on violence and revolution. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestin- In Iran, after the First World War, a major communist ian (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of movement developed in Iran, where contact with Russian Palestine (DFLP), and the Popular Front for the Liberation communists in Azerbaijan resulted in the formation of the of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) all combined Adalat Party, in 1917. In 1920 this became the Ferqeh-ye Marxist-Leninism with Palestinian nationalism. In most coun- Komunist-e Iran. Outlawed in 1929, it was reestablished as tries, there were no more than a few hundred adherents of the Tudeh Party in 1941. This was outlawed in 1949, but these revolutionary communist ideologies, and these were continued to develop underground. Party membership con- often splintered into several groups with narrow ideological sisted mainly of intellectuals, military officers, and other differences. elites, and its leadership was heavily factionalized. Following the overthrow of Mohammad Mosaddeq (1953), the Iranian The model of communist revolt, involving mobilizing the government took firm action against the Tudeh, and deci- proletariat, failed in the Middle East. Attempts by some mated the Party. Splinter communist elements continued to communists to adapt their principles to local conditions failed be active in Iran through the late 1970s, playing a role in the due to the ideological rigidity of communist leadership.

156

Islam and the Muslim World Conflict and Violence

Other factors included the suppression of communist move- was only thirteen years into his prophetic mission that Muhamments by almost all regional governments, ideological in- mad and the early Muslims were permitted to engage in fighting and factionalism among the communists, and the armed resistance, but only under certain stringent condiavailability of alternative social and economic structures that tions, as specified in the Qur an. satisfied most of the populations. The collapse of the Soviet Union left most communists further isolated from public opinion. Permission [to fight] is given to those against whom

war is being wrongfully waged. God has indeed the power to
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal; Ba th Party; Political from
 succor them: those who have been driven
 Organization; Political Thought; Socialism.
 their homelands against all right for no other
 reason than their saying, “Our Lord and Sustainer is
 God! For, if God had not enabled people to defend
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 themselves against one another, monasteries and
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 and synagogues and mosques—in which God’s
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 abundantly extolled—would surely have been
 mercial Classes and of its Communists, Ba thists and Free
 destroyed.” (22:39–40)
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 It is interesting to note that the above verses give prece-
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 duty of the Muslim to safeguard them
 versity Press, 1990.
 against any desecration or abuse, and protect freedom of
 belief. The aim of fighting according to this critical verse is
 Richard C. Campany, Jr. the defense of not only Islam, but also of
 religious freedom in
 general.

In the succeeding decade (622–632 C.E.) Muhammad and
 CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE his growing
 band of followers engaged in a series of battles to
 defend Islam against the military aggression of their adversar-
 In the contemporary period, Islam is frequently depicted as ies,
 including the critical battles of Badr, Uhud, and Khandaq.
 predisposed to conflict and violence. The intractable Middle Warfare
 was a desperate affair in seventh-century Arabia. A
 East conflict and recent events in which Muslim extremists chieftain
 was not expected to display weakness to his enemies
 have been implicated in acts of terror have only served to in a
 battle, and some of the Qur anic injunctions seem to
 reinforce this widespread perception. To discern the veracity share this
 spirit (4:90). Because the Qur an was revealed in the
 of the assertion that in some special way Islam is related to context of
 deadly conflict, several passages deal with the

deadly conflict, it is important to situate the discussion within ethics of warfare. (5:49; 8:61; 11:118–119; 49:9; 49:13). The most a concrete sociohistorical context. Islam, conflict, and vio- al-sayf). contentious of these is the so-called sword verse (ayat Once the lence do not occur in a social vacuum. Moreover, in order to ambusher. But if they repent and establish worship and pay the poor-due, then leave their way free. Lo! God is Forgiving, Merciful. (9:5) the Qur an to the Arabs in the early seventh century, pre-Islamic Arabia was steeped in oppressive social relations and caught up in a vicious cycle of violence. Muhammad’s egalitarian message quickly began to threaten the Meccan elite. Some verse to imply that Muslims are obligated to fight non-Muslims. They opposed his teachings with great vehemence. He was Muslims until they embrace Islam in the case of polytheists, or pay a forced to send some of his early followers to seek refuge in special tax known as jizya, in the case of Jews and Christians Abyssinia and later, in 622 C.E., he himself fled to the nearby city of Medina. Throughout the Meccan period, the early Muslims responded to the mental anguishes, physical abuse, Yet other verses include exhortations to peace: “Thus, if they let and persistent threats to their lives with passive resistance. It you be, and do not make war on you, and offer you

Islam and the Muslim World

157

Conflict and Violence

peace, God does not allow you to harm them” (4:90). The and injustice (2:193; 4:75; 8:39). The Islamic concept of jihad should not Qur an quotes the Torah, the Jewish scriptures, which per- be confused with the medieval concept of holy war since the mits people to retaliate eye for eye, tooth for tooth, but like actual word al-harb al-muqaddasa is never used in the the Gospels, the Qur an suggests that it is meritorious to Qur an. In Islam, a war is never holy; it is either justified or not. forgo revenge in a spirit of charity (5:45). Hostilities must be

Moreover, jihad is not directed at other faiths. In a statement brought to an end as quickly as possible and must cease the in which the Arabic is extremely emphatic, the minute the enemy sues for peace (2:192–193). The Qur'an, Qur'an insists, "There must be no coercion in matters of faith!" moreover, makes it emphatically clear that conflict can only (2:256). More than this, the protection of freedom of belief and be successfully ameliorated through the establishment of worship for followers of other religions has been justice, which transcends sectarian self-interests. (4:135; 7:29) made a sacred duty of Muslims. This duty was fixed at the same time when the permission for armed struggle (jihad alqital) was ordained (22:39–40).

O Believers! Stand firmly for justice, as witnesses for God, even it is means testifying against yourselves, or In mystical (Sufi) traditions of Islam the greatest form of your parents, or your kin, and whether it is against the jihad, personal jihad, is to purify the soul and refine the rich or the poor, for God prevails upon all. Follow not disposition. This is regarded as the far more urgent and the lusts of your hearts, lest you swerve, and if you momentous struggle and it is based on a prophetic tradition distort justice or decline to do justice, verily God (hadith).

Muhammad is reported to have advised his companions what you do. (4:135) ions as they return after a battle, "We are returning from the

lesser jihad [physical fighting] to the greater jihad [jihad alnafs]." Sufis have traditionally understood this greater form of

The just war is always evil, but sometimes one has to fight jihad to be the spiritual struggle to discipline the lower impulses in order to avoid the kind of persecution that Mecca inflicted and base instincts in human nature. The renowned on the Muslims (2:191; 2:217), or to preserve decent values thirteenth-century Sufi scholar, Jalal al-Din Rumi, articulated such (4:75; 22:40). During his stay in Medina, Muhammad attained an understanding of jihad when he wrote: "The tempted to resolve the conflict with the Meccan leaders and prophets and saints do not avoid spiritual struggle. The first spiritual their allies by entering into a peace treaty at a place called al-Hudaybiya. The treaty came to be known as sulh al-Hudaybiya. the abandonment of personal wishes and sensual desires. This Sulh is an important term in Islamic law (sharia). The is the greater jihad" (Chittick, trans., p. 151).

purpose of sulh is to end conflict and hostility among adversaries so that they may conduct their relationships in peace After the demise of the Prophet and the completion of the

and amity (49:9). The word itself has been used to refer both to the process of restorative justice and peacemaking and to the process of interpreting and applying the Islamic normative principles on conflict and violence to their own peculiar sociohistorical contexts. Subsequent generations of Muslims have interpreted these normative values in such a way as to give Islam a paradoxical role in human history. In the first three centuries of Islam the classical doctrine of jihad was forged by Muslim jurists primarily in response to the imperial politics of the Abbasid caliphate on the one hand and the Byzantine Empire on the other. Abrogating the Meccan opportunity to institute a genuine sulh process. In a spirit of experience and predicating itself on selected verses of the Qur'an, one finds the following: "And fight them on until reconciliation. A general amnesty was proclaimed in which all there is no more oppression and tumult (fitnah) and religion should be tribal claims to vengeance were abolished. Three years later for God" (2:193). Classical scholars developed a doctrine of jihad in which the world is simply divided into a dichotomy of abodes: the territory of Islam (dar al-islam) and the territory of war (dar al-harb). In accordance with this violence is jihad. The Arabic verb jahada from which the belligerent paradigm, a permanent state of war (jihad) charac verbal noun jihad is derived literally means "to strive hard, to terized relations between the two abodes. The only way a exert strenuous effort and to struggle." As a multivalent non-Muslim territory could avert a jihad was either to con-vert to Islamic concept, it denotes any effort in pursuit of a com-vert to mendable aim. Jihad is a comprehensive concept embracing The peaceful persuasion (16:125) and passive resistance (13:22; instrument of the Islamic caliphate to expand Muslim territories. 23:96; 41:34), as well as armed struggle against oppression territories.

Islam and the Muslim World
Conflict and Violence

Though most Muslim artists refrain from creating representations of the prophet Muhammad and his family, this 1368 Turkish book

painting depicts the Prophet, with his face covered by a white cloth, leading his disciples on horseback to Badr to confront the pagan

Meccan army. THE ART ARCHIVE/TOPKAPI MUSEUM ISTANBUL/HARPER COLLINS PUBLISHERS

Islam and the Muslim World

Conversion

This controversial interpretation of jihad failed to capture A candid photograph appears in the color insert.

the full range of the term's rich meaning. The reductionist interpretation of jihad, though not unanimous, came to

See also

Fitna; Ibadat; Jihad; Political Islam.

dominate subsequent Muslim juristic thinking. One of the earliest scholars who represented an alternative perspective

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was Sufyan al-Thawri (b. 715). Al-Thawri believed that jihad Abou El Fadl, Khaled. Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law.

Abou El

was only justified in defense. The classical doctrine of jihad New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

New

has and continues to be challenged by Muslim jurists. A Karen. Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet.

Armstrong,

number of modern Muslim reform movements have em-Francisco, Calif.: Harper San Francisco, 1992.

San

ployed the classical doctrine of jihad to legitimate their Chittick, William, trans. The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual

struggles against colonial or postcolonial secular state rule. of Rumi. Albany: State University of New York

Teachings

Other contemporary Muslim scholars, such as Muhammad 1983.

Press,

Abu Zahra, Mahmud Shaltut, Muhammad al Ghunaimi, Khadduri, Majid. War and Peace in Islam. New York: AMS

Louay M. Safi, and Ridwan al-Sayyid, have criticized the Press, 1979.

classical doctrine of jihad as being seriously flawed since it Lings, Martin. Muhammad: His Life According to the Earliest violates some of the essential Islamic principles on the ethics Sources. New York: Inner Traditions International, 1983.

of war. Safi has written objecting to the classical doctrine:

"Evidently, the classical doctrine of war and peace has not Rudolph. Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam: A Reader.

Peters,

been predicated on a comprehensive theory. The doctrine

Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996.

describes the factual conditions that historically prevailed M. Peace and the Limits of War—Transcending

between the Islamic state, during the Abassid and Byzantium Classical Conception of Jihad. Herndon, Va.: International era, and thus, renders rules which respond to specific histori-Institute of Islamic Thought, 2001.

cal needs” (Safi, p. 44). Said,

Abdul Aziz; Funk, Nathan C.; and Kadayifci, Ayse S., eds. Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam. New York:

Safi and Al-Sayyid as well as a number of other contempo- University Press of America, 2001.

rary scholars hold that the classical doctrine of hegemonic jihad is contingent on a historical context and thus has a

A. Rashied Omar

limited application. They have argued for a recovery of the alternative interpretation of classical scholars, such as Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence, who identified a third option, the territory of peaceful CONVERSION

covenant or coexistence or (dar-al-sulh or ahd). He had in mind the long-standing cordial relationship that had existed In Islam

conversion consists of the recitation of the shahada or profession

between the early Muslims and the Abyssinian Christian of faith which is composed of two affirmations from the

state. He recalled that the prophet Muhammad himself had Qur an that have been integrated to form a single declaration

sent the earliest group of his followers from Mecca to seek of faith in the uniqueness and oneness of God and

refuge from persecution in Abyssinia. They lived there peace- the

finality of His revelation to the prophet Muhammad. It fully for many years, and some of them did not return, even reads

“There is no god but God [Allah, the Arabic proper after Muslims were in power in Mecca. Moreover, the Prophet name for

God used by both Arabic-speaking Muslims and had advised peaceful coexistence with the Abyssinians, re- Christians], and Muhammad is the Messenger of God.” The

portedly saying: “Leave the Abyssinians in peace as long as uses the terms “The Messenger of God” and “The Qur an

they leave you in peace.” Safi contends that the fact that the Prophet” synonymously to refer to Muhammad, who is implicitly

early Muslims did not make any attempts to turn Abyssinia declared to be the last of God’s genuine prophets.

into an Islamic state is sufficient evidence that a third way, the “Abyssinian paradigm,” was an Islamically sanctioned

Some Muslim scholars, among them the renowned Peralternative. sian mystic, philosopher, and theologian al-Ghazali (1058–1111

C.E.), are of the opinion that a declaration of intent (niya),
The alternative paradigm represented by the Abyssinian made prior to
the recitation of the shahada, is necessary for its
model was marginalized and ignored by the partisan interpre- validity
and for the validity of such ritual acts as prayer,
tations of the classical Muslim jurists. Contemporary Mus- fasting,
and almsgiving. On the other hand many Muslim lawyers are
lims are currently reclaiming this third paradigm of peaceful validity of
persuaded that niya is only necessary for the
coexistence. Others called on contemporary Muslims to
prayer (salat).
reclaim the rich Sufi tradition on conflict transformation by
relinking the lesser jihad to that of the greater jihad (p. 108). In early
Islam conversion was not a condition for member-
Both have profound implications for expanding Muslim re- ship of the
umma or Muslim community. Prior to the surrensources for conflict
transformation and peace-building efforts. der of Mecca in 629 C.E. the
Jews of Medina had the same

160

Islam and the Muslim World

Conversion

rights and obligations as other members of the umma. After Maghrib.
After the prophet Muhammad's death in 632 C.E.
the fall of Mecca to Muhammad the zakat (alms tax) was the
military conquest of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt was
levied on converts to Islam, benevolence being one of the swift but
did not account for the conversion of most of the
chief virtues of the true believer, and the jizya (a personal population
of these regions. This was to come about through
poll-tax to be paid, where possible, in money) was imposed on a process
of acculturation as the local people moved from the
all non-Muslims (with the exception of certain categories of rural
areas to the garrison towns (amsar) such as Qayrawan
persons including women, the poor, the enslaved, and impov- (Maghrib),
Kufa (Iraq), and Basra (Iraq), as traders, craftserished monks) who wanted to
join the umma. men, laborers, and domestics who over
time adopted the

Arabic language and Islam.

Jihad and Conversion

While the spread of Islam is a religious duty, the Qur an also Trade,
Commerce, Sufism/Mysticism, and Conversion
instructs believers that there should be no compulsion in The image
non-Muslims in many parts of the world have had
matters of religion (2:256), thus seemingly ruling out coer- and
continue to have of Islam is that of a progressive, modern
cion as a means of conversion. There are many scholars of religion

offering literacy, a widely spoken language, numeracy, Islam, Muslim and non-Muslim, who are persuaded, largely and the opportunity to participate in a wider commercial, on the basis of this text, that the obligation to perform jihad of political, and trading network. Islam often spread very slowly the sword (al-jihad bi-il-sayf)—sometimes described as the and even laboriously, its own progress greatly affected by the lesser form of jihad, in contrast to jihad bi-il-nafs or moral and changing local economic, political, and religious situation in spiritual jihad, as the greater form—is only legitimate where which it found itself. Islam's development in the Malaythe free practice of Islam is impeded. Indonesian archipelago is a case in point. Archaeology tells us that by the late eleventh century there was a Muslim presence Where jihad of the sword is contemplated there is the in Indonesia, and it would not be surprising given the comobligation of the summons, da wa, which is based on Qur an mercial attraction of the archipelago and its role as a natural 17:15 and 16:25. The summons is meant to inform those to be staging post between the Middle East and India on one side attacked that Islam does not intend to pursue war for material and China, where there has been a Muslim presence in the gain such as property but for the purpose of defending or South from the ninth century, if Islam did not in fact arrive strengthening Islam. There are differences of opinion be- even earlier. According to Marco Polo who visited North tween the four principal Sunni schools of law (madhahib) on Sumatra in 1292 the kingdom of Ferlak (Perlak) in presentthe necessity of da wa for people who have previously been day Aceh was already Muslim. If the process of expansion was summoned to Islam. The Malikites believe it to be obligatory slow it was also peaceful. Only in the fourteenth century did in this case also, the Hanafites recommend it, and the Shafites Islam spread to Northeast Malaya and Brunei, to the court of and Hanbalites say it is a matter of indifference. east Java, and to the southern Philippines. And it was to take another two hundred years before it found its way in to other Islam has rarely spread, in the sense of converting large parts of the archipelago when Sufism or mysticism (tasawwuf), numbers of non-Muslims of a territory, through jihad of the in institutionalized and noninstitutionalized forms, came to sword. The fundamentalist eighteenth-century reform move- play a pivotal role in the widespread dissemination of Islam ment in Arabia, the Wahhabiyya, as it is called by its oppo- among the people of Java and elsewhere. According to tradinents and by Europeans—the members referred to themselves tion Islam was brought to Java by nine saints or walis, and

as the Muwahiddun or Unitarians—was essentially a reform over a long period of four hundred years more gradually movement, not a drive to convert non-Muslims. Where and penetrated the society at all levels, never, however, displacing entirely when jihad of the sword has been used its effect has usually other religious traditions.

been to establish a Muslim as the ruler of a territory, an outcome that was by no means always followed by large-scale The importance of Sufism in the conversion of large numbers to attempts to convert the local population. A partial explanation for this can be found in Islamic political theory according conversion of Bengal, like that of Java, is also attributed to Sufis. to which the imposition of Muslim rule over a territory is Sufi Institutionalized forms of Sufism and principally the sufficient to make that territory part of dar al-islam (the tariqas or brotherhoods, among them the Qadiriyya, Tijaniyya, and Sanusiyya orders, were crucial to the expansion of Islam in North Africa and Africa in the case of the spread of Islam in North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara, as were Islam to the Western world in modern times, economic as were the Mevlevi and Bektashi Sufi brotherhoods in Anatolia. migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers

In the time of the prophet Muhammad, conversion by The indispensable role performed by traders, scholars, and holy conquest and political submission was basically limited to two men in laying the foundations of Islam is evident societies, the Bedouins of Arabia and the Berbers of the almost everywhere from the medieval empires of Takrur,

Islam and the Muslim World

161

Conversion

Ghana, Mali, Kanem Bornu, and Songhay, to the Nile Valley, or by peaceful means, did not necessarily constitute a challenge to the existing political order nor was it necessarily the prelude to a campaign by the new government to convert all of these regions Islam first arrived with traders who were of the inhabitants of that territory to Islam. Where jihad of the sword often clerics or were accompanied by clerics and/or holy men. the sword has been employed it needs to be remembered that the We know from a variety of sources including the travel the primary objective has not always been expansion but the

writings of the fourteenth-century Moroccan Ibn Battuta the Muslim community, as in the case of the (1304–1368/77 C.E.) that the first Muslims in ancient Ghana, Wahhabiyya movement and as was most likely the case with Mali, China, Indonesia, Somalia, and elsewhere lived separately and followed their own way of life, making little or no nineteenth century. reform of the Sokoto and early

attempt to convert others. In places this period of seclusion was followed by one of engagement with the wider society Examples abound where Muslim rule led to little or no that usually resulted in mixing or syncretism, a development change for the majority of the population under it. immediate

that gave rise to conservative reaction, sometimes in the form Coptic Christians were given governmental posts of jihad of the sword. In Egypt, until the fourteenth century when pressure from the ulema (scholars) forced a change. While the Muslim conquest of Exile, Slavery, Economic Migration, and Conversion India eliminated the dominant Hindu political-military class, the Political exiles, convicts, and slaves have also been important Chhatri, it confirmed the privileged status of the Brahmins who vehicles for the dissemination of Islam as in the case of South Muslim. remained the guardians of a cultural vision that was non-Africa, where such people began to arrive from Southeast Asia in the mid-seventeenth century and formed the Cape nity consisted of only a quarter of the population of Delhi and Malay Muslim community. From the mid-nineteenth century the Muslim conquest of Iran and the surrounding Agra. And regions tury Muslims arrived from India to form another distinct them initially favored the spread of other faiths, among Islamic community, some coming as British-indentured labor to work on the sugar plantations, others as merchants and Java the introduction of Islam offered a new dimension to traders, and others as hawkers. existing traditional, Buddhist, and Hindu religious beliefs and practices, bringing few significant changes to the political life Economic migration has been the main vehicle for the of society.

spread of Islam to the Western world in modern times. No more than an exotic appendage to western European religion Where Muslims conquer non-Muslim territory Muslim in the mid-twentieth century, largely through migration, the canon law (shari a) guarantees to protect the life, liberty, and, Muslim faith has become increasingly familiar across the

in a modified way, the property of that section of the local European Union, and comprises an estimated fifteen million population that has not been captured in arms. These people members, including relatively large numbers of converts are known as ahl-al-dhimma (people of the covenant) or from Christianity and other faiths. While there are no religiously as dhimmis.

All free adults who enjoy dhimmi status

able statistics, the number of Muslims in North America must pay the above-mentioned jizya or poll-tax and pay a tax would appear to be over four million and the number of (kharaj) on their real estate, over which they no longer enjoy mosques to serve them about two thousand.

the right of disposal. Strictly speaking, the status of dhimmis is

The Political, Cultural, and Religious Consequences open only to “people of scripture” (ahl-al-kitab), that is, Jews, of Conversion

Christians, and Sabaeans, a category that is interpreted to

Thus, in the spread and development of Islam, military cover

Zoroastrians. In practice most Muslim countries will conquest has never been as important or effective as the tolerate all peoples regardless of whether they are “people of creation of an Islamic environment, educational system, tradition, scripture” or not.

ing networks, and generally the building up of Muslim

Where dhimmi status was granted it carried with it the

institutions. It was these initiatives that facilitated the development of

Islam in Iran over several centuries from a small obligation to

contribute toward the maintenance of Muslim

community of mainly Arab Muslims to one that included the armies, to

dress differently from Muslims, and to renounce

majority of the population by the early years of the eleventh such

rights as the right to bear arms and to ride on horseback.

century. Sometimes conversion was an individual affair, some- Legal

restrictions were also imposed in relation to testimony

times it was collective in the sense that if the leader of a in law

courts, protection under criminal law, and marriage.

community or ethnic group converted the rest of the people Apart from

such restrictions, what in practice happens is that

would follow. a

non-Muslim community in a Muslim state virtually governs

itself under its own responsible leader who acts as its link with

This notwithstanding, it is worth noting that the establishment of the Muslim

government. And where conversion to or from

establishment of Muslim rule in a territory, whether by conquest Islam is

concerned it is expected that the leadership of the

Islam and the Muslim World

Crusades

community that has made the conversion will inform its counterpart of the event.

CRUSADES

Conclusions

Both the

word “crusades” and its Arabic equivalent, al-hurub

This account of the dynamics of conversion to Islam confines

al-salibiyyah, are modern terms. What these words refer to,

itself for the most part to the Muslim world. It is not however,

can be quite different depending on who is using

exhaustive nor could it be given the great complexity and them. The

dominant trend in secular academic research on

cultural diversity of that world. Appearance to the contrary the

Crusades since the 1970s has been one of expansion of the

notwithstanding, it is not intentionally reductionist. If greater topic in

terms of activities and military campaigns included,

consideration has been given to what might be termed the of time

span, and of geographic expanse. Despite this

human, material, observable aspects of the phenomenon of

revisionism, there is little doubt that in the popular parlance

conversion, and little has been said of its intellectual, spiri- of

nonspecialists, the Crusades refers to the almost twotual, and theological

dimensions, this should not be taken to century-long presence

(1097–1291 C.E.) of Latin Christians

mean that these dimensions are not more important elements from

central and western Europe in the Holy Land of the

of the process of becoming a Muslim or being Muslim. eastern

Mediterranean coastal strip. Thus, while events after

1291—such as the Christian reconquest of Spain, campaigns

Conversion in Islam is a radical call to reject all that against

heretics in or on the borders of Latin Christendom, or

associates the human with the divine, and on this foundation the

European conflicts with the Ottoman Empire—are now

engages the convert in the task of personal and social transwithin the domain

of current scholarship on the Crusades

formation. It is a dynamic and multifaceted process of trans-

(particularly in Europe), they do not figure large in the

formation that in some cases is gradual and in others abrupt;

discourse of the Crusades ongoing in the contemporary

in some cases total, in others partial.

population of the Holy Land.

The path to Islam is more varied than outlined above. As

Overview of the Crusades

students of conversion to Islam are aware individuals and

At the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II delivered

whole communities have come to Islam having been first

a sermon that set in motion the Crusades. Precisely what he influenced by the personal example of a practicing Muslim, or said is unknown, nor is there agreement as to his motivations through a process of intellectual conversion in which scholastic goals, but in the aftermath of Clermont, clergy, nobles, early literature has played an important part, or through and commoners mobilized for campaigns to reconquer Jerusalem given in a dream or a vision in which a wali or holy person, which had been in Muslim hands since 638 C.E. While person, and even the prophet Muhammad himself, have what comes next follows the common shorthand of referring appeared as counselors and guides, through mystical experience major Crusade campaigns by numbers, it should be emphasized, as a result of a search for healing, protection, and emphasized that this practice does not take into account the security, and for order and discipline in one's life. Either all or a combination of these triggers, and others, have activated the steady stream of armed pilgrims flowing into and out of the interest of individuals and communities in Islam and led to Holy Land nor the numerous smaller military campaigns that conversion. they undertook.

See also Dawkins; Expansion; Minorities: Dhimmis; The First Crusade (1097–1101) resulted in the establishment of Tasawwuf. ment of four Crusader states in lands of the eastern Mediterranean littoral: the County of Edessa, the Principality of

BIBLIOGRAPHY Antioch,

the County of Tripoli (although the city itself was not captured until 1109), and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In Clarke, Peter B, ed. *New Trends and Developments in The light of the obstacles these first crusaders faced in their long World of Islam*. London: Luzac Oriental, 1998.

journey east—shortages of supplies, uneasy relations with the Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, ed. *The Muslims of America*. New Byzantine Empire, travel across rough and unfamiliar terrain York and Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1991. inhabited by hostile populations, lack of organization, and Horton, Robin. "African Conversion." *Africa* 41 (1971): internal rivalries, to name but a few—this initial success was 85–108.

remarkable. Indeed, the First Crusade almost ended at Antioch Katz, E. Ulrich. "Islam in Indonesia." In *Islam*. Edited by between 1097 and 1098, where the Crusaders first laid siege Peter B. Clarke. London: Routledge, 1990. to the Muslims for several trying months, and upon victory

Shaban, M. "Conversion to Early Islam." In *Conversion to Islam*, edited by Nehemia Levtzion. New York: Holmes and Maier, 1979.

This Crusader victory is usually linked to the disunited opposition they faced. In the late eleventh century C.E., Peter B. Clarke there

Islam and the Muslim World

163

Crusades

was no single powerful Muslim state to oppose the invasion of the battle of the Horns of Hattin near Tiberius on 4 July the ifranj (Franks), as the Muslims called the invaders. In 1187. Jerusalem fell to him by October of that year, and many cities of the Seljuk confederation, military authorities the Crusader holdings were reduced to a few castles and known as atabegs were busy establishing their autonomy, and coastal cities.

were often preoccupied by rivalries with other local Muslim rulers. The Sunni Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad was unable These victories made Saladin a hero. A contemporary poet wrote of him,

caliphate in Cairo, itself engaged in a struggle against the Seljuks for control of Jerusalem, did comparatively little to You took possession of Paradises palace by palace, counter the Crusader incursion. In the words of the Muslim chronicler Ibn al-Athir: "When the Franks—may God curse When you conquered Syria fortress by fortress.

them—extended their control over what they had conquered of the lands of Islam, and it turned out well for them that the Indeed, the religion of Islam has spread its blessings troops and the kings of Islam were preoccupied with fight-over created beings,

ing each other, at that time opinions were divided among the Muslims, desires differed and wealth was squandered" But it is you who have glorified it. (Hillenbrand 1999, p. 179)

entrenched themselves in the landscape of Outremer (literally, "across-the-sea"), skirmished with the Muslims, and The defeat of the Latin forces also sparked the Third began the construction of numerous castles, made necessary Crusade (1189–1192), in which three European monarchs by their constant shortage of manpower.

were personally involved: the German emperor Frederick I, King Philip II of France, and King Richard I (the Lionheart) of England. The first major success of the Muslim counter-Crusade was achieved by the Turkish military leader Zangi, the atabeg of England. Frederick drowned in Anatolia on his way to of Mosul and Aleppo. After consolidating his control over Outremer, and Philip and Richard quarreled from the monorthern Syria and the Jazira (northwestern Iraq), he launched a ment of their arrival in the Latin East. Nevertheless, their series of campaigns against the Crusaders, culminating in his combined forces helped recapture Acre, henceforth the capicapture of Edessa in 1144. Zangi's elimination of this Cru- tal of the truncated Kingdom of Jerusalem. After Philip's sader state gave added impetus to calls in Europe for another return to France, Richard led a series of campaigns against major Crusade. Forces of the Second Crusade subsequently Saladin and, by his departure in 1192, had aided in the arrived in Syria in 1147, and after heated discussion between reestablishment of Latin control over most of the coastal the resident Crusaders and the new arrivals, decided to attack cities and their immediate hinterlands. Damascus, ironically one of the Muslim cities whose ruler up to that point had coexisted with the Franks. This campaign Saladin's death in 1193 provided a temporary respite to ended in defeat for the Crusaders on the outskirts of Damas- the Crusaders, as his successors (collectively known as the cus in July 1148. Ayyubids, from the name of Saladin's father) engaged in struggles over preeminence in the lands that had been united Zangi's career as a counter-Crusader was cut short by his by Saladin. In these struggles, some Ayyubid princes were not assassination in 1146, but was continued by his son Nur al- adverse to making temporary alliances with the Franks against their Din. Nur al-Din expanded the area under his control, occu- Ayyubid rivals. The diversion of the Fourth Crusade pying Damascus in 1154, and, utilizing the vocabulary of (1204) to Constantinople, which was sacked and subsequently occupied, jihad, he launched attacks against the Franks. In response to did little to change this situation in Outremer. numerous Crusader sorties against Egypt in the 1160s, Nur These divisions among the Ayyubids contributed to the al-Din sent a contingent of his forces to aid the Fatimid state. complex narrative of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1229). Recog- This force was led by the Kurdish general Shirkuh, who had nizing the strategic importance of Egypt, this crusade began in his service his nephew Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub, with the Franks besieging and eventually occupying the

subsequently known as Saladin to the Crusaders. Upon his port city of Damietta. In the face of intra-Ayyubid uncle's death, Saladin took command of this force, and by the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Kamil, March 1169, took control of Egypt, subsequently bringing give Jerusalem to the Franks if they would leave the Fatimid Caliphate to an end. Following the death of Nur the Crusaders refused. By 1221, the Crusaders al-Din in 1174, Saladin moved against his former overlord's forced out of Egypt. The Fifth Crusade came to an end heirs and brought Damascus and eventually most of Syria in the bizarre events of 1228–1229, in which the emperor Frederick (Aleppo submitted in 1183) and the Jazira (Mosul submitted II, excommunicated for his delays in fulfilling his crusading in 1186) under his control. He then mounted a major campaign against the Franks, defeating the bulk of their forces at al-Kamil allowing the Christians to take control of certain

164

Islam and the Muslim World
Crusades

Sivas

Malazkirt

Kayseri
(Caesarea)

Lake Van

A n a t o l i a

Malatia

Maras

Samsat Mardin

Adalia

Tarsus

Adana COUNTY Urfa (Edessa)

Nisbin

OF EDESSA

Harra\ n Ra&s al ^Ayn

Alexandretta

Membij

H>=alab

Mosul

Antioch (Aleppo)

PRINCIPALITY Battle of the Field

OF ANTIOCH of Blood (1119)

Ma^arrat al Nu^ma\ n

KINGDOM OF Kerak

(1250)

JERUSALEM

Montre;al

Petra

Cairo

0 50 100 mi.

Crusader States,

iv er

Aila

0 50 100 km

1096–1229

le R

(Aqabah)

Boundaries of the

Ni

G u lf

Crusader states, 1144

Gulf of

Crusader states, 1229

of S

Aqaba

Crusader castle

ue

E g y p t

z

Battle site

City

Red Sea

Crusades 1096–1229. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

sites in Jerusalem, yet was bombarded with offal by the

ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Salih. Upon

surrender and payresidents of Acre as he left to return to Europe. The last

ment of a large ransom, Louis

went to Acre, where he spent

Crusader presence in Jerusalem was eliminated in 1244, when

four years strengthening fortifications before

returning

the city was sacked by Kharazmian warriors, themselves

to France.

displaced from their homelands by the Mongol invasions

from Central Asia.

To understand the end of the Crusader

presence in
 Outremer, one must return to events of 1249–1250. During
 The final major crusade to the Latin East was that of King
 the course of Louis’s Crusade in late 1249, the
 Ayyubid al-
 Louis IX of France (1248–1254). Louis and his forces suc-
 Malik al-Salih died. When his son Turanshah
 arrived from
 ceeded in capturing Damietta in 1249, but were subsequently
 Syria in early 1250 to succeed his father, he
 took steps to limit
 defeated at Mansura in 1250 by the forces of the late Ayyubid
 the influence of key groups among his
 father’s supporters.

Islam and the Muslim World

165

Crusades

reign of the Sultan Qalawun, who conquered Tripoli shortly
 before his death in 1289. Upon the capture of Acre in 1291 by
 the forces of Qalawun’s son, al-Ashraf Khalil, the few Crusaders left on the
 coastal strip abandoned their holdings and
 fled, thus bringing Frankish presence in Outremer to an end,
 although no one at the time realized it. In order to discourage
 Crusader attempts to reoccupy the Muslim coastal cities, the
 Mamluks razed their fortifications.

The Crusades in the Muslim World Today

A survey of scholarly literature and public discourse in the
 modern Muslim world reveals that the Crusades have great
 relevance and resonance today. They are commonly seen as
 the forerunner of the European colonial efforts of the first
 half of the twentieth century, placed in the context of perceived centuries of
 Western antagonism to the Islamic world,
 and often explicitly linked to the establishment of the modern
 state of Israel. (Crusade references appeared, for example, in a
 series of post-1956 Suez crisis Egyptian postage stamps
 celebrating Egypt as “Tomb of the Invader.” One stamp
 celebrates Saladin’s victory at Hattin; a second shows Louis
 IX in chains after his defeat at Mansura.) It is not uncommon
 to find references to Saladin and his victory at Hattin in
 political speeches or celebrated in books. In 1992, a larger-than-life statue of
 Saladin was unveiled in Damascus. The
 Crusades also figure in some modern Islamist writing, in
 Saladin, an early Muslim hero, conquered Egypt, most of Syria, which the
 failures of current leaders to resist Western

and finally even Jerusalem by 1187. His victories banished the incursions are compared to the successes of the heroes of the Crusaders from most territories; they began another Crusade, however, by 1189. © CORBIS-BETTMANN counter-Crusades. And while Hillenbrand (and others) have pointed out the pitfalls of the anachronistic use of nationalistic labels in the study of medieval history, the symbols and The main target of Turanshah's punitive actions was the perceived lessons of the Crusades have been incorporated corps of his father's mamluks, or military slaves. In his into the rhetoric of Arab nationalist movements in particular. struggles against his Ayyubid rivals, al-Malik al-Salih had Thus in the words of one Arab intellectual, the Crusades built up a sizable regiment of these military slaves, who while when viewed through Arab eyes are seen as an act of rape still youths had been purchased as slaves from regions outside (Maalouf, 266).

the Islamic world and subsequently converted to Islam and trained in military techniques. His regiment was known as the See also Christianity and Islam; Saladin. Bahri mamluks, since their barracks were located on an island in the river (bahr) Nile. Faced with loss of influence and possibly life, these mamluks of al-Malik al-Salih turned against BIBLIOGRAPHY Turanshah, and murdered him shortly after the victory of Hillenbrand, Carole. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999.

After this regicide, the history of the subsequent decade of Maalouf, Amin. *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*. London: Al the history of Muslim Egypt and Syria is dominated by a Saqi Books, 1984.

complex struggle for power, further complicated by the Mayer, Hans Eberhard. *The Crusades*. 2d ed. Translated Mongol invasions. The decade ended with the definitive by John Gillingham. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, establishment of the Mamluk Sultanate in 1260 by Baybars, Press, 1986.

one of those Bahri mamluks. After consolidating Mamluk control, Sultan Baybars launched his forces against the Cru- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Crusades: A Short History*. New saders, capturing Antioch (in 1268) and several major Cru- Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1987.

sader castles. After Baybars' death in 1277 there was a brief Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Atlas of the Crusades*. London and lull, but attacks against the Crusaders resumed later in the New York: Facts on File, 1991.

Custom

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. 3 vols. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1951–1954.

Warren C. Schultz

CUSTOM See Ada

Islam and the Muslim World

167

D

DAR AL-HARB

followers drew differing conclusions from his ruling, some believing that cooperation with the British, particularly in the field of education, was a necessary prelude to a renewal of Islam and its cultural influence. Others were more inclined toward direct action with the goal of British withdrawal. The term dar al-harb, which literally means “the house or abode of war,” came to signify in classical jurisprudence a geopolitical reality; hence, it may also be rendered the “territory” of war.

See also Dar al-Islam.

In the most basic sense the term indicates territory not governed by Islam, in contrast to territory under Islamic rule, BIBLIOGRAPHY

dar al-islam. More precisely, these territories are geopolitical units within which Islam is not the established religion, where the ruler is not a Muslim, and where there exists no mechanism by which political or military leaders may seek the counsel of Islamic religious specialists. Use of the phrase dar al-harb further indicates the threat of war from the Muslim community. Muslim jurists differed on the mechanisms by

Kelsay, John. *Islam and War: A Study in Comparative Ethics*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993. the ruler is not a Muslim, and where there exists no mechanism by which political or military leaders may seek the counsel of Islamic religious specialists. Use of the phrase dar al-harb further indicates the threat of war from the Muslim community. Muslim jurists differed on the mechanisms by which this threat of war could become a reality. For the majority, the leader of the Muslims must fulfill the obligation of “calling” the people of a non-Islamic territory to Islam.

John Kelsay

which this threat of war could become a reality. For the majority, the leader of the Muslims must fulfill the obligation of “calling” the people of a non-Islamic territory to Islam.

DAR AL-ISLAM

Once a people, through its rulers, refused the opportunity (1) to establish Islam as the state religion, or (2) to enter into a tributary arrangement with the leader of the Muslims, it was The term dar al-islam, which literally means “the house or abode of Islam,” came to signify Islamic territory in juridical

understood that war could follow. In accord with normative discussions. For the majority, it is thus suggestive of a geopolitical tradition, this war should be understood as an aspect of jihad, political unit, in which Islam is established as the religion of the or the struggle to “make God’s cause succeed,” specifically by state, in contrast to dar al-harb, territory not governed by spreading Islamic government throughout the earth. It is Islam. The signs of legitimacy by which one could speak of a important to note that the purpose of the war to expand the geopolitical unit as dar al-islam would include a ruler or ruling territory of Islam was not to make converts, but rather to class whose self-identity is Islamic, some institutional mechanisms by which government. consultation between the political and religious elite is possible, and a commitment to engage in political

In modern times, the notion of dar al-harb has been and military struggle to extend the borders of the dar al-islam. employed by some Muslims to speak about territories lost to the forces of colonialism or, more generally, secularism. In For others, the relationship between dar al-islam and this connection, the ruling of the Shah Abd al- Aziz (d. 1824) existing political arrangements was not so easily negotiated. regarding the status of British India is of great interest. As he Thus, in one tradition the proto-Shi’a leader Ja’far al-Sadiq had it, given British dominance in the subcontinent, India (d. 765) is presented as suggesting that the territory of Islam should no longer be considered Islamic territory. It was exists wherever people are free to practice Islam and to rather part of dar al-harb. Mirroring subsequent discussions engage in calling others to faith—even if the leadership in in Islamic political and juridical thought, Abd al- Aziz’s such a place does not acknowledge or establish Islam as the

Da wa

state religion. Correlatively, a territory in which the ruler or This entry introduces the range of conceptions of da wa, ruling class identifies with Islam, but where the (true) inter- paying attention to scriptural occurrence, historical development of Islamic sources is suppressed, is not dar al-islam, ment, and, finally, modern understandings and organizations. but something else.

Scriptural Occurrence

In the modern period, one of the most vexing questions The word da wa is derived from an Arabic consonant-root, d for jurists, and indeed for Muslims generally, has to do with -w, with several meanings, such as call, invite, persuade, pray, the ongoing power of the symbol of dar al-islam. The experi- invoke,

bless, demand, and achieve. Consequently, the noun
 ence of colonialism, the demise of the historic caliphate, and da wa has a
 number of connotations too. In the Qur an and the sunna,
 the formation of modern states present serious challenges to
 da wa partly has a mundane meaning and refers to, for
 those who would follow classical precedent and utilize this
 instance, the invitation to a wedding. Sometimes the
 symbol. One line of thought, expressed most succinctly by
 spiritual meanings are interconnected. In one
 Shah Abd al- Aziz (d. 1824), held that the influx of British
 the sunna (Bukhari), the invitation to Islam is account of
 power meant that India was no longer dar al-islam. As such,
 allegorically referred to as an invitation to a banquet. Spelled
 the Muslim community was under an obligation to struggle with a long
 final vowel, the word means lawsuit.
 and bring about the restoration of Islamic influence. Others,
 by contrast, understood the classical use of the term as
 Theologically, da wa refers to the call of God to Islam,
 connected with an outmoded and even non-Islamic emphasis conveyed by
 the prophets: “God summons to the Abode of
 on empire. For these, in ways analogous to the thinking of Peace”
 (10:25). Like the previous prophets, Muhammad is referred
 Ja far al-Sadiq, Islam “abides” wherever Muslims practice
 to as “God’s caller” or “God’s invitor,” da i Allah
 their religion and call others to faith. (46:31).
 God’s call has to be distinguished from the false
 da wa of Satan (14:22). Conversely, da wa refers to the human
 See also Dar al-Harb.
 call directed to God in (mental) prayer or invocation. The
 One God answers the da wa directed to Him, whereas the
 BIBLIOGRAPHY
 prayers of the unbelievers are futile. The human da wa is the
 Kelsay, John. *Islam and War: A Study in Comparative Ethics*.
 affirmative response to the da wa of God. It is not to be
 Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993.
 confused with salat, ritual prayer. When referring to human
 Shaybani, Muhammad ibn Hasan al-. *The Islamic Law of prayer or*
 invocation, the Qur an makes no distinction be-
 Nations. Translated by Majid Khadduri. Baltimore, Md.:
 Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.
 root. During the course of theological history, however, the
 term du a evolved into a particular, technical concept, de-
 John Kelsay
 scribed and regulated in philosophical and devotional works,
 not least in handbooks of prayer.

from affirming God's call in prayer, however, humankind is invited to live in accordance with the will of God:

Since the late nineteenth century, conceptions of da wa have be one nation (umma) of you, calling to the good, re-emerged as central in the formulation of Islam. Da wa is what is right, forbidding what is wrong" (3:104).

increasingly associated with socially vital activities, such as is intimately interconnected with shari a, the edification, education, conversion, and charity. However, the

As illustrated by verse 3:104, cited above, da wa term also alludes to the Qur an and the normative Islamic social dimension in the Qur an. The community of history. Due to this combination, da wa has become a functional tool in face of the challenges of modernity. Da wa is message to others. A commonly cited verse reads:

sometimes equated with Christian ideas of mission and to the way of the Lord with goodness and fair evangelization. Muslims themselves are, as a rule, wary of that and have arguments with them in the best mancomparison; and indeed, such translations tend to overlook ner" (16:125). This verse, in turn, is commonly connected to

the variations and socio-political specificity of da wa. This familiar verse: "Let there be no compulsion in

term has been conceptualized, institutionalized, and applied religion" (2:256). Finally, there is an eschatological dimension for divergent purposes throughout the course of history. sion of da wa. At the end of time,

the archangel Jibril (Ga-

Furthermore, Muslim endeavors to convert non-Muslims to briel) will

call humans from their graves: "Then when He Islam have often been understood in terms other than da wa. calls you by a single call from the earth, behold you come

This is true, for instance, of the significant Sufi ventures of forth at once" (30:25).

recruitment, which historically largely appear to have been disinterested in da wa terminology. Thus, da wa should be All in

all, the Qur anic conceptualizations of da wa conjoin regarded as but one type of Islamic discourse of mobilization, a number of fundamental principles of Islamic theology. First

sometimes in conflict with others. of all,

da wa animates Islamic doctrine into an effective

against the Abbasid Sunnites, challenging their caliphal authority. The two core principles of the creed, as rendered in the shahada: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God." Acknowledging and responding to God's The Fatimids amplified the concept of da wa in accord da wa further means recognizing the sacredness of the umma ance with Shi ite doctrines of permanent revelation through the imams. The da wa of the imam was held to complete the and implementing shari a. Last but not least, da wa refers to da wa of the prophet Muhammad. The Fatimid da wa difthe invitation of humankind to afterlife. It is, thus, hardly ferred from the Abbasid da wa in that it did not cease after the surprising that da wa sometimes is presented as interchangeestablishment of the dynasty. Rather, it became increasingly able with the concept of Islam itself. organized and extensive. Da wa was thus institutionalized, Historical Development integrating political claims with theological elaboration, cen- After the death of Muhammad (632 C.E.), the leadership of the tered around several educational institutions, most notably Muslim community became a controversial issue. A group the al-Azhar University of Cairo. In areas controlled by the called Shi at Ali, later to be known as Shi a, argued that Ali, Fatimids, their da wa propaganda was overt, while the mes- Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, and his descendants sage was transmitted more secretly in other regions. were the rightful caliphs, that is, vicegerents of the Prophet. In a functional perspective, the core of the Fatimid use of Ali was eventually appointed caliph, and he is included as the da wa was similar to that of the Sunnite Abbasids. The fourth among the first four caliphs who Sunnites generally amplification of da wa among these competing groups incelebrated as righteous. In 661 he was killed, however, and volved an understanding of political propaganda and aspirathe Umayyad dynasty, based in Damascus, established a tions based on theological criticism against other rulers. In hereditary rule. During the eighth century, the legitimacy of both cases, thus, the core concern was the leadership issue. the Umayyads was increasingly put into question. Based in The Qur anic term da wa was rendered relevant primarily in Baghdad, the Abbasids were accusing them for claiming the context of claims to political power. The Fatimid idea that kingship, mulk, thus vesting human leadership with an attrib- propagation and acceptance of Islam should not be regarded as a ute and power that only God possesses. The lavish customs of as a singular event, but as a continuous process, forebears the Damascus court underscored the anti-Umayyad da wa. central

themes in modern uses of da wa.

In this sense, da wa came to inherit a religio-political dimension, being the call to accept the rightful leadership of a certain individual or family. Da wa in the religio-political surprisingly few references to the concept of da wa. Paradoxically, da wa discourses seem to have entered a phase of recession state, based on monotheism. Here da wa can be understood as despite the significant expansion of Islam that political propaganda inflated by Qur'anic terminology. In both Asia and Africa. Two of the reasons for this spite of variations in the use of the term throughout history, may be the legal formalism and the development of this has been a recurring tendency. Sufism.

While the Abbasid and Fatimid regimes relied on an Islamic ambience in which da wa held a politically central and Da wa thus became mainly an internal Muslim matter. importance, Sufis were able to spread their message However, the external aspect of da wa, "calling mankind," such an ambience. Authority was vested in their acquired increasing juridical importance in connection with shaykhs, who were often victims of state-centered the military expansion of Islam. According to the classical persecution. Such a model of authority facilitated the theory of jihad of the early Muslim conquests, warfare against plantation of Islam to new regions, where mass conversions non-Muslims could not be undertaken, nor could the protective tax of non-Muslims, jizya, be levied, had not a summons period, when Sufis were largely individualistic and to Islam, da wa, been issued. During the late eighth century Sufism has frequently been politically important. four madhahib (madhhab), schools of Sunni law (fiqh), developed the logic of Sufi expansion has usually been envisioned. Here da wa was formalized into a set of judicial principles and rules included in martial law. and, as a consequence, not in need of conceptions of da wa in the religio-political sense.

An important example of the application of da wa in history is the case of the Shi'ite Fatimids. Between 969 and da wa as early as in the eighth century was a formal 1171 they ruled a vast empire, with Cairo as the capital. For included in martial law, it became part of the Islamic

the Fatimids, who belong to the Isma'ili branch of Shi'a, jurisprudence, fiqh. From the tenth century onward, Sunnite da'wa meant the appeal to give allegiance to the seventh leaders held the apparatus of fiqh as finalized. Thus, the gates of ijtihad, imam, Muhammad b. Isma'il. Initially, their propaganda was of ijtihad, (new interpretations based on the main sources of Islamic law), the Qur'an, and the sunna, were regarded by directed against followers of the main branch of Shi'a, the Islamic law), the Qur'an, and the sunna, were regarded by Imamis or Twelvers. As their power grew, the Fatimid da'wa many jurists as closed. Legal matters were henceforth to be

Islam and the Muslim World

171

Da'wa

guided by taqlid, imitation of previous rulings. With the rise attempted to launch his small organization, Jamiyat al-Fiqh al-Jam'i, the learned scholars, ulema and fuqaha, Da'wah wal-Irshad, as a cornerstone of pan-Islamism, indid were installed as its lawful, if largely impotent, administrators, maintaining the constancy of the political dimension of da'wa. When the quest for authority through personal interpretations. Of more lasting impact, however, were the Salafiyya pretation (ijtihad) and opinion (fatwa) was rendered impossible Salafiyya efforts to strengthen Islamic awareness and solidarity at least heavily curtailed, there was little or no need for ijtihad in face of modernity. Thus, da'wa increasingly was under da'wa discourse. In this sense, the authority of institutional stood in terms of edification and, most prominently, education, law appears to have contributed to circumventing the central-tarbiya. ity of the concept of da'wa, which was primarily understood in terms of the connection between religious legitimacy and The disruptive period of Islamic reformism around the political power. turn of the nineteenth century also saw the birth of the Ahmadiyya, founded in 1889 in India by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. It should be noted, finally, that at least one example of Ahmad (d. 1908). Due to its deviant doctrines (such as the da'wa activity since Fatimid times has been recorded by claims of Ahmad to have received new revelations from God scholars, namely a correspondence between the rulers of the and to be, among other things, an incarnation of Krishna), Ottoman and the Safavid Empires during the early sixteenth most Muslims do not accept Ahmadiyya as a part of Islam. century. This controversy over religio-political authority Nonetheless, the movement has persisted as a very active carries many similarities with the struggle between Abbasids da'wa organization, concentrating particularly on publication. and Fatimids. There may well have been others too. Thus,

one cannot rule out scholarly omission or lack of interest as During the twentieth century, the Salafiyya ideal of tarbiya partly responsible for the silence of da wa after the early made a lasting impact on the understandings of da wa. As of centuries of Islam. the 1930s, however, the political as well as the educational and devotional aspects of da wa were understood and used in Modern Times partly novel ways. A preceding event of paradigmatic importance was the European colonialism and Christian mission brought Muslim abolition of the caliphate in 1924. Da wa increasingly became an endeavor to reform the individual, rather than practices. The processes of modernity (secularization, in the public, institutions of society. Thus, society was to be individualism, social reorganization, etc.) increasingly transformed Muslim societies. Technological, educational, and mainly to Hassan al-Banna (d. 1949) and Abu l-A la Maududi (d. 1979), infrastructural changes made a lasting impact, and deeply who were both of towering importance for the rooted Islamic ideas and ways of life were put into question. conception of da wa among later generations of Islamists. Facing such challenges, many Muslims felt a need to reconsider or defend Islam, as well as to inform non-Muslims about Founder in 1928 of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin), Islamic principles and creeds. In this context, partly novel al-Banna spoke of da wa as the call to “true conceptualizations of da wa claimed a core position in the Islam.” With an allegoric reference to hijra, Muhammad’s emigration Islamic debates and practices. from Mecca to Medina, al-Banna urged Muslims to abandon the materialism and superficial pleasures of society. By living A precursor for the modern use of da wa was the Ottoman ety. By living in accordance with Islamic rules, Muslims will restore an sultan Abd al-Hamid II, who ruled between 1876 and 1909. “Islamic Order” and, eventually, establish an Islamic state. Claiming the title of caliph, he took on the responsibility for Islamic the umma. He included the concept of da wa in his “imperial ideology” and intended to lead Muslims like the Pope leads Maududi was more favorable to direct political action and mobilization. the Catholics. Hence, this is an example of a modern use of His organizational base, Jama at-e Islami, was da wa discourse for the sake of religio-political authority. set up as a regular political party, although it has gained significance primarily as an informal network. Maududi agreed

Of more lasting impact with regard to the rethinking of da wa strategy of internal reform from below. However, da wa was the Salafiyya movement, the leading figures of which were Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (d. 1897), Muhammad al-Haraka (d. 1905), and Rashid Rida (d. 1935). Inspired particularly by Ibn Taymiyya's (d. 1329) early critique of taqlid of mind and a matrix of life rather than an institutional order. Here da wa is aimed at creating an Islamic state and legal formalism, they called for the reform of Islamic law by reopening the gates of ijtihad. The movement also took a different methodology of da wa was suggested by Tablighi decisively critical stance to the influence of secular and Jama'at, founded by Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas in 1927. This Christian ideas. Both al-Afghani and, later, Rida were connected to the pan-Islamic movement that aimed at uniting activity and concentrates on the devotional life. Yet, it emphasizes the Muslim peoples under the Ottoman caliphate. Rida even centralities of da wa in terms of a missionary duty.

172

Islam and the Muslim World

Da wa

The Sufi background is highlighted by the centrality of the charities, distribution of Islamic literature, international conform of prayer called dhikr (remembrance). By repeating references, and festivals, not least in Europe. Notably, this support prayers many times each day, an Islamization of daily life is predominantly favored Islamist-oriented movements, envisioned. Ilyas himself distinctly deviated from the character of al-Banna and Maududi and did not stand out as a religious scholar, either as a speaker or writer. This he Previously, Muslims had been largely opposed to relief compensated by missionary zeal and novel strategies of or- work and social-welfare concerns as part of da wa endeavors, such as organization and education. In fact, the theological simplicity criticizing Christian missions for using such efforts in order of the Tablighi's da wa appears as a key to popular success. to make proselytes. Increasingly, however, charity directed primarily to Muslims has become an integral part of much The prerequisites for acting as a Tablighi da i are based on da wa work. It may even be argued that the provision of social familiarity with basic Islamic doctrines and traditions, the amenities is one of the main aspects of Islamism.

practice of salat and dhikr, respect of other Muslims, and sincerity in actions. Da wa is to be performed as voluntary reaction to the Saudi influence on organizations like preaching of the message in small groups. Instead of, for World League, new da wa instruments were formed in other countries. In Libya, for instance, Mu ammar and campaigns at university campuses, da wa is performed al-Qadhdhafi established the Islamic Call Society, Jam iyat from door to door. The Tablighi communities, not least al-Islamiyya, in 1972, concentrating on da wa among Muslim minorities around the world, are built on sub-Saharan Africa. A decisive blow on Saudi close, personal relations and social support. Arabian hegemony was the Iranian revolution of 1979. The da wa efforts of the Iranian Islamic Information Organization Some years after the Second World War, when the large once again highlighted the question of political legitimacy. scale process of decolonization started, modern da wa activi- During the war against Iraq in the 1980s, Iran increasingly ties increased in an even more rapid speed. Gradually, da wa emphasized its Shi ite foundation, thus loosening the slack on developed into a key concept for cultural identity and politi- Saudi Arabia. The tensions between Saudi Arabia and the cal change. Jamal Abd al-Nasser, who ruled Egypt between increasingly independent da wa organizations have increased 1952 and 1970, built up a da wa network in the Middle East since the Persian Gulf War in the early 1990s, when Saudi and Africa. He championed the cause of Islamic socialism and Arabia supported the military coalition led by the United pan-Arabism, which influenced nationalist leaders in many States. Saudi Arabia was heavily criticized by Muslim organipredominantly Muslim countries, such as Algeria, Syria, zations all over the world, and some lost the Saudi support of and Iraq. petrodollars. Other Muslim leaders challenged the socialist, nationalist, In the late twentieth century, new da wa organizations and secularist aspects of postcolonial development and took cropped up all over the Muslim world, including in Europe and North America. Moreover, many governments set up da wa notably, Saudi Arabia's King Faysal challenged, and eventu- departments for education and propaganda, particually took over, Nasser's leading role, by stressing the ideal of a larly in the universities. In Pakistan, for example, the Univertransnational, Muslim solidarity based on Islam, not Arabism. sity of Islamabad in 1985 created a Da wah Academy

for

In 1962, Saudi Arabia founded the Muslim World League, training da wa workers, producing and distributing literature in several Rabitat al-alam al-Islami, for promoting international da wa languages as well as organizing conferences, special efforts. This was one year after the establishment of an courses, and other events. The academy has an extensive Islamic university in Medina for the training of da wa work- international network of cooperating da wa organizations, including ers. The activities of the Muslim World League increased in the Muslim World League. Another important da wa the 1970s when several councils, such as the World Council organization, whose primary objective is to propagate Islam of Mosques, were formed. The idea of promoting interna- Islam through missionary activities, is the Islamic Propagational Islamic cooperation through the Council of Mosques tion Centre International (IPCI), which was started in 1982 by Ahmed was partly inspired by the previous establishment of the Deedat in Durban. It was preceded by the Islamic World Council of Churches. The Muslim World League Propagation Centre, founded in 1957. Particularly signifi- cant in cooperated with the governments of certain countries, such Europe and North America, the IPCI has concenas Egypt, after Nasser had been followed by Anwar Sadat. As trated on polemics against Christianity. The increasing interest a result, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth was founded in social welfare as a part of da wa work was reflected, for in 1972. Due to the the oil boom of the 1970s, enormous oil instance, in the formation in 1988 by the Muslim World League of revenues allowed countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to the World Muslim Committee for Da wah and Relief. lend most substantial support to the Islamic movement that Education and health care is on the program of many worked for the (re)establishment of “true” Islam. Funds were da wa organizations, like the Indonesian Diwan Dawat alused for, among other things, Islamic research projects, Islam and the West African Ansar al-Islam.

Islam and the Muslim World

173

Dawla

Among Muslim intellectuals, not least in Europe and Rahnema, Ali, ed. Pioneers of Islamic Revival. London: Zed North America, da wa to a significant degree has been associ- Books, 1994. ated with interfaith dialogue. Thus, Qur anic injunctions Schimmel, Annemarie. Sufismus: Eine Einführung in die

such as “Invite all to the Way of thy Lord” (16: 125) have been islamische Mystik. Munich: Beck, 2000.

reinterpreted in an ecumenical sense. Proponents of inter-Moshe. Black Banners from the East. Jerusalem: faith dialogue such as Mahmoud Ayoub, Hasan Askari, 1983

Sharon,

Khurshid Ahmad, Mohammad Talbi, Isma il al-Faruqi, and Ataullah. Christian-Muslim Dialogue in the Twentieth Seyyed Hossein Nasr agree on the need for ijti had and the London: Macmillan, 1997.

Magners,

Siddiqui,

Century.

contextualization of shari a, and they have excluded proselytism from the conceptions of da wa.

Christer Hedin

Torsten Janson

However, the visions of al-Banna and Maududi are con-

David Westerlund

tinuously present, especially in European and North American organizations. Two examples are the International Institute

of Islamic Thought (IIIT) in the United States, founded by

al-Faruqi, and the Islamic Foundation in United Kingdom,

DAWLA

an offshoot of the Jama at-e Islami, headed for many years by

Maududi’s disciple, Khurram Murad. The conception of

The Arabic

word dawla is derived from the root D-W-L,

da wa among such organizations combines ecumenical efforts turn, alternate, or come around in a cyclical

meaning “to

with insistence on edification and mobilization among Mus-

fashion.”

The Qur an (59:7), for example, speaks of the

lims, predominantly by book publishing and, increasingly, by

Prophet’s

distribution of the spoils of war to those in need,

engagement in the political and educational systems of the

“so that it

may not [merely] make the circuit (dulatan) among

Western societies.

the wealthy

of you.” Another Qur anic reference (3:140)

speaks of the cyclical nature of human vicissitudes, so that

See also Conversion; Expansion; Jama at-e Islami;

triumph one

day is replaced by defeat another day. This sense

Shari a.

of

alternating periods of fortune and misfortune led Arab

writers to use the word dawla when speaking of dynastic

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succession,

particularly in the period after the rise of Abbasid

Arnold, Thomas W. The Preaching of Islam: A History of the

power. The

Abbasid “turn” in power had come, just as earlier

Propagation of the Muslim Faith, 3d ed. London: Luzac, 1935.

the Umayyads

had had their turn before being overthrown.

Baldick, Julian. Mystical Islam: An Introduction to Sufism.

As the

Abbasid house became entrenched in power, how-

London: Tauris, 2000. ever, the
 dynastic sense of dawla became conflated with
 Canard, Marius. "Da wa." In Vol. 2, Encyclopedia of Islam. notions
 of the empire or state that this family ruled. Pre-
 Leiden: Brill, 1965. modern Muslim
 writers, like their Western contemporaries,
 Eickelman, Dale, and Piscatori, James. Muslim Politics. Prince- did not
 generally speak in the abstract of the state apart from
 ton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996. those who
 actually wielded power at any given time. For
 Faruqi, Ismail R al-. "On the Nature of Islamic Da'wah." In
 example, Ibn Khaldun's use of dawla signifies, as Franz
 Islam and Other Faiths. Leicester: The Islamic Founda- Rosenthal notes,
 that "a state exists only insofar as it is held
 tion, 1998. together and
 ruled by individuals and the group which they
 Halm, Heinz. Shi'ism. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University constitute,
 that is, the dynasty. When the dynasty disappears,
 Press, 1991. the state,
 being identical with it, also comes to an end." (Ibn
 Janson, Torsten. "Da wa: Islamic Missiology in Discourse Khaldun,
 Muqaddimah).
 and History." Swedish Missiological Themes 89, no. 3
 With the advent of Turkish and Kurdish governors under
 (2001): 355–415.
 the nominal authority of the later Abbasid caliphs, titles
 Köse, Ali. Conversion to Islam: A Study of Native British Con- composed of
 the word al-dawla combined with an honorific
 verts. Padstow: Kegan Paul International, 1996.
 adjective became commonplace. Such titles as nasir al-dawla
 Otayek, René, ed. Le radicalisme islamique au sud du Sahara: or sayf
 al-dawla could be rendered equally as "helper" and
 Da'wa, arabisation et critiques de l'Occident. Paris:
 "sword," respectively, of the state, the body politic, the
 Karthala, 1993.
 government, or the dynasty, all of which were identified
 Popovic, Alexandre, and Veinstein, Gilles, eds. Les voies (albeit
 theoretically) as a common entity.
 d'Allah: Les ordres mystiques dans l'islam des origines à
 aujourd'hui. Paris: Fayard, 1996. In the
 nineteenth century, as Western distinctions be-
 Poston, Larry. Islamic Da'wah in the West: Muslim Missionary tween the
 state and the government began to filter into
 Activity and the Dynamics of Conversion to Islam. Oxford: Muslim
 countries, dawla became increasingly disentangled
 Oxford University Press, 1992. from its more
 personalistic connotations and began to be

Death

used almost exclusively in the sense of “state.” Thus, the view is that death is the fate prescribed by God for all living things, 1861 Tunisian constitution, the first promulgated in a Muslim country, and that the event itself marks a transition or journey of the lim country, was known as qanun al-dawla. Framed under soul from worldly existence in the body to bodily European pressure, the constitution consciously sought to resurrection and immortal life in either paradise (janna) or differentiate the traditional powers of the bey, the ruler of hell (nar and jahannam). In Islamic eschatology, as in rabbinic Judaism, Tunisia, from the new constitutional regime of the state God delegated the power of death to an angel of awesome under which even the bey was theoretically subordinate. To appearance who separates the soul from the body. differentiate it from the state, which was relatively unchanging, the idea of the government and its personnel, which came Death (maut) is a dominant theme in the Qur an, where it is and went, was connoted now by the term hukuma. is closely linked with the understanding of life (haya) and belief in God. Thus, “God has possession of the heavens and Dawla in contemporary Arabic (devlet in Turkish) is used the earth, he gives life and death” (9:116). Death is an in the sense of the nation-state, and encompasses the full eventuality that all living souls shall “taste” (3:185, 21:35), range of meanings associated with that term in English, and precipitates their inevitable return to God (10:56). The including a community of citizens residing within a given set Qur an even speaks of human existence as being defined by two of territorial boundaries as well as the political authority deaths and two births: nonexistence and entry into under which they live. The League of Arab States is thus worldly life, then death and resurrection in the hereafter rendered as Jami at al-Duwal al- Arabiyya (duwal being the (2:28, 22:66). The return to God leads to the final reckoning plural of dawla) and anything “international” is rendered as and immortality for the blessed in paradise and for the dawli or duwali. damned in hell. Moreover, a special reward is promised those killed on God’s “path,” who are also said to be alive with God, One also finds in contemporary Islamist writings the not dead (3:157, 3:169, 22:58). In Qur anic narratives of neologism dawla Islamiyya, or “Islamic state.” This concept is sacred history, death is depicted as affliction suffered by

invariably not well defined, but it reflects the holistic approach at the hands of unbelievers (2:61, 3:21), and as a proach to religion and state that is at the core of the fundamental punishment meted out by God to unbelievers (25:35–40).

mentalist project. The Islamic state, unlike secular national Ethical and juridical passages place a high value on human life states, is one in which shari'a, or divine law, is fully applied as (4:29, 5:32, 6:151, 17:31), but call for death as a punishment the only legal code in the state. Beyond this general aspiration for those who war against God and Muhammad (5:33). The tion, the specifics of what constitutes shari'a, how shari'a schools of Muslim jurisprudence later delineated with more principles are to be discerned or interpreted, and how nonprecision the kinds of offenses that required capital punishment. Muslims are to be accommodated within the Islamic state are ment, as well as mitigating factors (hudud). all highly contested issues.

Burial and mourning are rites of passage that are codified See also Hukuma al-Islamiyya, al- (Islamic Governance in fiqh literature. They involve declaration of the shahada by ment); Ibn Khaldun; Political Organization; Shari'a.

or on behalf of the dying person, and a cleansing of the body (ghusl), followed by enshrouding. Within a few hours of the death, a BIBLIOGRAPHY

party of men transport the body to the cemetery, Ayalon, Ami. Language and Change in the Arab Middle East: where it is buried facing toward Mecca. Funerary prayers may The Evolution of Modern Arabic Political Discourse. New be performed at the grave site itself, or at a mosque on the way York: Oxford University Press, 1987. to the

cemetery. Jurists prohibit women from participating in Enayat, Hamid. Modern Islamic Political Thought. Austin: funerals, even if the deceased is female. Burial at sea is University of Texas Press, 1982. permitted

if landfall is not possible. If the body of the Ibn Khaldun. Muqaddimah. Translated by Franz Rosenthal. deceased is not recoverable, funerary prayers are still required. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967. quired.

Martyrs' bodies remain unwashed and are interred in Lewis, Bernard. The Political Language of Islam. Chicago: their bloodstained garments without prescribed prayers, re- University of Chicago Press, 1988. reflecting

conditions of combat and a belief that they will immediately gain paradise. In all cases, the bereaved are Sohail H. Hashmi urged to mourn in dignity for up to three days only, for excessive grieving is an affront to God, the giver of life and death. Grieving may also enhance the suffering of the soul of

the deceased. Nonetheless, participation in funerals and visiting

cemeteries are endorsed as occasions for cultivating piety and remembering the fate awaiting all creatures.

The end of human life is a central concern of Muslim thought and occasions a variety of ritual practices connected to the and indigenous cultural traditions in the Middle dying process, burial, and mourning. The most widely held Asia, Africa, and recently Europe and the Americas have

Ulema

East,

Islam and the Muslim World

175

Deoband

shaped Muslim beliefs and practices pertaining to death and O'Shaughnessy, Thomas. Muhammad's Thoughts on Death. immortality. A rich and diverse body of eschatological literature developed in medieval Islam that included narratives

Leiden:

Jane Idleman, and Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. The about the exemplary deaths of prophets and saints, visionary Understanding of Death and Resurrection. Albany: accounts of the torments of the grave, the death angels, and University of New York Press, 1981.

Smith,

Islamic

State

the intermediate condition of the soul between death and resurrection (barzakh), as well as detailed descriptions of the

Juan Eduardo Campo

pleasures of paradise and punishments of hell. The major kalam schools defended Islamic doctrines about resurrection and final judgment against the influence of various Christian, Jewish, sectarian, mystical, and philosophical teachings. The deaths of the imams, particularly Husayn, came to hold a Deoband, a country town ninety miles northeast of Delhi, has dominant place in Twelver Shi'ite doctrine and ritual practice given its name to ulema associated with the Indo-Pakistani

DEOBAND

tice. Sufis taught that death obliges seekers to engage in reformist movement centered in the seminary founded there greater self-scrutiny, as the qualities of life after death reflect in 1867. A striking dimension of Islamic religious life in those of their worldly existence. Other mystics understood colonial India was the emergence of several apolitical, inward pain and death both as the experience of separation from God looking movements, among them not only the Deobandis but the Beloved and as metaphors for ecstatic annihilation (fana) the so-called "Barelwis," the much smaller Ahl-e Hadis/Ahl-i of the self in him, as exemplified by al-Hallaj (d. 922). To Hadith, and the controversial Ahmadiyya. The Deobandi, achieve "death before dying," was to attain spiritual union

Bareilwi, and Ahl-e Hadis ulema not only responded to Hindu with the divine. A few mystics and philosophers, contrary to and Christian proselytizing, but engaged in public debate, orthodox belief, advocated belief in metempsychosis (tanasukh) polemical writings, and exchanges of fatawa among them and denied the reality of personal death, resurrection, judgment, and hell. Each fostered devotion to the prophet Muhammad as well as fidelity to his practice; each thought itself the correct

In many Muslim communities, death has been seen as a interpreter of hadith, the guide to that practice. All depended on means of communication, above all print, as well as on eye and malevolent spirits rather than a direct result of God's institutional changes that came with British colonial rule. will. Mourning practices vary widely, but they routinely

The Dar al- Ulum at Deoband utilized the organizational model of British colonial schools. Its goal was to hold Musand include prayer gatherings and meals for up to a year after the loss of a loved one. Moreover, most Muslims recount considerable social change, and, to that end, to create a class of formally trained and popularly supported ulema to serve as dead, especially the prophet Muhammad and his descendants, guardians, and trustees of mosques and tombs, preachers, have the power to intercede on their behalf both in this world and in the hereafter. Saints' tombs, found in most Muslim communities, have consequently evolved into important pilgrimage and cultural centers. Since the nineteenth century, some Muslim writers have adapted European spiritualism to traditional Islamic understandings of death and the afterlife, while Islamists have revived discourses about the tortures of the grave, the corporal punishments of hell, and the bodily pleasures of paradise to advance their (1702–1763) in their shift from emphasis on the “rational sciences” to an emphasis on the “revealed sciences” of the Qur'an and, above all, hadith. Unlike him, however, they

The

See also Ibadat; Jahannam; Janna; Pilgrimage: Ziyara. have been
 staunch Hanafis in jurisprudence. They have also
 been Sufi guides, bound together by shared spiritual net-
 BIBLIOGRAPHY works,
 especially Chishti Sabiri. Among the most influential
 Campo, Juan Eduardo. The Other Sides of Paradise: Explora- writers
 was Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi (1864–1943), who
 tions into the Religious Meanings of Domestic Space in Islam. published
 scholarly works on Qur an, hadith, and Sufism. He
 Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. also wrote
 an encyclopedic guide for Muslim women, Bihishti
 Ghazali, Abu Hamid al-. The Remembrance of Death and the Zewar,
 disseminating correct practice, reform of custom, and
 Afterlife (Kitab dhikr al-mawt wa-ma ba dahu): Book XL of practical
 knowledge.
 the Revival of the Religious Sciences (Ihya ulum al-din).
 Translated by T. J. Winter. Cambridge: Islamic Texts After
 about 1910, individual Deobandis began to be in-
 Society, 1995. volved in
 politics in opposition to British rule in India and

176

Islam and the Muslim World

Devotional Life

also to British intervention in the Ottoman lands. Many need for
 the “sacramental” aspect: to touch or be near and
 Deobandis supported the Khilafat movement after World close to
 the object of veneration, believed to have healing or
 War I in support of the Ottoman ruler as khalifa of all
 intercessional powers.
 Muslims, and were also strong supporters of the Jam iyyat
 Ulama-e Hind who was allied with the Indian National The
 term devotion can therefore only be used for the
 Congress and opposed to the creation of Pakistan. The widest
 variety of forms of engaged, affectionate worship:
 apolitical strand within the school’s teaching has taken shape from the
 ibadat to the veneration of the prophet Muhammad
 for many in the widespread, now transnational, pietist move- (for
 example, in the celebration of his birthday, Ar. mawlid),
 ment known since the 1920s as Tablighi Jama at. The popu- saints
 (awliya), or intermediary beings such as the jinn and
 lar writings of Maulana Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhalavi zar
 spirits, taking place within a wide variety of institutional
 (1897–1982), associated with the second major Deobandi settings,
 and under the guidance of a particular leadership.
 school in India, the Mazahir-e Ulum in Saharanpur, are Hence,
 devotional life refers here in the first place to a broad

utilized extensively in the movement. In Pakistan, the Jam'iyat range of personal, popular behaviors and beliefs that stand in Ulama-e Islam party represents Deobandi ulema. In striking a dialectical relationship with scriptural orthodoxies of varicontrast, the Taliban movement, which emerged in Afghani-ous kinds and varieties. The reasons for this tension may vary: stan in the 1990s, had its origins among refugees in Deobandi Many practices are without precedent in the time of the schools in Pakistan and also identifies itself as Deobandi. Prophet (bida's), and there may be forms of reprehensible moral behavior such as joint gatherings of men and women, See also Education; Jam'iyat Ulama-e Islam; Law; South and particular forms of trance. However, it is the alleged Asia, Islam in; Tablighi Jama'at. veneration of mortal and created human beings instead of God, the Creator, which is condemned as shirk.

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Devotional life in Islam has yet to be mapped and its Metcalf, Barbara Daly. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband* history is still to be written. So far, most studies have focused 1860–1900. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University on written sources (such as Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*; Ayoub, Press, 1982.

Redemptive Suffering): small books and booklets, pamphlets, Thanawi, Maulana Ashraf Ali. *Perfecting Women*: Maulana and manuscripts (amulets) that can be purchased in small Ashraf Ali Thanawi's *Bihishti Zewar*. Berkeley: University bookshops, in the streets, and at religious institutions. Among of California Press, 1990.

them are many prayer manuals and devotional texts, often originating in the ritual practices of one of the mystical Barbara D. Metcalf traditions, the subject of Padwick's classic study. The pamphlets may be written by classical authors, most often mystics, such as the famous Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), but there are also many modern authors.

DEVOTIONAL LIFE

Devotion to the Prophet is a dominant element in many The meaning and analytical value of the phrase "devotional Sufi movements. A very popular text is the *Dala'il al-khayrat* life" needs clarification in the case of Islam. "Devotional" is (Guide to happiness) by the Moroccan mystic al-Jazuli (d. derived from the Latin term *devotio*, which was originally the 1465). In it, the 201 names of the Prophet occupy an imporname of a ritual in Roman religion, and became predomi- tant place, as well as the *tasliya*, or prayer on the Prophet, nantly a Christian term, which in the Middle Ages and in which reads in translation: "O God, send your blessing [*salli*]

modern speech means the obedient submission to God. The on our Lord
Muhammad and on the family of our Lord
theologian John Renard defines devotion as “the elements of Muhammad
and greet them with peace!” The family of the
personal investment”—energy, feeling, time, substance—
Prophet is sometimes taken very broadly and may include all
that characterize a Muslim communal and individual re- people of
belief. In Shi ite books it also includes all the Alids.
sponse to the experience of God’s ways of dealing with them.
The Islamic-Arabic term closest to devotio may be ikhlas (cf. S. In
popular pamphlets older texts such as the Qasidat al-
4:146, speaking about those who “akhlasu dinahum lillah,” burda
by al-Busiri may be found together with modern texts,
that is, are sincere in their obedience to God), but this term is forming
handbooks of devotion for individual and communal
not used in religious studies in the same way as it is used in life.
Padwick lists different types of ritual forms in addition to
Constance Padwick’s classic Muslim Devotions. Even though the term
salat, which may indicate the obligatory salat, the
the devotional practices as described below include the “ca- voluntary
(nafila) salats, and salats for special occasions, as
nonical” rituals (ibadat) as well, one assumes that in quantita- well as
the prayer on the Prophet. These include ibada, which
tive terms a great part of devotional life takes place outside refers to
the outward aspects, and wazifa or ratib, the daily
the prescribed rituals even though it remains closely con- individual
devotional office. In addition to forms Padwick
nected and intertwined with them. As in other religious mentions
different types of texts: munajat, or conversations
traditions, many aspects of devotional life seem to fulfill a between
God and Prophets or other saintly persons; du a, a

Islam and the Muslim World

177

Devotional Life

grave). Devotional life should also be approached through
music and literary works of prose and poetry. For example, in
his autobiographical work *Ein Leben mit dem Islam* (A Life
with Islam; 1999), Nasr Abu Zaid reminds us that recitation
of the Qur an had spiritual as well as aesthetic and physical
aspects. Another interesting autobiography, and an important source for
devotional life of a woman in the Islamist
movement, is that of Zaynab al-Ghazali.

Studies into devotional life based on field work exist, but
do not abound and is only rarely the subject of a monograph.
One may think of the accounts by Edward Lane (Manners and

Customs of the Modern Egyptians; 1846), Snouck Hurgronje of life in Mecca, Edward Westermarck's *Ritual and Religion in Morocco*, Usha Sanyal on Barelwi devotions (although it focuses on fatwas rather than on field work), Abdul Hamid El Zein's study of saint veneration in Lamu, John Bowen's *Muslims Through Discourse* (a study in the Gayo highland), or Ian Netton's book on Sufi ritual in the United Kingdom.

Images, pictures, and paintings form an important source for the study of devotional life. In this respect, a promising important Islamic daily ritual. Written instruction on Islamic devotion can also be expected of visual anthropology is available in prayer manuals and devotional texts in bookstores (e.g., films such as those by Fadwa El Guindi, El Sebou , on and on the street in the Muslim world. © DAVID RUBINGER/CORBIS life-cycle rituals in Egypt). Finally, the Internet, in particular the World Wide Web, has emerged as a medium for the spread of devotional life. Quite a few Sufi orders are active in very important term indicating invocations and prayers that cyberspace, and noteworthy developments take place there can also be said during the salat, particularly the sujud; or with regard to publications as well. A great lacuna remains, prostration. In this regard, it is important to observe that however, the lack of empirical analysis on a micro level in whereas it is obligatory to recite the Qur'an (undoubtedly the which textual (and musicological and iconographical) study is most important devotional text) during the salat in Arabic, combined with (participant) observation.

du as can also be said in the vernacular. There is a connection between prayers in the vernacular and the emergence of also Adhan; Dhikr; Du'a; Ibadat; Tasawwuf. See

popular literature in such Islamic vernaculars as Persian, Turkish, and other languages. Dhikr literally means "remembrance," namely of God and the ninety-nine beautiful names (memorization of which, tradition holds, almost assures a Mahmoud. Redemptive Suffering in Islam. A Study of the Devotional Aspects in Twelver Shiism. The Hague: Mouton, 1978. Ayoub,

of text (especially in the plural, adhkar) and the ritual of reciting them. A witr is a litany often accompanied by a name Biegan, N. H., and Hunt, S. V. Egypt. Moulids, Saints and Sufis. The Hague: Gary Schwartz/SDU, 1990. and associated with the devotional life of a particular Sufi order. Other texts are referred to as hizb, litany, a term which Bowen,

of text (especially in the plural, adhkar) and the ritual of reciting them. A witr is a litany often accompanied by a name Biegan, N. H., and Hunt, S. V. Egypt. Moulids, Saints and Sufis. The Hague: Gary Schwartz/SDU, 1990.

and associated with the devotional life of a particular Sufi order. Other texts are referred to as hizb, litany, a term which Bowen,

John R. Muslims through Discourse. Religion and Ritual also refers to an allotted part, namely of the Qur'an, or of a Gayo Society. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

(d. 1258) composed the famous Hizb al-bahr aboard a vessel Rudolf von, and Kris-Heinrich, Hubert. Volksglaube im on his way to Mecca. Ahzab have a strong connotation of Bereich des Islam. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1960–62. offering protection against hostile natural or human forces. Netton, Ian Richard. Sûfî ritual. The Parallel Universe. Richmond, U.K.: Curzon Press, 2000.

“stronghold.” All such types of texts are recited at different Padwick, Constance. Muslim Devotions. A Study of Prayer occasions. In addition, many popular pamphlets deal with other devotional subjects such as magic (Ar. sihr), evil (1961). Reprint. Oxford, U.K.:

with other devotional subjects such as magic (Ar. sihr), evil Oneworld, 1996. powers, for example, those of the jinn and the evil eye (al-Parker, A., and Neal, A. Hajj Painting. Folk Art of the Great hasad, al-ayn) and how to avert or control them, and with the Pilgrimage. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution afterlife and eschatological subjects (for example, “life” in the Press, 1995.

178

Islam and the Muslim World

Dhikr

In Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, a young boy watches the men in their noon prayer at the Omar Ali Saifuddin Mosque. © MICHAEL S. YAMASHITA/CORBIS

Renard, John. Seven Doors to Islam: Spirituality and the Religious Life of Muslims. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. extended in the hadith to reflect the multiplicity of ideas associated with the Prophet's own pious practices, and ultimately

adapted by the ascetic and mystic traditions as an Sanyal, Usha. Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: institutional meditational ritual.

Ahmad Riza Khan Bareilwi and his Movement, 1870–1920. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999. The word

dhikr and its cognates form a dense structure in the Qur'an, which insists that the prophets were all linked Schimmel, Annemarie. And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety. Chapel Hill: together by

virtue of the message they collectively brought:

University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

They were all

members of one brotherhood (23:51–52) and

all brought the same din (religion). The Qur'an identifies

Schnubel, Vernon James. *Religious Performances in Contemporary Islam*. Columbia:

mudhakkirat, a word derived from the root “to

remember” or “to recollect”; thus, they are all rememberers.

University of South Carolina Press, 1993.

remember” or

“to recollect”; thus, they are all rememberers.

Their message is tadhkira, reminder. Humans, however, are

Westerners, Edward. *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (1926).

in a state of forgetfulness, and they need to be reminded by

Reprint. London: Macmillan, 1960.

believers; it is the believer's chore to constantly witness

Zein, Abdul Hamid el-. *The Sacred Meadows. A Structural*

(dhakir),

both because of the human propensity to forgetful-

Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town.

ness, but also because God has allowed Satan to entice

Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1974.

humans away (17:62–64).

Gerard Wiegers

The remembrance of Allah as a rite has a special place

in

Islam. The Qur'an says, “Those who believe, and whose

hearts find satisfaction in the remembrance of Allah; for

without doubt, in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find

DHIKR

satisfaction” (13:28). The remembrance of Allah is understood to embrace both

acts of service and kindness, and

Dhikr is a complex word variously translated as “remem-

failure to

do so curbs spiritual growth (83:9). At the same

brance” or “recollection.” The word dhikr was developed

time,

the Qur'an envisions dhikr of wider significance than

initially in the Qur'an to reflect a special kind of piety toward the formal

requirement of prayer, including devotions such as

Islam and the Muslim World

179

Dietary Laws

silent meditation and personal contemplation (24:37). Remem-

Hodgson,

Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam*. Chicago:

brance is also linked directly to accepting Allah's guidance, a

University of Chicago Press, 1974.

key initiative of God in human salvation, and failure to

Hoffman,

Valerie. *Sufism, Saints, and Mysticism in Modern*

remember leads to the withdrawal of God's grace (72:17). In

Egypt.

Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

short, "Remembrance of Allah is the greatest thing in life, Schimmel, Annemarie. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975. without doubt" (29:45). Hill: Schubel, Vernon. "The Muharram Majlis: The Role of a Dhikr in Mystical Islam or Sufism Ritual in the Preservation of Shi'a Identity." In *Muslim Sufis adhere to the Qur'an's words to "remember God" and Families in North America*. Edited by Earle H. Waugh, they do so in rituals both rich and variegated. Some Sufis Sharon M. Abu-Laban, and Regula B. Qureshi. Edmonton, Alberta, regard dhikr as the mystical equivalent of canonical prayer, Canada: University of Alberta Press, 1991. and wherever dhikr as liturgical remembrance has been prac- Waugh, Earle H. *The Munshidin of Egypt: Their World and Their Song*. ticed, it has generally been held to encompass the same pious Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, goals as prayer and to reflect the same ritual effectiveness. 1989.

The dhikr tradition, then, is a means of meditation on past verities and on the transcendent being of God, a base upon

Earle Waugh

which Sufism built a structure for probing higher consciousness, engaging with spiritual forces, and ultimately coming into a personal encounter with God.

DIETARY LAWS

Dhikr developed into a pious ritual very early in the growth of ascetic practices, and, with the establishment of the Islam's dietary laws are based on scripture, juridical opinions, orders, became specifically designed for brotherhood medi- and local custom; the latter, in turn, reflects the religious tations. It became the means to develop internal cohesion milieu of pre-Islamic Arabia. Foods are designated as lawful within the order, and for the head of the order to maintain (halal), unlawful (haram), and reprehensible (makruh). Gencontrol over the adepts. Dhikr thus evolved into part of the erally, all things, including foods, remain lawful unless proven discipline imposed by Sufism's institutional structure. While otherwise. The Qur'an rules that the flesh of swine is unlawful practice was open to those "on the Way," each order ful, as is carrion, blood, animals that have been strangled, required dhikr to be approved and carried out in the presence beaten to death, killed by a fall, gored to death, or savaged by of the shaykh or the order's other officials. other animals. Apostolic traditions render unlawful carnivorous animals, birds of prey, and most reptiles. The schools of Such teachings embraced the following notions: Dhikr law differ with

regard to some foods: For the Hanafites, could be either silent or spoken, reflecting the domains of crustaceans such as lobster, shrimp, crab, and the like are practice, that is, remembrance of the heart (dhikr khafi, or reprehensible, for the Malikites even reptiles are lawful, and dhikr al-qalbi) or remembrance of the tongue. Spoken dhikr is for the Shafiites meat products not consumed by the early ultimately overcome by silent dhikr, since words fail before Arab community are unlawful.

the grandeur of God, or they inevitably maintain the self separate from the source of all life. By the sixteenth century, The name of God must be invoked on all animals before slaughter, dhikr would encompass seven different levels of meaning, although some jurists waive this rule where the slaughterer according to some practitioners.

is Muslim. The trachea, and at least one carotid artery, must be severed with a sharp instrument to minimize pain and suffering. Game hunters need not follow these rules sentatives, is widely regarded as having spiritual potency, and if the name of God was invoked when their properly trained the vehicle of memory suggests that dhikr 's inspiration can be hunting animals were set loose. Also lawful is an animal killed by weapons carried beyond the atmosphere of the order into Muslim such as arrows, lances, and so on that when society itself, where it can effect change in unpredictable but launched—in the name of God—tear through flesh and cause bleeding.

Because no bleeding occurs when live ammunition is used, some jurists render the consumption of such animals See also Devotional Life; Ibadat; Tasawwuf. as unlawful.

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Animals

slaughtered by people of the book, that is, Jews and Christians, are lawful, although some jurists insist that Press, 1973. they too invoke only the name of God, and not that of Jesus, Hisham, Ibn. The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn or any other deity. More recently, and as a consequence of Ishaq's Kitab Sirat Rasul Allah. Translated by A. Guillaume. migrations to the West, a further distinction, particularly Karachi, Pakistan, and New York: Oxford University evident among Muslims in the United States, is made between animals Press, 2001. slaughtered by people of the book, termed

Disputation

halal, and those slaughtered by Muslims themselves, termed inspire
 their friends to dispute with you” (6:121) and “dispute
 dhabiha. not with
 the People of the Book” (29:46). Qur an 16:125
 associates disputing with proselytism or inviting unbelievers
 Intoxicants are unlawful, even in small quantities, and so to become
 Muslim: “Invite (humankind) to the way of your
 too are profits, salaries, or rentals obtained through commer- Lord with
 wisdom and kind words and dispute with them
 cial ventures involving intoxicants. Fresh grape and date juice (jadhilhum)
 in (a manner) which is less offensive.”
 cannot be consumed if left overnight in summer and after
 three days in winter. By analogy, chemical substances that By the
 ninth century, in Baghdad, Basra, and other centers
 impair the senses are also unlawful. of
 learning, disputation was recognized as a skill and an art
 that enhanced one’s scholarly status. The biographical dic-
 Meals must be consumed with the right hand, preferably
 tionaries mention accomplishment in the “science of disputawhile sitting, and
 God’s name must be invoked before and
 tion” (ilm al-jadal) or the rules of conduct in debate (adab alafter meals.
 Using utensils of gold and silver is reprehensible,
 jadal), alongside knowledge of law, theology, the Qur an,
 as is eating garlic or onion before prayer, and filling the belly
 hadith, and the grammar and lexicon of the Arabic language.
 more than two-thirds with food and drink. Some large fast-
 Although the earliest manuals of instruction in the art of
 food chains now cater to Islamic dietary requirements, and
 disputation no longer exist, the existence of such works as
 use a crescent in some places to indicate that halal meals
 early as the ninth century is attested by references that appear
 are served.
 in the tenth-century catalogue of Arabic works by Ibn al-
 See also Fatwa; Ijtihad; Madhhab; Mufti; Shari a. Nadim
 (Kitab al-fihrist).

Arabic theological texts from the ninth to eleventh centu-
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ries give evidence of the oral environment of debate and
 Cook, Michael. Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in argument in
 which claims were made, scripture was inter-
 Islamic Thought. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
 established, and ideas were advanced and
 bridge University Press, 2000.

criticized. Typical of these texts is the following pattern. An incipit
Qaradawi, Yusuf. *The Lawful and the Unlawful in Islam*. Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1994.
Mu tazilite theological school's claim that the Qur an, like all material things in the world, is created and not eternal—a
Muneer Goolam Fareed view that orthodox Muslims rejected. Next, the claim or
doctrine is broken down into constituent subsections of the argument. Often the contending positions of other schools of
DISPUTATION thought are stated. The text then proceeds to advance the
details of counterargument, followed by the teacher's reply to Disputation is the ritual practice of dialectical argument that
argument. A typical text reads: "If the interlocutor (alamong schools of thought. In early and medieval Islamic qa il) should ask such and
such, then the following should be societies, disputation is especially important in regard to the said to
him. . . ." The textual forms of these disputes are in elaboration of competing religious doctrines. Two Arabic reality
school texts that were dictated by a shaykh or teacher terms, jadal (and its more intensive form mujadala) and in his
home, at a madrasa, or in the corner or outer halls of a munazara designate dialectics or disputation with an oppo- mosque,
often to quite large gatherings of students. That the ment. A culture of disputation was well established in the same
problems were disputed over and over by succeeding Middle East prior to the rise of Islam, between and within the generations
of students and teachers, as was, for example, the Jewish and Christian communities and among philosophical claim that
the Qur an was created, or that the Qur an was a schools, such as the Peripatetics (Aristotelians), Stoics, miracle
that proved Muhammad's prophethood, indicates a Neoplatonists, Skeptics, Materialists, and others. Emblem- dynamic
conception of religious truth that always had to be atic of this dialectical form of scholarship in the Middle tested and
defended with strengthened arguments.
Eastern environment of nascent Islam are the writings of the Church Father, John of Damascus (d. 749). In a tractate This
very method of teaching invited disputes in the "Against the Saracens," written under Umayyad Islamic rule, lecture
halls, and both teachers and pupils often became John instructs Christians in the methods and the limits of
practitioners. At the simplest level, students would often be disputing with Muslims on matters of belief. given a
problem to dispute in practice session. Medieval annalistic historians like Abu Mansur ibn Tahrir al-Baghdadi

Engaging the opponent through argument is also well (d. 1037) describe how on many occasions the more advanced attested in the Qur'an. Humans are referred to "as the most students of a shaykh would go or be sent to the sessions of a disputatious (jadal) of things" (18:54). The verbal noun mujadala rival teacher to challenge the latter with counterarguments. and its active verb form, meaning disputing with an enemy, Other medieval observers of this form of teaching through occur twenty-seven times, in such phrases as "the Satans public debate commented upon how loud and contentious

Islam and the Muslim World

181

Dissimulation

they would often become, even late at night, disturbing the cultural practice of agreeing to disagree in disputation neighbors who were trying to sleep. The theologians Abu among contending religious communities that made civil Uthman Amr ibn al-Jahiz (d. 869) and Abu Hamid al- society possible in the Islamic Middle Ages. Ghazali (d. 1111) argued that common people who were not trained in the rules and discipline of disputation should not be See also Christianity and Islam; Kalam. allowed to debate religion and theology in public, because their lack of knowledge and skill often led to public disorder BIBLIOGRAPHY and raucousness. Mahdi, Muhsin. "Language and Logic in Classical Islam." In Logic in Classical Islamic Culture, edited by G. E. Grunebaum. The advanced cultural context for highly developed Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970. disputational skills were the evenings sponsored by local Miller, Lawrence. "The Development of Islamic Dialects and other patrons, in many cases bringing together tics." American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter 34 Sunni and Shi'ite religious spokesmen as well as representa- (1986): 24–27. tives of the Orthodox, Nestorian, and Monoophysite Chris- Moreen, V. B. "Shi'i–Jewish 'Debate' (munazara) in the Eighteenth tian communities, Rabbanite Jews, philosophers, poets, and Century." Journal of the American Oriental Society other intellectuals to debate whatever important issue of the Society 119, no. 4 (1999): 570–89. day interested the patron. In many cases, religious truth was framed as the problem and debated across confessional lines. Richard C. Martin In many cases, too, disputation over religious truth was conducted across disciplines. In one celebrated debate in the

year 932 in Baghdad, for instance, the grammarian Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi debated the logician Abu Bishr Matta. The logician DISSIMULATION See Taqiyya held that truth is determined in formal logic, not in natural language (which is the medium of the Qur'an). Al-Sirafi successfully argued that meaning is embedded in the language of the text itself, thus preserving the importance of the

DIVORCE

text of scripture, which in Islamic religious thought is more than propositional truth. In Islamic law, the husband has the exclusive right to talaq, termination of marriage. Talaq is defined as a unilateral act, Not every scholar appreciated or participated in public which takes legal effect by the husband's declaration. Neither disputations, especially across confessional lines. The literary grounds for divorce nor the wife's presence or consent are historian Abu Abdallah al-Humaydi (d. 1095) tells of a necessary, but the husband must pay his wife's mahr—translated certain Hanbali religious scholar who reported having atin English as "dower," this is the gift the bridegroom offers tended one such public disputation in eleventh-century the bride upon marriage—if he has not done so at the time of Baghdad. He complained that nonbelievers (kuffar) were marriage, and maintenance (nafaqa) during the idda period allowed to stand up and say that Muslims would not be (three menses after the declaration). allowed to argue using their Book (the Qur'an), but rather that all disputants would be restricted to rational argument. The wife, however, cannot be released from marriage When all present, including the other Muslims, agreed to the without her husband's consent, although she can buy her terms of the dispute, the Hanbali reported that he left and release by offering him compensation. This is referred to as never went back. "divorce by mutual consent" and can take two forms: In khul , the wife claims separation because of her extreme dislike In modern literary and anthropological terms it is possible (ikrah) of her husband, and there is no ceiling on the amount to see the phenomenon of jadal and munazara as a form of of compensation that she pays; in mubarat the dislike is mutual and poetics and social ritual. Taking the form of verbal conflict, the amount of compensation should not exceed the value of such practices occurred in the highly charged atmosphere of the mahr itself. competing religious communities living under Islamic rule in the central Islamic lands of the Middle East, especially during If the wife fails to secure her husband's consent, her only

the Abbasid Age (750–1258). Potentially dangerous and volatile conflicts were defined and framed, then regulated and compel the husband to pronounce talaq or to controlled by rules of conduct. A measure of how effective on his behalf. Known as faskh (recission), tafriq (separation), or tatliq (compulsory issue of divorce), this refused to dispute according to the rules took their concerns become the common juristic basis on which a to the streets of Baghdad in more physical and even violent obtain a court divorce in contemporary Muslim forms of conflict. Violence, however, was often outweighed facility with which a woman can obtain such a by the more civil forms of conflict. In no small measure it was the grounds on which she can do so vary in the

recourse
either to
pronounce it
outlet has
woman can
world. The
divorce and

182

Islam and the Muslim World Dome of the Rock

different schools of Islamic law and in different countries. The Maliki school is the most liberal and grants the widest grounds upon which a woman can initiate divorce proceedings. Among Muslim states where Islamic law is the basis of family law, women in Tunisia enjoy easiest access to divorce.

Dome of

See also Gender; Law; Marriage.

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Ziba Mir-Hosseini

DOMES OF THE ROCK

The Dome of the Rock (Ar. Qubbat al-Sakhra), a large octagonal building in Jerusalem commissioned by the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik in 692 C.E., is the earliest major monument of Islamic architecture to survive. Muslims today consider it the third holiest shrine in Islam, after the Kaaba in Mecca and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Its age and Cross-section Dome of the Rock diagram.

SOURCE:

its sanctity, along with its visibility and extraordinary decoration, make it a major monument of world architecture and one of the most important sites in Islam. writing down of the Qur'an. It ended with the name of the patron, the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik (replaced in the The Dome of the Rock is set over a rocky outcrop near the ninth century by that of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun), and center of the large esplanade known in Arabic as al-Haram al-sharif (the Noble Sanctuary), which was once the site of the Jewish Temple, the traditional religious center of Jerusalem. In form, materials, and decoration, the Dome of the Rock The building is a large low octagon divided internally by an belongs to the tradition of late Antique and Byzantine architecture into two octagonal ambulatories encircling a tall structure that flourished in the region before the coming of cylindrical space measuring approximately 20 meters (65 feet) in diameter. A high wooden dome, whose metal roof is Islam. The domed, centrally planned building was a typical form for a martyrion, and the Dome of the Rock is similar in plan and plated with gold, spans the central space and covers the rock. size of dome to the nearby Holy Sepulcher, the building (also raised over a rock) that the emperor Constantine had erected in the fourth century to mark the site of Christ's burial on Golgotha. Other Christian buildings erected in the area once entirely covered in a mosaic of small cubes of colored in the eighth century, notably the Church of the Nativity in and gold glass and semiprecious stones. In the sixteenth century the mosaics on the exterior were replaced with glazed mosaics, Bethlehem, show a similar use of marble and perhaps executed by the same team of mosaicists. tiles, themselves replaced in the twentieth century, but the mosaics on the interior stand much as they did when they Despite its antecedents and even its workmen, the Dome of the Rock were put up in the late seventh century. They depict a vast of the Rock is clearly a Muslim building, commissioned by a Muslim program of fantastic trees, plants, fruits, jewels, chalices, notably its patron for Muslim purposes. Its mosaic decoration, vases, and crowns. A long (about 250 meters, or 820 feet) inscriptions in Arabic and its lack of figural band of Arabic writing in gold on a blue ground runs along representation, immediately distinguishes it from contemporary Christian buildings in the area. It was not intended as a place for Qur'anic phrases and contains the earliest evidence for the

communal prayer; that function was fulfilled by the

Islam and the Muslim World

183

Dome of the Rock

Women praying in front of the Dome of the Rock, the third holiest shrine in Islam. The Dome of the Rock was built on the site where the Jewish Temple, Jerusalem's traditional Jewish center, stood before it was destroyed. Although it was built for Muslims, the decoration and architecture of the Dome of the Rock reflect Antique and Byzantine traditions that predate the arrival of Islam. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

nearby Aqsa Mosque. Rather its domed octagonal form as the site of Solomon's Temple, the inscriptions suggest that suggests a commemorative function, though its exact purpose the Dome of the Rock was meant to symbolize Islam as the is unclear. worthy successor to both Judaism and Christianity.

Already in the ninth century several alternative explanations for its construction were proposed. One author suggested that Abd al-Malik had commissioned the Dome of the Umayyads, restored it several times, and the Fatimids re-Rock to replace the Ka ba, which had fallen into enemy hands. This explanation, however, is simplistic and under the earthquake of 1016. The Crusaders considered it Solomines one of the five central tenets of Islam, though the mon's Temple itself and rechristened the building Templum building could have functioned (and does today) as a second-Domini. Saladin, the Ayyubid prince who recaptured Jerusalem for the pilgrimage. Another explanation, also current from the ninth century, associates the building with the site of part of his campaign to enhance the city's sanctity and Muhammad's mi raj, his miraculous night-journey from Mecca political importance. The Mamluks, rulers of Egypt and Syria to Jerusalem and back. However, the Qur anic inscriptions from 1250 to 1517, had the wooden ceilings of the ambulaaround the interior of the Dome of the Rock, the only tory and the central dome restored. The Ottoman sultan contemporary source for explaining the building's purpose, Suleyman (r. 1520–1566), whose name is the Turkish form of mention neither of these subjects. Rather, they deal with the Solomon, ordered the building redecorated as part of his nature of Islam and refute the tenets of Christianity. The

program of embellishing the holy cities of Islam. It was inscriptions suggest that the building was intended to advertise the presence of Islam. Together with the traditional become a popular icon of Islam, decorating watches and tea towels and replicated in miniature models made of mother-of-pearl and plastic. The first great monument of Islamic

184

Islam and the Muslim World

Du a

architecture, it has taken on a new life as the symbol of the philosopher Ibn Sina (d. 1037). Prominent later dream Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation. manuals include works written by al-Salimi (d. 1397), Ibn Shahin (d. 1468), and al-Nabulsi (d. 1730). Many Muslim See also Architecture; Holy Cities. dream manuals made heavy use of the Greco-Roman tradition of dream interpretation, to which access was had through

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the dream manual of Artemidorus, a Greek work composed Creswell, K. A. C. A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture in Asia Minor in the second century C.E. and translated into Arabic by the Christian physician Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 877). It Creswell, K. A. C. Early Muslim Architecture. 2d. ed. Oxford, would be hard to overemphasize the importance of dream U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1969. interpretation to medieval Muslims. Hundreds of dream Grabar, Oleg. The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem. manuals have been preserved, some in Arabic, others in Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996. Persian and Turkish. Johns, Jeremy, ed. Bayt al-Maqdis. Part II: Jerusalem and Early Islam. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000. Modern Muslims have been, not surprisingly, divided in their reception of dream interpretation. Some have cast it Nuseibeh, Said, and Grabar, Oleg. The Dome of the Rock. New York: Rizzoli, 1997. aside as superstitious nonsense, while others have sought to appropriate it through reinterpretation, suggesting that it Sheila S. Blair foreshadows the discoveries of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. Jonathan M. Bloom Yet others, especially Sufis and traditionalists, have shown little hesitation in proclaiming the continuing validity of this

ancient tradition.

DREAMS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Muslims throughout history have attached great importance to dreams. Portions of the Qur'an were believed to have been revealed to Muhammad in dreams. Muhammad was also
Katz,
Brill,

thought to have received numerous prophetic dreams. Moreover, dreams were considered the primary means by which God would communicate with Muslims following the death of Muhammad and the cessation of Qur'anic revelation.
John C. Lamoreaux,
Press,

Annemarie. *Die Träume des Kalifen*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998.

Indeed, according to tradition, on the day before his death Muhammad declared, "When I am gone, there shall remain naught of the glad-tidings of prophecy, except for true

John C. Lamoreaux
dreams."

Medieval Muslims cultivated numerous forms of literature on dreams. Accounts of dreams were collected to establish the sanctity of those who saw the dreams, a practice especially common among Sufis. Accounts of dreams were
DU A

contrast to the prescribed rituals of Islam, such as the daily also collected to resolve points of controversy, to determine the *du'a* is generally a spontaneous, unstructured, the proper reading and interpretation of the Qur'an, for conversation with God. There are, however, prescribed instance, or to resolve legal or theological debates. Especially important, in this regard, were dreams in which the propitious because of their scriptural origins.

prophet Muhammad appeared, because, according to tradition, Muhammad himself had declared, "Whoever sees me in a dream has seen me in truth, for Satan cannot imitate me in a dream." Also of great importance was the dream manual, a
Whereas form is essential

work that taught its readers how to interpret their dreams. conscientiously becomes a *du'a*. The *du'a* is the very essence
prescribed
every

Many Muslim dream manuals were associated with Ibn Sirin of worship

because it venerates God, celebrates His sublime (d. 728), the eponymous founder of the genre. While there is attributes, and puts trust in Him. Specific requests, however, little reason to think that Ibn Sirin was in fact the author of a are frowned upon: A du a is considered most auspicious when dream manual, it is certain that he was responsible for putting framed broadly to seek protection from evil, solicit the good into oral circulation much dream lore. of this world, and salvation in the afterlife.

Famous early dream manuals were written by the litterateur For the believer, supplications are always answered, but Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889), the historian al-Tabari (d. 923), and not in the form of a wish list. Human beings, it is said, lack the

Islam and the Muslim World

185

Du a

capacity to distinguish good from evil, and often solicit, and BIBLIOGRAPHY are denied, that which is essentially harmful to them. Ghazali, Muhammad al-. Remembrance and Prayer: The Way of the Prophet Muhammad. Translated by Y. T. DeLorenzo. Beltsville, Md.: Amana Publications, 1996.

A du a also serves as an incantation to ward off evil, or secure grace. A traveler, for instance, is encouraged to read: Nakamura, Kojiro. Invocations and Supplications: Book IX of the Revival of the Religious Sciences. Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic “In God’s name let its run be, and let its stopping be!” Texts Society, 1990.

See also Devotional Life; Ibadat.

Muneer Goolam Fareed

186

Islam and the Muslim World

E

EAST ASIA, ISLAM IN to

establish communities that have survived with many of their cultural and religious traditions intact down to this day. Islam has spread to all parts of East Asia, a region that features During the early part of the Ming period (1368–1644), the some of the world’s major centers of Islamic influence. emperor Yongle ordered Zheng He, a Muslim eunuch from China

Yunnan in southwest China, to lead a series of massive naval With a Muslim population conservatively estimated at twenty expeditions to explore the known world. In all, between 1405 million, China today has a larger Muslim population than and

1432, seven major expeditions were launched involving most of the Arab countries of the Middle East, and yet few hundred of Chinese vessels and thousands of tons of goods scholars have concentrated on this unique community lo- and
valuables to be traded throughout the southeast Asian cated at the far reaches of the Muslim world. Of China's fifty-archipelago, the Indian Ocean, and as far as the east coast of five officially recognized minority peoples (China's majority Africa. The success of these trading expeditions was no doubt ethnic group is known as Han Chinese), ten are primarily in
part due to Zheng He's religion and his ability to interact Muslim: the Hui, Uighur, Kazak, Dongxiang, Kirghiz, Salar, with
many of the Muslim rulers and merchants encountered Tajik, Uzbek, Bonan, and Tatar. The largest group, the Hui, along the way. However, shortly after the death of the Yongle are spread throughout the entire country, while the other emperor, China's cosmopolitan and international initiatives nine live primarily in the northwest. gave
way to a period of conservatism and the redirection of imperial resources toward domestic issues and projects. Dur- ing this
As a result of the extensive sea trade networks between period numerous laws were passed requiring "for- China and Southwest Asia dating back to Roman times, there eigners" to dress like Chinese, adopt Chinese surnames, have been Muslims in China since shortly after the advent of speak Chinese, and essentially in appearance become Chinese. Islam. Small communities of Muslim traders and merchants survived for centuries in cities along China's southeast coast, Despite these restrictions and requirements, the Muslims the most famous settlements being Canton and Quanzhou of
China continued to actively practice their faith and pass it (Zaitun in the Arabic sources). During the first several centu- on
to their descendants. By the end of the Ming dynasty there ries there was limited intermixing between the Muslim trad- were
enough Chinese Muslim intellectuals thoroughly eduers and the local Chinese population. It was not until the cated in the classical Confucian tradition that several scholars
thirteenth century with the establishment of the Mongolian developed a new Islamic literary genre: religious works on Yuan dynasty (1278–1368) that thousands of Muslims from Islam written in Chinese that incorporated the vocabulary of Central and Western Asia were both forcibly moved to China Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist thought. These texts, known by the Mongols as well as recruited by them to assist in their as
the Han Kitab, were not apologist treatises written to governance of their newly acquired territories. Although explain Islam to a non-Muslim Chinese audience, but were

some of the higher-ranking Muslim officials may have been rather a reflection of the degree to which the Muslims of able to arrange marriages with women from their places of China had become completely conversant in intellectual origin, it is generally assumed that most of the soldiers, traditions of the society in which they lived. Moreover, as officials, craftsmen, and farmers who settled in China during more and more Chinese Muslims lost their fluency in Arabic this early period married local women. Despite centuries of and Persian, it became clear that in order to insure that future intermarriage, the Muslims who arrived at this time were able generations of Muslims were able to have a sophisticated

East Asia, Islam in

return they started a movement to revitalize Islamic studies by translating the most important Islamic texts into Chinese and thus making them more accessible.

Despite the opportunities for travel and study that arose during this period, the Qing dynasty also represented a period of unparalleled violence against the Muslims of China. As reform movements led by Muslims who had studied overseas spread, conflicts arose between different communities. In several instances the government intervened, supporting one group against another, leading to an exacerbation of the conflict, outbreaks of mass violence and the eventual slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Muslims, and several rebellions.

In southwest China, it was the growing number of Han Chinese migrants moving into areas where Muslims had lived for centuries that led to violent conflicts. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, China experienced a massive population explosion resulting in millions of Han Chinese moving into the frontier regions. As more immigrants moved into Yunnan province along the southwest frontier, there were increasing clashes with the Hui who had settled there in the thirteenth century and whose population is estimated to have been one million. In a series of disputes between newly arrived Han migrants and Hui who had lived there for centuries, local Han Chinese officials (who themselves were not local residents), repeatedly decided to support their Small groups of merchant and artisan Muslims were present in fellow Han Chinese against the local residents. Fighting China just after the rise of Islam. This mosque in Linxia, Gansu escalated and eventually a Chinese Muslim leader led a Province, is topped with a pagoda-shaped minaret, an elegant example of how Chinese Muslims have combined two cultures. ©

rebellion and in 1856 established an independent Islamic state
 BOHEMIAN NOMAD PICTUREMAKERS/CORBIS
 centered in Dali, in northwest Yunnan. The state
 survived for almost sixteen years, and the Muslims worked
 closely together with other indigenous peoples. Eventually,
 however, the Chinese emperor ordered his troops to concentrate
 understanding of their faith, religious texts had to be written
 to destroy it. The massacres that ensued
 in Chinese.
 wiped out the majority of Muslims in Yunnan. Some fled to
 The linguistic challenges of transliterating Arabic and nearby
 Thailand, and their descendants still live there, while
 Persian religious terms and proper names into Chinese also others
 fled to Burma or neighboring provinces. Estimates of
 facilitated the blending of Chinese and Islamic principles as those
 killed range from 60 to 85 percent, and more than a
 century later, their population has still not recovered its
 Chinese Muslim authors sought to create new Chinese terms
 original number. Another consequence of the rebellion was a
 to replace Arabic and Persian ones. Several of these terms are
 series of government regulations severely restricting the lives
 striking in their ability to use traditional Chinese characters
 of Muslims.
 to reflect fundamental Islamic concepts: God is translated as
 zhen zhu, or “the true lord”; Islam is qingzhen jiao, or “the pure
 In the aftermath of the rebellions, the first priority of the
 and true religion”; the five pillars of Islam become the five
 survivors was to pool their resources, rebuild their mosques,
 constants, wu chang; and the prophet Muhammad is known as and open
 Islamic schools. Having lost most of their material
 zhi sheng, or “utmost sage.”
 possessions, they were clearly determined not to lose their
 religious legacy. This period saw renewed contact with other
 In 1644, the Qing dynasty was established, marking the
 centers of learning in the Muslim world and the establishment
 beginning of a period
 of unparalleled growth and expansion,
 ment of schools that concentrated equally on secular and
 both in terms of territory and population. Travel restrictions religious
 education.
 were lifted, and the Muslims of China were once again
 allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and study in the The
 collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911 was followed by
 major centers of learning in the Islamic world. During this a period
 of unrest and warlordism. After the rise of the
 period several Hui scholars studied abroad and upon their Guomindang
 and the Chinese Communist Party, a civil war

ensued, in which both parties sought the support of the China, which had much more extensive sea and land trading routes with nation's largest minority groups with promises of religious freedom and limited self-government. Many of the Muslims chose to support the Communists, and in the initial period of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1278–1368), Korea also fell under the control of the Mongol empire. As they had enjoyed a period of religious freedom. However, during a policy of recruiting tens of thousands of men from Central and Western Asia to help them in administering their newly acquired territory, it is probable that some of these Muslims ended up their religion outlawed; their religious leaders persecuted, serving in Korea, and that many of them settled imprisoned, and even killed; and their mosques defiled, if not there. However, it appears that over the centuries those who settled completely assimilated to Korean society and culture. destroyed. During this period all worship and religious education were forbidden, and even simple common utterances It was not until the modern period that Muslims returned to Korea. Beginning in the 1920s, thousands of Muslims escaped such as *insha allah* (God willing), or *al-hamdulillah* (thanks be ing the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia fled overland through to God) could cause Muslims to be punished. Despite the Korea, and many settled there before being forced to leave in danger, Muslims in many parts of China continued their the 1940s. The next group of Muslims who arrived were religious studies in secret. Turkish soldiers sent under United Nations auspices during In the years immediately following the Cultural Revolution the Korean War. Several soldiers settled in Korea, establishing, the Muslims of China lost no time in rebuilding their ing the first mosques in Seoul, Pusan, and Taegu. Today the devastated communities. Throughout China, Muslims began fledging community of Muslims living in Korea is made up of slowly to restore their religious institutions and revive their some converts, but primarily recent Muslim immigrants from religious activities. Their first priority was to rebuild their South Asia. damaged mosques thereby allowing communities to create a Japan

space in which they could once again pray together, but also Although Muslim traders had sailed the seas off the coast of so that the mosques could reassert their role as centers of Japan for centuries, there is no known evidence of any Islamic learning. Over the next two decades mosques through-Muslim communities settling in Japan until the early part of out most of the country organized classes for not only the twentieth century, when of the thousands of Muslims who children and young adults, but also for older people who had fled Russia in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, not had the opportunity to study their religion. Beginning in several hundred were granted asylum in Japan. Many were the late 1980s and continuing to the 1990s Islamic colleges settled in Kobe and Tokyo, which became the sites of Japan's have also been established throughout most of China.

first two mosques, built in 1935 and 1938. In the years leading up to the Second World War, the Japanese military govern- Within China, when asked how to explain the recent ment became increasingly interested in encouraging scholarresurgence in Islamic education, community members cite ship on Islam as part of its policy to portray itself as a two main reasons: a desire to rebuild that which was taken protector of Islam to the Muslim communities of China and from them, and the hope that a strong religious faith would southeast Asia. As Japan invaded neighboring countries unhelp protect Muslim communities from the myriad of social

der its "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere" campaign, it problems presently besetting China in this day and age of justified its actions in part as a plan to safeguard all of Asia rapid economic development. Chinese Muslims studying from Western imperialism, but also to protect Islam. overseas reiterate the need to equip themselves and their communities for their future in a state that seems to be At present there are an estimated 100,000 Muslims living ideologically adrift. in Japan, the overwhelming majority of which are immigrants from South Asia and Iran; only a few thousand are Korea Japanese who have converted. Scholarly research on the

In some respects, the history of Islam in Korea mirrors that of Middle East and Islam has developed tremendously since the China, but more as a faint reflection than as a comparable early 1980s, with several research centers at major universihistorical phenomenon. Little archaeological evidence has ties around the country. survived but it is commonly believed that some of the Muslim sea traders who regularly traveled to the southeast coast of See also East Asian Culture and Islam; South Asia,

China also made it as far as Korea. Arabic geographers note Islam in; Southeast Asia, Islam in. the existence of al-Sila, a country beyond China, and it is believed that this name is derived from the Korean dynasty Silla (668–935). Although there is some archaeological evidence of goods from Western and Central Asia being found the Muslims of Southwest China Remember the Massain ancient tombs in Korea, it is not known if they were cres of 1873.” *Traces: An International Journal of Comparabrought there directly or acquired by Korean traders in tive Cultural Theory* 1, no. 2 (2001): 293–329.

Islam and the Muslim World

189

East Asian Culture and Islam

During the Muslim holy month, Ramadan, a Chinese Muslim prays at Nijue Mosque in Beijing, which was built in 996. ANAT GIVON/AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Fletcher, Joseph. *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*. Aldershot, U.K.: Variorum, 1995. EAST ASIAN CULTURE AND ISLAM

Gladney, Dru. *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the Within the field of Islam in East Asia, the major develop- People’s Republic of China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991. ments and most lasting influences between Islam and the indigenous peoples have taken place in China, where Mus- Jaschok, Maria, and Jingjun, Shui. *A History of Women’s lims traders first settled in the early decades of the hijra*. This Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of their Own. Richearly interest in China as a destiny for Muslim travelers is mond, Surrey, U.K.: Curzon Press, 2000.

reflected in the famous hadith, “seek knowledge, even unto Leslie, Donald Daniel. *Islam in Traditional China: A Short China*.” Despite centuries of relative isolation from the rest of History to 1800. Canberra, Australia: Canberra College of the Islamic world, the Muslims in most regions of China have Advanced Education, 1986.

managed to sustain a continuous knowledge of the Islamic Lipman, Jonathan. *Familiar Strangers: A History of the Mus- sciences, Arabic, and Persian*. Given extended periods of lims in Northwest China. Seattle: University of Washington persecution combined with periods of intense government Press, 1997.

efforts to legislate adoption of Chinese cultural practices and Miyazi Kazuo. “Middle East Studies in Japan.” *Middle East norms,*

that Islam should have survived, let alone flourished,
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 is an extraordinary historical phenomenon. Although some
 Murata, Sachiko. *Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light: Wang Tai-yü's*
 scholars have attributed the survival of Muslim communities
 Great Learning of the Pure and Real and Liu Chih's Display- in China to
 their ability to adopt Chinese cultural traditions,
 ing the Concealment of the Real Realm. Albany: State Univer- when asked
 themselves, Chinese Muslims usually attribute
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 their survival to their strong faith and God's protection.
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 aftermath of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976),
 tional, 1996. a period of
 extreme political violence and chaos when Muslims together with other minority
 groups were persecuted,
 Jacqueline M. Armijo Muslim communities throughout China actively sought
 to

190

Islam and the Muslim World East Asian Culture and Islam

reclaim their religious identity and revive Islamic education. others in
 China, Arabic calligraphy is interspersed with carv-
 In addition to repairing and rebuilding mosques returned to ings and
 paintings of traditional Chinese images of flowers,
 them after the revolution, Muslim communities have also fruit,
 mythical animals, and Chinese calligraphy. The roofpooled their resources to
 build new mosques and Islamic tops are protected by small animal
 figures along the ridges of
 schools. These schools are filled with students of all ages, roof tiles,
 and the minarets take the form of pagodas. In
 including the elderly, who after decades of government con- addition,
 the Arabic calligraphy is a highly stylized form that
 trol are anxious to study Islam and Arabic. More recently a differs from
 region to region and reflects local calligraphic
 growing number of Chinese Muslims are pursuing advanced traditions
 that have evolved in relative isolation over centuries.
 Islamic studies at international Islamic centers of learning.
 However, in recent years, in part as a result from pressure
 Although there are now Muslims present in virtually every from outside
 funding sources and the growing number of
 region of China, there have undoubtedly been many commu- Chinese
 Muslims going overseas for the hajj and to study,
 nities that were either completely destroyed during govern- many
 communities have torn down these traditional mosques

ment military campaigns, or that simply assimilated to the and replaced them with ones believed to be more “authentic.”

point of dissolution. One interesting example of a community Over the past twenty years untold numbers of mosques dating back that came to the brink of complete assimilation, only to be centuries have been destroyed. Nevertheless, in some parts of revived for political reasons, was documented by an anthropologist in the early 1980s. In Quanzhou (known as Zaytun in movement among Chinese Muslims to protect their unique the Arabic sources), a city located along China’s southeast architectural traditions.

coast, a large clan existed whose members had so assimilated to local customs as to be completely indistinguishable from Local Celebrations the local Han Chinese. They took part in the full range of As there are Muslims communities in every part of China traditional religious practices, many of which had to do with with their own histories and local traditions it would be honoring one’s ancestors. They knew nothing of Islam, ate difficult to generalize about the ways in which Islamic practices, and drank alcohol. There was one slight difference tices have been influenced by other local Chinese traditions.

though: During the annual sacrifices made to one’s ancestors, However, by looking at local celebrations of Id al-Fitr and the Maulid when preparing food to offer ceremoniously to their ancestors, they would not include pork or alcohol. This tenuous gain some sense of the variety of ways in which these interconnection to their ancestors (Muslim traders and officials tions have developed. For example, in Yunnan province in southwest China, Muslim communities spread throughout the region. hijra) was called upon in 1981 when this extended family Many are direct descendants of Sayyid Ajall sought government recognition as one of the officially recognized minority groups. As they had the genealogical records official under the Mongol Yuan dynasty and settled in Yunnan to prove their descent from Muslims, they were able to at the end of the thirteenth century. Seven centuries later, change their status from Han Chinese to Hui (Chinese during the annual celebrations of Id al-Fitr, after communal Muslim).

prayers at the mosque, Muslims from different areas travel to Mosques and Calligraphy the site of Sayyid Ajall’s grave where special prayers are held.

Mosques and the calligraphy within them have also served as are readings from the Qur'an, then the tomb is an interesting barometer of the waxing and waning of traditional Chinese influences on the development of indigenous festival held once a year when Chinese go to the Chinese Islamic traditions. graves of their ancestors, sweep and clean the area and then make food offerings), and then the accomplishments of Sayyid Although no mosques dating back to the pre-Mongol retold. In conclusion, a special service is held to period have survived, it is assumed that mosques during this hundreds of thousands of Muslims killed during period reflected the architecture of the immigrant Muslims dynasty, and the hundreds killed more recently in who built them, as they were required to live in special this area during the Cultural Revolution. districts separate from the general population. By the Ming period in the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, how- In another region of Yunnan, a group of Muslim villages ever, there was significant pressure for Muslims to outwardly spread out over a vast plain have developed there a way of conform to Chinese traditions. The Huajue mosque in Xian, celebrating the birthday of the Prophet, which allows them to reassert which dates back to the Ming period and has survived down their ties to one another. Every year the Mawlid is celebrated to the present, is an exquisite example of how Chinese in the fall over a period of two months beginning Muslims were able to incorporate traditional Chinese motifs, with the end of the major harvests. Each village is assigned a weekend when decorative arts, and temple architectural styles into the structure and decoration of mosques. In this mosque, as in most celebration. Although the dates clearly are not connected

Islam and the Muslim World

191

East Asian Culture and Islam

In southwest China, Muslim women generally take part in communal prayer in mosques. The women's section is to one side, and demarcated by a half-length curtain. In central China there is a centuries-old tradition of women having their own separate mosques; while in northwest China, women do not usually take part in communal prayers in the mosques. JACQUELINE M. ARMIJO

with the Islamic calendar, their tradition allows them to share pray in the mosques with the men. According to Muslims in

their bounty with their neighboring Muslim communities other parts of China, these attitudes in the northwest toward and strengthen their networks. women are the result of the Muslims adopting local Chinese views, which are considered quite chauvinistic. In southwest China, Meanwhile, in northwest China, the decision of when to China, however, women play an active role within Muslim communities and are also widely credited with insuring the harvests, but rather by the desire to offer younger Muslims an alternative activity during the widely and elaborately celebrate the Prophet's birthday is influenced not by seasonal massacre that took place in the 1870s. In most mosques men brated Chinese New Year. In recent years local Muslim and women pray side by side with a half curtain dividing the religious leaders in Xian have considered scheduling celebra- prayer hall. Although over the centuries many Chinese Mustions of the Prophet's birthday to coincide with the festivities lim women adopted the custom of footbinding, historically surrounding the Chinese New Year. and down to the present, the Muslim community has not adopted the widespread practice of female infanticide.

The Role of Women

Another example of how local histories and traditions within In conclusion, although maintaining their religious beliefs the diverse communities of Muslims in China have evolved and practices over the centuries has been a continual chalover the centuries can be seen in the roles of women in lence, Muslims in China have always been confident of their different communities. In central China there is a long identities as both Muslims and Chinese. Although some tradition of active involvement by women in both Islamic Western scholars have presumed that these identities were education and religious leadership. Not only is there a long somehow inherently antagonistic if not mutually exclusive, history of women imams in this region, there is also a the survival of Islam in China belies these assumptions. tradition of separate women's mosques. In northwest China, Islamic and Chinese values have both proven to be suffi- however, women have tended not to play an active leadership ciently complementary and dynamic to allow for the flourishrole within Muslim communities, and usually they do not ing of Islam in China.

the mid-nineteenth century. These girls are taking part in after school Arabic and Islamic studies classes in a village in central Yunnan province. JACQUELINE M. ARMIJO

See also East Asia, Islam in.

Murata, Sachiko. Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light: Wang Tai-yü's Great Learning of the Pure and Real and Liu Chih's Displaying the Concealment of the Real Realm. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

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Islamic world and its development have often been

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examined

through its economic development and its relation-

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ship

with Christian Europe. This has been particularly true of

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The

Belgian medievalist, Henri Pirenne, proffered a pro-

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vocative theory about the end of the Rome Empire in the

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West and

the beginning of the Middle Ages. He asserted that

Advanced Education, 1986.

the

Middle Ages did not begin in 325, as his contemporaries

Islam and the Muslim World

193

Economy and Economic Institutions

would have it, but rather that they began after the Arab

conquest broke through the perimeter of the Mediterranean,

in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Arab incursion

destroyed the unity of the Roman Empire, fracturing its

political, economic, and cultural cohesiveness. Pirenne hypothesized that this

situation, along with the isolationism of

much of Europe, eventually led to feudalism in Europe and

the rise of Islamic civilization.

Agriculture in the Early Islamic World

Whether or not one agrees with Pirenne's views of the effect of Arab conquest on European society, it is undisputed that the expansion of the Islamic world had a profound impact on Muslim society. Most notable is its effect on agriculture, where new crops and techniques to enhance production were rapidly introduced from places as far east as Southeast Asia and Malaysia. Some of the new crops introduced during the early Islamic period included rice, sorghum, hard wheat, sugar cane, cotton, watermelons, eggplants, spinach, artichokes, sour oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, plantains, mangoes, and coconut palms. These crops, as well as changes in agricultural techniques, were not only significant in their impact on food production, but also in the role they played in fostering the development of industry, cities, and monetary business with Arabs. This etching depicts medieval European merchants doing business within the Muslim world. © BETTMAN/CORBIS

It is believed that after the rise and spread of Islam, many of the new crops were obtained from the fallen Sassanian Empire and the Indian subcontinent, where the new province of ground water to surface canals, but they were inadequate to meet the needs of the new crops. A new and more sophisticated system of irrigation was introduced during the early Islamic period that relied on ground water from wells, aquifers, and springs, augmenting older irrigation systems. Dams and cisterns were also used to store water for later use. Taken together, these systems allowed for the irrigation of land that had never before been used agriculturally, or extended the time that other lands could be kept under cultivation each year. In time, the new crops were also introduced into Europe by way of Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus. Unlike the Islamic world, where these new crops were quickly adapted to local culture and tastes, they were not rapidly developed in Europe. In a 1981 article on the "Medieval Green Revolution," Andrew M. Watson cites spinach as an example of this differential

industrialization. These developments fed on each other, for development. He states that spinach was one of the earliest as the population grew new importance was put on agricultural crops to be received into Europe, but although it was quickly cultural improvements in productivity. As towns increased in adopted throughout the Islamic world, it spread much more size there was continued pressure to expand the cultivation of slowly in Europe, along with sorghum, sour oranges, and new lands. As villages grew, they often gave rise to new cities. lemons. One reason given for this slowness to adopt new crops was the European peasantry's lack of skill and technical Industrialization, Trade, and Coinage knowledge about agriculture.

Industrialization, too, was an outgrowth of agricultural surplus in many parts of the Islamic world. The cities became the In contrast, the Islamic world saw extensive changes in place where much of the processing of the new crops occurred. One area of great importance was curred. This refining of agricultural goods involved drying, irrigation. Since many of the new crops came from regions of cooking, pickling, and milling of many crops. Watson states heavy rainfall, it is significant that they could be grown that this refining often led to further processing, as in the case successfully in the much drier environment of the Middle of sugar, which gave rise to the confectionery industry, and East. In Persia and the Nile Valley, long underground canals cotton, from which the textiles industry evolved. The cities

194

Islam and the Muslim World Economy and Economic Institutions

also became the marketplace, where people from the rural Even the marketplace was organized along ethnic and religious lines, as various kinds of goods and services were associated with particular groups and were made available in heart of local and, eventually, long distance trade. As the separate parts of the bazaar. Islamic world spread, the demand for its raw materials as well In addition, most residents of cities were organized into as finished goods increased. Consequently, trade between the corporations, termed *asnaf*, *naqabat*, or *tawafiq* in Arabic. Islamic world and many parts of Europe grew. As ports and These corporations were mainly professional guilds, but waterways became more important for transporting goods, while their social functions were on the whole broader than the cities that lay along waterways grew. There was also the

those of the European guilds, their economic power and their birth of a new class of urban intermediaries—merchants, control over their professions were less absolute than in their transporters, financiers, and warehouse owners.

Western counterparts, nor did the Muslim guilds encompass all urban craftsmen or merchants. The case of the Damascus This expansion in trade and commerce also led to a more guilds offers insights into how these institutions worked. The sophisticated monetary system. At the onset of the rise of Damascus guilds were rigidly organized and exclusive. They Islam, the use of various coins in different parts of the Islamic had a hierarchy of officers, the head of which was the shaykh, world was not uncommon. In fact, the Muslims inherited the who either inherited his position or was elected. In other circulation of metallic money from the Byzantines and Middle Eastern countries, however, the autonomy of the Sassanids who preceded them. The Byzantine state had used shaykh was not the case. For example, in Egypt guilds were an gold coinage, which constituted an imperial monopoly, whereas important mechanism for the government to collect taxes, the Sassanid empire used silver coinage. As the Islamic world and the shaykhs became accountable to the government for continued to expand, the need to secure an adequate supply of the actions of guild members as well as for their members' coinage grew more pressing. Initially, the Byzantine and taxes. In Turkey, guilds were very restrictive and Sassanid coins were used, but eventually a new, Islamic, that the number of people participating in a given coinage was introduced. There were two new coins: silver kept at a certain number.

payment of
mandated
trade be

(dirham) and gold (dinar). The introduction of these coins is referred to as the monetary reform of Abd al-Malik.

There

has been much debate by scholars as to the significance of guilds as well as their links to Islamic syndicates and Professor of Islamic history Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz has trade unions; however, there is little evidence that the crafts stated that the monetary reforms of the early Muslim world men's guilds had any influence on these later organizations.

go beyond these new coins. The caliphate assumed responsi-

Furthermore, there has been much speculation as to why the bility for the supply of currency, taking upon itself the dissolved. Some writers assert that the decline of the problems of finding precious metals for minting and the to do with the rigid structure of the organizations.

guilds

guilds had

distribution of coinage. Muslim coins have been found as far evidence seems to indicate that the dissolution of

However,

away as Scandinavia and Russia, suggesting that at least some

the guilds

particular the Ottoman Empire, turned to the importation of European consumer goods. This approach to trade fit well for agricultural use, many scholars have cited land with the mercantilist mentality of the Europeans, who were a major deterrent to productive agricultural development looking for export markets but did not care to reciprocate the development in the Middle East. Land is normally classified into three types in the Middle East: *raqaba*, which means ownership given rise to the belief, in many parts of the Middle East and land held by the state or ruler; *milk*, which refers to private ownership; or *waqf*, which is land whose revenues are in sales to foreigners should be discouraged. Nonetheless, the land tended for religious or charitable purposes. Of course, there was a complex system of land-holding arrangements in the Middle East became one of the lowest-duty (import tariff) region, but in general, during the period prior to the nineteenth century, much of the land was held by the state. The land was often worked by peasants who were heavily taxed. Later, as East became a net exporter to Europe, as supply chains were disrupted and Europe needed to provision its troops in much of the agricultural production became more profitable, land was transferred to private ownership, held in the region. large estates and, again, worked by peasant farmers.

The exception to this trade arrangement was found in Egypt. Under Muhammad Ali (r. 1805–1849), Egypt used land reforms took place that favored small farmers. The Egyptian Land Reform Law of 1952 served as a model for the region. The act redistributed land held by absentee landlords, large estates were broken up into small plots and parceled out to farmers who belonged to cooperatives. Although in most cases, Muhammad Ali's most successful venture was the land reform was hailed as a needed change, it has proven

development of the cotton trade. Egypt was able to produce a much higher quality cotton crop than Europeans. Consequently, beginning in 1821, Egyptian cotton exports rose productivity and hindered the use of mechanization in the from 100,000 to 50 million pounds by 1850. Cotton exports period.

continued to surge into the 1860s, as the American Civil War significantly halted production in the United States.

Industrialization

Industrialization also experienced a number of ups and downs

The focus on cotton in Egypt should not be surprising, as

Before the late nineteenth century, the Middle

agricultural production has played an important role through-

boasted of a thriving handicraft industry. However, the

out the Middle East. Yet, most of the land in the region is less

of local handicrafts declined with the introduction well suited to agricultural

development. There is a lack of European and Indian goods on the

Middle Eastern

of rain throughout the region and the few existing waterways

There was also a perception, particularly among the

are heavily drawn upon, a scarcity that continues to be a

upper classes, that local goods were inferior to

source of great tension throughout the area. Consequently,

goods, and this attitude helped seal the fate of

the crops that have dominated agricultural production have

in the region. Meanwhile, the development of

been those that are less irrigation intensive, such as cereals,

industrialization in the region was slowed by unfavorable

with the limited introduction of silk production in the late

treaties, which did not support export markets.

nineteenth century in Lebanon, coffee production in Yemen,

also a lack of capital for industrial development, as

and cash crops such as dates, nuts, and fruits in the better-

governments that lacked the foresight to foster local

watered parts of Arabia and North Africa.

entrepreneurs.

Turkey under the Ottoman Empire began producing

the First World War was important for setting

tobacco in the seventeenth century. As with cotton, the

for industrialization. The rise of nationalism, cou-

American Civil War was a factor in the growth of the Turkish

the realization that European instability could

tobacco industry, as the plantations of the American South

with its ability to provide necessary imports for

over time

system of

modern

in the region.

East

production

market.

middle and

European

handicrafts

commercial

There was

well as

Yet, again,

the stage

pled with

interfere

ceased production and demand for the commodity from the Middle East, led to widespread industrialization other sources increased significantly. Turkey's tobacco projects. With the abolition of trade agreements that favored Europe, a duction rose from an estimated 10,000–13,000 tons in the further incentive for industrialization was created. 1870s to 31,000 tons in 1900, and 64,000 tons in 1911. Industrialization continued to be important through the Tobacco remains an important export for Turkey today. Second World War, for now the countries of the Middle East

196

Islam and the Muslim World Economy and Economic Institutions

not only had to provide for themselves, but some of them also loans, governments within the region began experimenting had taken on commitments to supply the Allies. with many alternative economic paradigms.

Because of Egypt's ambitious development initiatives in The cold war policies of the West concentrated on modthe 1800s, foreign investment came to play a significant role. ernizing the Third World through economic development.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the dissolution of In Europe, the Marshall Plan provided the capital it needed to rapidly rebuild and develop; consequently, it was believed that an traders, and the second half saw the emergence of private and be similarly incorporated banks. Along with these banks came large accu- aid with an effective if applied to the Third World. Foreign the region. mulation of debt by many governments in the region. More- president emphasis on industrialization began to pour into the United over, much of the money that was borrowed was poorly winning Egypt under Jamal Abd al-Nasser (1918–1970, president the cases of Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, and Turkey, this debt the United States and its allies off against the Soviet Union, winning eventually led to foreign occupation. By 1914, the countries capital and investment from both sources. In 1952, of the Middle East had a total debt of about \$2 billion, or seizing nearly one-twentieth of the total world debt, of which a little capitalism Jamal Abd al-Nasser had led a military coup, power of Egypt. Under his leadership, monopolistic public debt of about \$250 million and a much larger amount

came to the forefront as the institutional structure of foreign investment in the private sector. Although foreign of the economy. He nationalized a number of industries, occupation ultimately led to much political turmoil in the including the Suez Canal Company, and carried out radical region, it has been attributed initially to better debt manage- land reforms. Much of the logic for restructuring the econment and investment strategies. omy was not only to create an equitable distribution of resources within Egypt, but also to offset the damage done by The First World War through the Cold War decades of colonial policies, which left Egypt with little to no The two world wars were important events in terms of their indigenous business community. Moreover, Nasser saw the impact on the Middle East. The First World War destroyed need to generate resources to fuel his hopes of economic the old colonial trading system and allowed the region to expansion. Such resources were unavailable in the private regain both political and economic independence. This took sector, but the government was receiving much foreign aid the form of new trade treaties that were aimed at creating during the 1950s and 1960s. Nasser adopted a foreign policy fairer and more appropriate commercial arrangements. The of nonalignment, courting both the United States and Soviet special agreements that had given foreigners extraterritorial Union without offering full allegiance to either. rights and sheltered them from local laws and taxation were abolished. Subsequently, the period between the two world The dilemma for many of the countries in the Middle East, wars found the Europeans preoccupied with domestic prob- East, however, was that they were essentially rural, agrarian societies, lems and postwar reconstruction, minimizing their influence ill equipped in terms of human capital to absorb the and interference in the region. The Second World War was foreign aid that was being given to them. This situation led to even more significant, for it enabled the creation of a new economic policies that favored the development of urban centers at agenda for the Middle East as political and economic power the expense of the countryside. This phenomenon, continued to move from the hands of foreigners to the hands known in development literature as “urban bias,” led to much of the endogenous class. migration of laborers from rural areas to the urban centers, and this influx of prospective workers often outpaced indus- As foreign nationals lost economic and political control in trialization. Consequently, many countries in the region saw many of the countries of the Middle East, a massive exodus of the rapid

growth of urban poverty, as the cities attracted vast numbers of Europeans took place. This exodus created a vacuum in the underemployed or unemployed citizens for whom no jobs upper tiers of the labor market as many of the foreigners had could be found. positioned themselves not only in roles as traders and financiers, but as entrepreneurs and managers as well. This vacuum caused the endogenous governments of these states to Although the region boasted some of the world's largest known oil take on increasingly active roles within their own economies. reserves even during the middle of the twentieth century, it In spite of the fact that many of these states began espousing wasn't until the 1970s that the governments of the Middle socialism, the period of the 1950s was really marked as the fact, oil was relatively insignificant to the foreign aid and development policies of the region throughout the 1950s and associated with the private sector. While the Soviet Union 1960s. When the 1973 Arab-Israeli War broke out, however, and the West, led by the United States, attempted to win Arab petroleum-producing countries took measures in the region through the distribution of foreign aid and measures to pressure Western powers in favor of the Arab cause.

Islam and the Muslim World

197

Economy and Economic Institutions

First they introduced restrictions on the sale of oil to certain the peak year of 1993, only 0.3 percent trickled to Arab markets. states that supported Israel. Second, they cut back on oil production. Yet, this region continues to be rich in both human and natural resources. By the end of December 1973, they had reduced the production of oil by 25 percent of its earlier levels. The world's population, with a wealth of highly-skilled workers and a GDP of price of oil increased as a result. On 16 October 1973, the ministerial committee representing the six Gulf countries, which are members of the Organization of Petroleum Ex- The late 1980s, however, was a sobering period for the Middle East. porting Countries (OPEC), decided to further increase the An increase in the world supply of oil caused prices to price of oil by 70 percent. Coupled with the oil embargo, the plummet at the same time as financial aid from the Gulf and price was later pushed up to \$11.56 per barrel. These events,

abroad came to a halt. Since 1986, real per-capita although politically motivated, substantially fueled the economies have fallen by 2 percent per year. The oil producers' incomes have been hit even harder with the per-capita fall in oil output of 4 percent per year between 1980 and 1991. These events caused the Arab world to rethink its stance on two major fronts: the structure of their economies and the state of war in the Gulf States required large numbers of migrant workers with many nationalities. Much of Saudi Arabia's initial needs were in construction, where high levels of unskilled and semiskilled workers were needed. Many of its neighbor states of liberalization in the region was in response to the continuing large numbers of unskilled or semiskilled workers in need of jobs. They constituted a large available labor force with easy access to the Saudi Arabian labor markets, and they flooded into the country. The end of violence between Arabs and Israelis has been seen as paramount to the economic stability and liberalization of the region, This situation, coupled with higher wage rates in Saudi Arabia relative to labor-rich states, led to a massive labor first erupted with the proclamation of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948 on migration from Egypt, Yemen, and Jordan (mainly Palestinians) to Saudi Arabia and other, similarly well-off Gulf States. This migration would climax and then halt abruptly with the Israel have cost the region much in terms of human and capital Gulf War of 1990. It has been estimated that, in 1975, the there resources. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, appeared to be a consensus in the Arab world that Israel Arabia alone had a labor requirement of 1,968,000 in 1975, was there to stay and that stagnating economies and poverty but its national work force numbered only 1,300,000. Although in the region were more pressing concerns. For the Israelis, it is difficult to know how reliable these figures are, they do the need for security was tempered with the realization that illustrate the great need for laborers in the Gulf region. the threat of hostilities could only be diminished by compromising with its neighbors. The Arabs, on the other hand,

Middle Eastern oil reserves and the revenues they generate have divided the region into two groups of countries: oil rich/labor scarce and oil poor/labor abundant. Although occupied by Palestinians. What these aspirations these countries have not integrated into one system, they translated into was a land-for-peace settlement. have benefited greatly from their proximity to each other. The oil-rich countries have relied heavily since the early of 1979, Israel and Egypt signed a peace agreement that included the return of the Sinai to Egypt. On 13 September 1993, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization signed a Declaration of Principles. It set the ground rules for the transfer of authority of the Gaza Strip and West Bank Palestinian areas to a Palestinian authority. From 1960 to 1985, the Middle East Bank outperformed all other regions of the world except East Asia. On 26 October 1994, Jordan and Israel also signed a peace accord. in income growth. During the mid 1990s there was much discussion of what was to be the The Middle East witnessed much change in the 1980s and peace dividend: the reallocation of resources away from 1990s. Political instability, coupled with too much government control and regulation, caused much of the internal the region's economies. Peace was also associated with an opening of tional financial and business community to shun this region political and economic systems that had been and to invest their capital in the emerging superstars of been due to overcontrolled by governments, a situation that initially had Southeast Asia. Fund managers estimated that out of a total of the lack of an endogenous entrepreneurial class and then \$65 billion of capital that floated into emerging markets in later continued in response to the region's chronic

198

Islam and the Muslim World Economy and Economic Institutions

Oil reserves and production in the Muslim World, early 1990s

The percentage of world oil reserves

Oil production in 1,000's of barrels per day in 1993

Algeria	0.92%	
	Algeria	750
Azerbaijan	0.13%	
	Azerbaijan	240
Brunei	0.14%	
	Brunei	165
Egypt	0.62%	
	Egypt	880
Indonesia	0.58%	
	Indonesia	1,323
Iran	9.30%	
	Iran	3,540
Iraq	10.01%	
	Iraq	436
Kazakhstan	8.56%	
	Kazakhstan	540
Kuwait	9.66%	
	Kuwait	1,873
Libya	2.28%	
	Libya	1,367
Malaysia	0.37%	
	Malaysia	649
Nigeria	1.79%	
	Nigeria	1,896
Oman	0.45%	
	Oman	775
Qatar	0.37%	
	Qatar	428
Saudi Arabia		
26.06%	Saudi Arabia	8,161
Syria	0.17%	
	Syria	531
UAE	9.82%	
	UAE	2,189
Yemen	0.40%	
	Yemen	450

82%

Small oil producers		Members of OPEC	
Albania	Tajikistan	Algeria	Libya
Bahrain	Tunisia	Indonesia	Nigeria
Kyrgyzstan	Turkey	Iran	Qatar
18%	Pakistan	Turkmenistan	Iraq
	Saudi Arabia		
Sudan	Uzbekistan	Kuwait	
Percentage of world	The rest of the world		

crude oil reserves
under Muslim states

SOURCE: Robinson, Francis, ed. The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Oil reserves and production in the early 1990s.

state of war. There was also a realization that small states such as Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, and the Palestinian territories had international market. The opening of stock exchanges in the much to gain from regional coordination.

region, coupled with the rapid pace in which legislation for privatization and liberalization were being passed in the Emerging Markets

Middle East, augured well for this first factor of emergence.

As the mid-1990s ushered in an era of tremendous economic growth in the West, many investors were looking to the

Israel, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Bahrain, and Jordan

Middle East as an emerging financial market for investments. were

developing active stock exchanges. Lebanon's stock

The first important variable for identifying an emerging

exchange reopened in September 1995 after having been

high-growth market is a government that is willing to change

closed during its civil war. However, even during the war

Islam and the Muslim World

199

Economy and Economic Institutions

years, the lack of a stock exchange had not kept Lebanon from government
of Egypt. The IMF provided \$342 million.

issuing foreign currency debt as a means of tapping interna- Egypt was

then able to reschedule its debt payments with the

tional markets. Moreover, the drive to encourage foreign Paris Club

(a group of creditor countries that treat in a

investment had led many Middle East nations to seek inde-

coordinated way the debt due to them by developing counpendent credit ratings

by recognized agencies. Moody's Invest- tries). This IMF agreement,

however, was never fully impleors Service set up an office in Cyprus in March

of 1995 to mented, due to concerns about the slow pace with which

the

keep an eye on this region, and the European rating agency Egyptians

were conducting reforms.

IBCA was involved in a joint venture to set up a rating agency

in the Arab world.

Reducing

deficits. Many of these countries were also taking

steps to reduce their budget deficits. Egypt, Jordan, Morocco,

Privatization in the form of government assets being sold and Tunisia were all seen as initial success stories in reducing to other actors, such as individuals or corporations, was also their deficits. Most of the reduction was achieved by eliminattaking place throughout the region. Economic policies were ing food subsidies, raising energy prices to market rates, liberalized in order to expand the economic freedom of the instituting sales taxes, financing the deficit through Treasury private sector as well as encourage foreign investment. For bill auctions, and reducing the ranks of government workers. One of the most of these countries, and particularly Egypt and Jordan, biggest problems Egypt and its neighbors faced was the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank was undoing the excessive level of bureaucratic control over were active in assisting them to meet their goals. the economy that had been put in place during past regimes. Although they had begun to liberalize many of the invest- The second factor for determining whether a regional or ment laws, change was slow. They were also slow selling off national economy is about to take off is the local willingness government enterprises. The public sector represented 70 to remove the maladaptive conditions that had caused that percent of industrial production in the early 1990s in Egypt. country or region to be uncompetitive in the past. The In 1993, the 314 public sector enterprises were organized into political instability caused by the state of war with Israel since seventeen holding companies, which are permitted to sell, the 1950s has been the principal inhibiting factor for ecolease, or liquidate company assets and sell governmentnomic development for this region. The confrontational owned shares. relationship that the Arab world has had with Israel since the latter's creation not only cost much human capital, but also Jordan. Jordan has been one of the most promising emerging much time and resources that could have been used to build markets in the Middle East. It vigorously implemented a their economies. Consequently, peace with Israel was seen as structural adjustment plan in the late 1980s, even in spite of a step in allowing a very well endowed region to start geographical location that has made it very vulnerable to operating more efficiently. regional political instability. Jordan is estimated to have a Privitazation and liberalization policies. Most of the North population of 4.2 million, of which an estimated 60 percent is African and Levantine countries now embarked on ambitious Palestinian. The Palestinians first came to Jordan in 1948, economic reforms. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak (b. when the

creation of Israel triggered their subsequent exodus (1928) delivered a May Day 1990 speech calling for economic reform from Palestine. Each time the Israelis and Arabs had a military confrontation, Jordan experienced an echo effect from credit agreement with the International Monetary Fund in Palestine, the most notable of which occurred in 1967. 1991. These events were intended to signal to Egyptians as Jordan also served as the gateway for hundreds of thousands of well as the international business community that Egypt was of refugees fleeing Iraq and Kuwait during the Gulf crisis of serious about reforming and restructuring its economy. There 1990. In fact, it is estimated that as many as 300,000 returnees from are many groups that have vested interests in the reform from Kuwait emerged on the Jordanian labor market in 1990. process in Egypt, including local labor unions, business All these events have taken their toll on the Jordanian economy. groups, nongovernmental organizations, international donors, and government officials. Unlike Egypt, Jordan has always been viewed as being a free market economy. Yet, it has a substantial public sector, The countries of North Africa, particularly Morocco and with the government actively controlling 62 percent of the economy Tunisia, also embarked on ambitious privatization and because and being the largest employer. This is mainly liberalization schemes. Much of the reform in Egypt as well as Jordan has long been a rentier economy, one that collects in other countries in the region centered around trimming rents rather than generating its income from domestic the public sector by cutting price subsidies on energy, food, and agricultural production. The rents that Jordan has survived on have been in and transportation, along with ending government control of the form of foreign aid and remittances from certain sectors of the economy as a means of encouraging Jordanians/Palestinians working abroad. Much of this revenue private investment. The IMF had been the primary force in revenue was generated in the oil-producing countries of the Middle calling for reforms in most of these countries. In May 1987, a East. In fact, Jordan has been termed an oil economy without standby agreement was reached between the IMF and the oil. This situation was acceptable during the 1970s

200

Islam and the Muslim World Economy and Economic Institutions

and early 1980s, when the oil industry was booming. However, fell on comparatively hard times. Several of the countries,

ever, as oil prices plummeted so did the Jordanian economy. notably
 Saudi Arabia, had ratcheted up government spending
 This situation has led to a restructuring of the Jordanian and import
 purchases so that, when oil revenues fell sharply,
 economy and a peace settlement with Israel. the country
 began running chronic balance-of-payments
 deficits. Government budgets also began to run into the red.
 Syria. Syrian economic policies since the late 1980s represent These events
 have caused many of these states to attempt to
 an attempt to liberalize and privatize the economy while still
 diversify their economies, with Bahrain endeavoring to bemaintaining government
 control. In 1988, Syria began decome the financial capital of the Middle East.
 However, these
 regulating its economy and coming to terms with the fact that
 states remain driven by oil markets, and there is little eviits diversified
 economy was faltering as a result of excessive
 dence that their attempts to diversify have been successful.
 government control. A currency that had been ridiculously
 overvalued was devalued by 70 percent. Land that had been By the
 late 1990s and early part of the twenty-first cenheld by the ministry of
 agriculture was now freed up for tury, the Middle East again entered
 into a new era. The
 private sector use. A group of twelve Syrian entrepreneurs economic
 pragmatism of the 1990s has given way to politics.
 formed an agricultural investment company to work 5,000 The lack of
 real changes in the underlying factors affecting
 hectares of farmland in the Euphrates valley. There were also economic
 development has bred despair. Many of the counchanges in the law to promote
 private sector growth; how- tries that were liberalizing and
 privatizing their economies
 ever, the state has continued to play a significant role in have fallen
 victim to a world financial bubble that rose and
 overseeing and conducting much of what are supposed to be then burst.
 Financial markets around the world suffered;
 private sector initiatives.
 however, those in less stable regions such as the Middle East,
 Syria's economy has improved since 1990. From 1990 to are hardest
 pressed. The peace dividend with Israel, too, did
 1993, its GDP grew at 8 percent annually. Much of this has not
 materialize. Meanwhile, foreign aid in the post-cold war
 been due to the quadrupling of oil production, record har- era has not
 been forthcoming.
 vests for the agricultural sector, and significant foreign aid
 Although oil prices have risen, the Gulf countries are
 from the Gulf as a reward for Syrian support and participamore cynical about
 sharing with their neighbors in the post-
 tion in the Gulf war coalition. This aid has been used largely

Gulf War era. As many of these countries reach out to the
to rebuild and repair Syria's infrastructure. The private sector
World Bank and the IMF for financing, the economic austeris also expanding in
an environment of liberal investment
ity measures demanded by these institutions seem unbearable, particularly in
the area of agriculture and industry. Yet,
able, given the rise of poverty throughout the region. The
there has been a general reluctance by many foreign investors
lack of stability, coupled with a post-11 September 2001
to get involved in Syria, for the government is still in control
of many of the major sectors such as oil, electricity, and realization
by the West of the impact that radical Islamic
banking. Consequently, most business opportunities in Syria groups can
have has left the citizens and economies of these
presently are for exporting to the private sector in areas such regions
feeling abandoned. Consequently, the economies of
as agricultural equipment and inputs as well as capital goods this region
remain heavily guided by the state, with a private
for industrial projects, food processing, and textiles. sector
attempting to operate in a state of uncertainty.

Privatization and liberalization have been slow in Syria for See also
Capitalism; Coinage; Riba; Waqf.

a number of reasons. First, this is a regime that has long had a
socialist orientation and favors central control. Second, the BIBLIOGRAPHY
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globalization, there is a general reluctance to disturb the Atlantic
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present balance of power.

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Oil Dependency kets?"

In North Africa in Transition: Socio-Economic and
Despite the wealth accumulated by the Gulf States, the oil Political
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late 1980s, when the fluctuation of oil Cook, M. A. Studies in the
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prices made for a very unpredictable revenue base. Of course, Oxford,
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Islam and the Muslim World

201

Education

Fischer, Stanley; Rodrik, Dani; and Tuma, Elias. The Economic companions), commentaries on the Qur'an and hadith, and books from a variety of different fields of intellectual endeavor. The

Gerner, Deborah J., ed. Understanding the Contemporary Middle East. The Islamic tradition is thus very much a textual one.

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Hershlag, Z.Y. Introduction to the Modern Economic History of

Like most things in the Islamic tradition, the centrality of the Middle East. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

learning finds expression in sayings (ahadith, sing. hadith)

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1800–1914. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

instructing his followers: "Seek knowledge, even in China."

Issawi, Charles. An Economic History of the Middle East and That injunction applies with special force, of course, to

North Africa. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. scholars, but it is directed in a more general way at all

Mehmet, Ozay. Westernizing the Third World. London: Muslims, who need at least rudimentary instruction in those

Routledge, 1995. demands which the shari'a, Islamic law, placed upon their

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Moreover, Muslims typically viewed the process of

New York: Harcourt, 1937. transmitting

knowledge and texts—or at least knowledge and

Pridham, B. R. The Arab Gulf and the Arab World. Exeter, texts of a religious nature—as itself a form of worship. And so,

U.K.: University of Exeter, 1988. for example,

one was not supposed to commence reading the Qur'an, or participating in a class on a religious topic, without performing ritual ablutions similar to those which are to precede prayer.

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thirteenth-century treatise on instruction and study by Burhan Richards, Alan, and Waterbury, John. *A Political Economy of al-Din al-Zarnuji* would stress the importance of education to the Middle East. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1990.

a pious Muslim life, and conclude that “learning is prescribed for us all.” It is of course impossible to estimate with any degree of certainty the number of individuals in premodern societies who were educated or literate, and it may even be difficult to be precise about what it meant to be “educated” or “literate.” Nonetheless, it is almost certain that premodern Islamic societies achieved (at least in comparison to premodern European societies) relatively high levels of literacy and of familiarity with the texts in which knowledge was embedded. Inevitably education was largely a concern of men, but the biographical sources available for the reconstruction of the social history of many premodern Islamic societies demonstrate that girls often received some level of education and religious training, and that many became recognized scholars in their own right.

Economic and Social History, Edited by A. L. Udovitch. Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1981.

“knowledge” that Muslims are to seek is known in Arabic as *ilm* (pl. *ulum*). The word can mean knowledge of

Nora Ann Colton almost any sort. In more traditional contexts, however, it refers specifically to knowledge acquired through some course of study, and especially in fields of intellectual endeavor that we would now label “religious.” In this narrower sense, it constitutes the foundation of the authority of the group known by the etymologically related term ulema (sing. alim), Islam, like Christianity and Judaism, is a “religion of the literally “those who know.” The ulema are those scholars who “book”—a religion, that is, which derives its authority from a are involved in the transmission of the religious sciences. In revealed scripture. The Qur’an does not stand alone, how- premodern Islamic societies, they included men who functioned; it is supplemented by a wide array of other texts of a tioned in those positions for which training in the religious religious nature, such as collections of hadith (stories about sciences was required—the judge (qadi) who ruled according the words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad and his to Islamic law, the professor (mudarris) who transmitted

202

Islam and the Muslim World Education

religious learning to a rising generation of scholars, the maktab or kuttub, often attached to a mosque. The emphasis at preacher (khatib) who delivered sermons in mosques, and so on. this level was on the rote memorization of the Qur’an, the foundation without which more advanced education was The ulema were not, however, a clergy (a group of people impossible. Kuttabs developed within the first century or so of set aside by an act of consecration). Consequently, their social Islamic history, and have in many places continued to function origins and status varied widely. Virtually anyone could be tion down into modern times, sometimes in competition with considered one of the ulema if he or she had acquired schools offering a more modern curriculum. sufficient learning and the social respect that came with it. Collectively, however, they constituted perhaps the most Once the Qur’an was memorized, some students would important indigenous group in most traditional Islamic so- proceed to more advanced training in various subjects. Those cieties, and so were sometimes identified as the “heirs of the subjects included the study of hadith, tafsir (Qur’anic exegesis)—that is, as the inheritors (in the absence of the sis), and especially fiqh (jurisprudence), although the bounda- Prophet) of religious authority, the arbiters of the religious ries between

them were not always sharp. In many ways, tradition. Virtually all premodern Islamic societies have left a jurisprudence was the most important of the religious record of the respect in which the ulema were held. So, for example, because of the centrality of Islamic law in guiding not only the social and political behavior of the medieval sources are full of accounts of scholars who had committed to memory thousands of hadiths and other texts.

In many respects the distinction between that which is “secular” and that which is “sacred” is meaningless in the involved much more. Two things in particular stand out.

Islamic tradition. Nonetheless, Muslims came to distinguish higher education trained the student to participate, as broadly between those subjects and disciplines that they inherited from pre-Islamic civilizations, such as philosophy, on those texts—in essence, it trained the student to engage in a “conversation” or “discourse” that constituted the essence of intellectual life for the ulema.

This and the religious tradition that stemmed from it. The former “conversation” was quite vigorous, and the ulema of the early were referred to as the “sciences of the ancients” (al-ulum al-qadima) or the “rational sciences” (al-ulum al-aqliyya). For many centuries, these sciences flourished in the Islamic world: process of socialization, in which the student gradually acquires such as that of the great physician and philosopher Ibn al-Haytham required status in the eyes of other scholars.

In the absence of Sina (d. 1037), known to the West as Avicenna, and the consecrated priesthood or formal degree system, this Spanish philosopher, theologian, and natural scientist Ibn al-Rushd (d. 1198), known as Averroes, are sufficient to demonstrate that. Clearly the processes by which the knowledge close personal as well as intellectual relations they had mastered was transmitted to subsequent generations formed a part of the educational world of classical and

any element of So a developing with them.

medieval Islam. In some cases, education in these sciences For the
 first several centuries of Islamic history, the transmission
 was supported by institutions, the most famous of which was
 of the religious sciences at an advanced level took
 the Bayt al-Hikma, or "House of Wisdom," established by offer
 place in an entirely informal fashion. Scholars would settings
 the caliph al-Ma mun in Baghdad in the ninth century, and ilm.
 classes in mosques, or in private homes. Such informal
 devoted to the translation and transmission of Greek scien-
 never ceased to be important to the transmission of ilm.
 tific and philosophical works, and a similar institution estab-
 Beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, howlshed by the Fatimid
 caliph al-Hakim in Cairo over a century ever, rulers and other leading
 figures in the Muslim societies
 later. More often, they were transmitted informally, directly of the Near
 East began to establish institutions known as
 from teacher to pupil. madrasas
 that were devoted specifically to advanced instruction in the religious
 sciences, and especially jurisprudence. As
 It was subjects and disciplines more closely related to the
 an institutional type, madrasas may have originated in
 religious experience, however, that formed the core of what
 Khurasan, in eastern Iran. They soon spread throughout the
 Muslims recognized as ilm. The circumstances under which
 Near East, and became common in the cities and towns of
 they were transmitted were somewhat different than for the
 Egypt, Syria, Iran, and later the Anatolian and Balkan provrational sciences.
 inces of the Ottoman Empire. Particularly important cities,
 Education would begin at a young age, with instruction in such as Cairo,
 might boast dozens of madrasas of varying
 Arabic and the Qur an. This instruction might take place in sizes. Each
 madrasa would typically consist of a building
 the home, or alternatively in a primary school known as a providing
 space for lessons as well as accommodations for one

Islam and the Muslim World

203

Education

or more teachers and a certain number of pupils. The institu- by fees and
 alms provided by local Muslims as well as
 tion and its activities would be supported by an endowment endowments,
 and often were established by particular schol-
 (waqf) provided by the individual who had founded the ars
 themselves (and might not survive their founder's death).
 madrasa in the first place. As a result, madrasas might vary
 considerably in terms of their size and the value of the Third,
 the spread of madrasas in the Middle Ages had

endowments supporting them: Some might employ several important social consequences, in particular a tendency to bind an professors and provide stipends for hundreds of students, increasingly diverse society together in a united cultural while others might support only a few. project. This tendency can be seen on a number of different levels. The texts and methods of instruction of Several aspects of the madrasa and of the educational Islamic legal and religious education were remarkably unisystem it supported deserve comment. In the first place, the form across the Sunni Muslim world, and a student or scholar spread of these institutions was closely linked to political from Iran who found himself in, say, Damascus or Cairo structures in the medieval Islamic world. In general, political would often be able to find a position in a madrasa there. power in the medieval Near East was fairly localized. Much of Since these institutions provided stipends for students as well the central Islamic lands were ruled by military elites of an as salaries for teachers, they may have helped to broaden the alien, often Turkish or Mongol, and sometimes only recently social base of those able to devote themselves to the long and superficially Islamized nature. The rulers' decisions to process of becoming a recognized scholar. They also helped establish and endow institutions for the transmission of the to spread Islamic teachings beyond the urban centers in Islamic sciences constituted one strategy for securing the which most of the ulema concentrated, as young men from support, or at least the acquiescence, of the ulema who the countryside might study for a time in a madrasa in the commanded considerable respect among the local Muslim city, and then return home to supervise and instruct the population. So, for example, especially in the cities of Egypt religious lives of peasants and others in the villages. and Syria, madrasas would often be associated with elaborate tombs constructed for the benefit of the schools' patrons, a Islamic Education in the Modern Period linkage that had both spiritual and political advantages. In the modern period, the field of education, along with that of the family and of the social and political status of women, Second, for all the importance of madrasas, the system of has been one of the principal targets of reformers, and thus transmitting religious knowledge and of training the next also one of the major battlegrounds over the character and generation of ulema remained persistently informal, at least direction of Islamic societies. Given the traditional status and through the end of the Middle Ages. The medieval sources social role of the ulema, this is hardly surprising. Develop tell us at great length with

whom an individual studied, and movements in the field of education can be grouped into three distinct areas: the establishment by Muslim governments of modern schools that have competed with traditional Islamic schools; the establishment in some places of schools sponsored of the character and quality of an individual's education by foreign groups, many of them by missionaries; and the reform of traditional schools themselves.

The ijaza could take different forms: It could be a formal attestation of a scholar that some individual had, in some fashion, studied a particular text with The establishment of a new network of schools has been him, or it could be his statement that the student had one of the principal tasks of various groups of political and social reformers in the modern Muslim world. At the end of a personal document, which confirmed the relationship of the the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, for student to his teacher, and through him to his teacher's own example, the Ottoman government established a series of schools designed to train students in mathematics, medicine, and various other subjects. Those efforts picked up speed during the hierarchy of the educational system. Under the Ottoman period of aggressive reforms known as the Tanzimat, Empire, this loose and personalized system gave way to a from 1839 to 1876. The Ottoman viceroys of Egypt, Muhammad carefully defined and delineated structure. At least in Muhammad Ali and his successors, undertook a similar program over the capital of Istanbul, madrasas were graded according to a the course of the nineteenth century. In both these cases, educational hierarchy that was in turn tied closely to the career paths of reform was connected with a campaign to reform and improve the students who passed through them. In other parts of the the effectiveness of the military: The students, that is, were Muslim world, however, Islamic education continued to originally drawn from the ranks of army officers. follow informal patterns. In Indonesia, for example, education In both cases, also, the social effects were profound. Very often the tion in the Islamic sciences (including Qur'anic exegesis, instructors in these schools were European, and the textbooks jurisprudence, etc.) took place in institutions known as written in European languages. Accordingly, in pesantren. On the whole the

pesantren were less formal institutions than Near Eastern madrasas: They might be supported by the new schools' curricula, and so they became

204

Islam and the Muslim World Education

a channel for the importation into the Muslim world, not these schools represented religious communities or organizations simply of scientific knowledge in fields such as chemistry or physics. Some, such as the institutions established by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, saw their mission as the education, ways of thinking about social organization. There was some and often the Westernization, of students from particular opposition to these new educational institutions from the communities of religious minorities. Others, however, tried ulema, many of whom looked askance at innovations, particularly to attract a more ecumenical student body, although the largely those adopted in an explicitly Westernizing form, and success of those efforts varied from place to place. Among the who resented the challenge that the new schools posed to more notable such institutions were Robert College in Istanbul and the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University in Beirut), both founded by American Protestant missionaries. The latter in particular has had a distinguished European fashion and attuned to the political and social place in the modern history of the region, as it was associated with a rebirth of Arabic literature and culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and so contributed to the of its social recognition and authority. development of a modern Arab national movement. The fate of these institutions in the post-colonial world has been Over the twentieth century, a full system of governmentmixed: Robert College, for example, has been effectively sponsored schools developed in most parts of the Muslim world. In many places, this task of educational reform has A.U.B. and the American University in Cairo have remained been linked in one fashion or another to Westernizing elites independent, and have continued to offer a distinctive and

and to a conscious program of modernization. In Egypt, for distinctively Western education. example, after the military coup of 1952, the government expanded the network of primary and secondary schools as Finally, there is the question of what became of the well as universities, in the process broadening considerably traditional network of schools, kuttabs, madrasas, and so on in the social base of those with access to a modern education. A the wake of the emergence of the state-supported educational similar process took place in Turkey, where the first universystem. In most parts of the Muslim world, where kuttabs and sity was founded in the late Ottoman period, with others traditional systems of education have survived, they have established after the emergence of the republic following the done so at the expense of coming to constitute a separate, First World War. In Turkey, however, the process went “religious” educational sphere. From the perspective of the further than in many places, because of the pronounced classical and medieval Islamic periods, this in itself is an odd laicism of Mustafa Kemal “Ataturk” and his republican redevelopment. Moreover, the conditions that made the ulema gime. In the aftermath of the Kemalist victory, many of the so important in previous historical eras have disappeared or madrasas were closed, along with other religious institutions. been eroded. The religious scholars can no longer rely on the (After Ataturk’s death, restrictions on religious education patronage of rulers or an extensive network of waqfs (religious were loosened: A faculty of theology was established at Ankara university in 1949, for example, and instruction in endowments) to provide financial support. Since they have religious matters was returned to the curriculum of the had to compete with more modern, state-supported schools, elementary schools.) In Iran, too, the regime of Reza Shah those who trained and taught in them, the ulema, have often and his son, Muhammad Reza Shah, undertook a vigorous found their social status and power significantly reduced. program to secularize and modernize the educational system; With a variety of educational and professional options now there, however, the traditional network of madrasas training available, traditional schools and religious subjects have held Shi ite religious scholars remained more or less intact, though it less appeal for bright and ambitious students. In contemposhrank in size and lost its appeal to middle-class students. The rary Egypt, for example, where subjects such as medicine and result was considerable tension between a secularizing gov-engineering attract the most successful pupils, those studying ernment and the traditional ulema, a factor of enormous the

religious sciences typically rank at the bottom of the significance in the Islamic revolution of 1978 and 1979. Saudi academic ladder.

Arabia, by contrast, has followed a different model, in which the traditional madrasa system has been largely replaced by There have been efforts to reform the traditional schools state-supported schools and universities, but traditional re-themselves. In Egypt, for example, the organization of the religious subjects have remained an important part of the ancient mosque of al-Azhar and its educational program have curriculum of the government institutions. evolved considerably in the last century. It has expanded its mission and become a full-fledged university, adding new In many parts of the Muslim world, such as Egypt, Syria, faculties (in medicine, engineering, etc.), instruction in a and India, educational institutions established by Europeans number of disciplines (English, the social sciences, etc.) (or Americans) have also played an important role during the which previously had no place in traditional religious education last two centuries. Many of those responsible for establishing tion, as well as a separate college for women. At the same

Islam and the Muslim World

205

Education

At the Mohabat Khan mosque in Peshawar, Pakistan, a student receives instruction in the Qur'an. In ancient traditions of Islamic education, students were required to memorize the Qur'an before pursuing additional learning, and this early emphasis on rote memorization remains today in many religious schools. GETTY IMAGES, GETTY IMAGES NORTH AMERICA

time, al-Azhar has come much more decisively under govern-

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ment supervision, with the result that its officials are some-
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India under British rule also produced several distinct move-
Eickelman, Dale. *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Educaments of educational reform. Chief among them was that tion of a*
Twentieth-Century Notable. Princeton, N.J.: Princeassociated with the Dar
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Deoband, a school founded in the nineteenth century to
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provide a traditional religious education with methods and in Islam and the West. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981.

an institutional environment of a more modern nature, and which has inspired the establishment of similar institutions

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throughout the subcontinent. More recently, newly established institutions known as madrasas have flourished in Starrett, Gregory. Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

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See also Azhar, al-; Deoband; Knowledge; Madrasa; Modernization, Political: Administrative, Military, and Judicial Reform; Science, Islam and.

Jonathan Berkey

206

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

deliberately vague. In an attempt to appeal to Alid sympathies, the EMPIRES slogans of the movement spoke only of restoring “a chosen one” (from the Prophet’s family) rather than a member of the ABBASID Abbasid house specifically. The Abbasids only

Matthew Gordon showed their hand at a very late point; assuming control of the BYZANTINE caliphate, the dynasty alienated the Alids and their Shi ite Nadia Maria El Cheikh backers. The second question relates to the composition of the MONGOL AND IL-KHANID movement itself. One view is that the movement, how-

Charles Melville ever broad-based it later became, only succeeded because of the MOGUL participation of Arab tribesmen that had settled in Khurasan Iqtidar Alam Khan during the early Islamic conquest period. In response to the “Arabist,” and hence largely ethnic, argument, other scholars OTTOMAN

Donald Quataert have sought an

explanation based variously in the socioeconomic conditions of eighth-century
 Khurasan and the
SAFAVID AND QAJAR
 religiopolitical appeal of Shi'ite ideals for Arab and non-Arab
 Rudi Matthee
 Muslims alike.
SASSANIAN
 Henning L. Bauer The reigns
 of the first two Abbasid caliphs, Abu 'l-Abbas
TIMURID al-Saffah (r.
 750–754) and al-Mansur (r. 754–775), began
 Paul D. Buell with a period of
 consolidation that led to the elimination of
UMAYYAD Abu Muslim
 among other leaders of the revolutionary move-
 Alfons H. Teipen ment. A period
 of sustained prosperity, if continued political
 unrest, ensued. Al-Mansur established Baghdad in the 760s
 and is properly viewed as the real founder of the dynasty. At
ABBASID its height,
 under al-Mansur's immediate successors, al-Mahdi
 The early Islamic empire fell to Abbasid control with the
 (r. 775–785), al-Hadi (r. 785–786) and, most significantly,
 overthrow and decimation of the Umayyad house in 750 C.E.
 Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), the Abbasid empire stretched
 The “Abbasid revolution” followed an extended period of
 from the central Maghrib across the Middle East and southclandestine
 organization centered in the eastern province of
 ern Anatolia into Transoxiana. Sustained civil war, initially a
 Khurasan. Modern scholarship has devoted considerable atconflict between the
 sons of al-Rashid, Muhammad al-Amin
 tention to the formation and execution of the anti-Umayyad
 (r. 809–813) and Abdallah al-Ma mun (r. 813–833), followed
 movement. Opposition to Umayyad rule appears easier to
 by the effort at consolidation by al-Ma mun over Baghdad
 explain, however, than the movement itself. Factors contriband its hinterland,
 initiated the gradual dissolution of the
 uting to the collapse of the Umayyads included the deleteriempire. Despite the
 skilled leadership of later caliphs, by the
 ous effects of several rounds of civil war; divisions within the
 end of the ninth century, local dynasties and semiautonomous
 Syrian-based armed forces; persistent problems of legitimacy
 governing families had come to the fore in Egypt, Khurasan,
 fueled by charges of fiscal corruption and impious conduct on
 Spain, and the Maghrib.
 the part of the caliphs and their kin; serious military setbacks
 along the frontiers of North Africa, Armenia, and Central

Fragmentation of the imperial domain and a dissolution of Asia; and a fierce ideological challenge posed by leading dynastic legitimacy set in by the first quarter of the tenth century with Alids and their Shi'ite partisans that gave rise to repeated centuries with an eclipse of Abbasid authority at the hands of bureaucratic uprisings, particularly late in the Umayyad period. By the 940s, Syria, Iraq, Fars, and western Iran were divided into principalities under Hamdanid or Buyid (Buwayhid) control; members of support emanating from Shi'ite quarters as well as, it appears, both families had served in the Abbasid military before the broader populace of mawali (non-Arab Muslim "clients"). asserting control over regions of the empire. Egypt, by the The leadership of Abbasid partisans, key among them Abu 970s, fell to the control of the Fatimids, an Isma'ili Shi'ite Muslim (d. 775), and the strength of the Khurasan-based forces under his command, tipped the balance in favor of the dynasty created in the central Maghrib earlier in the tenth century; the Abbasid movement. As Elton Daniel has made clear, along-dynasty controlled Egypt, and, for extended periods, side other historians, modern scholarship remains divided on Syria and the Hijaz, into the second half of the twelfth at least two questions. century. Buyid rule gave way in the mid-eleventh century to a Sunni Turkish dynasty, the Seljuks, whose reign The first question concerns the point at which the Abbasid was largely defined by rivalry with the Fatimids, conflict against the family assumed leadership of the anti-Umayyad movement. Crusader states, and the onset of an extended period of Evidence indicates that the movement remained clandestine Turkish domination of Near Eastern political life. until a very late point and that its propaganda was kept From the Buyid period on, the Abbasids themselves usually

Islam and the Muslim World

207

Empires

wielded little more than the trappings of authority; in Iraq, control over both sources of income. To assure a reliable flow of money and Abbasid history came to an end with the Mongol invasion in 1258. A branch of the family retained a wholly symbolic role Umayyad efforts to systematize tax collection. These efforts, initially under the Mamluks in Egypt until the Ottoman invasion of successful, ultimately came up short as the health of the Abbasid 1517 that brought an end to Abbasid claims upon the caliphate.

economy fell victim to the civil war that followed the death of al-Rashid in the early ninth century and, some decades later, the turmoil sparked by the assassination of al-Mutawakkil. Taking their lead from the Umayyads, the early Abbasids (r. 847–861). By the early tenth century, the Iraqi agrarian system was in sharp decline. Commercial activity flourished in the early to mid-Abbasid periods, fueled by rapid investment in the early to mid-Abbasid periods, fueled by Near Eastern imperial statecraft. For example, the caliphs spread of opportunities, urban surplus wealth, and the sugar. relied upon elaborate systems of monarchical ritual and new products, chief among them paper, cotton, and symbolism, such as the use of screens used to shield them Merchant networks would play a key part in the during open sessions of the court. More dramatic still was the dissemination of Islam into Central Asia, the Pacific Basin, plan of Baghdad: The city, known as the Round City, was and Saharan Africa from the ninth century on. originally built around a massive circular core containing the caliphal residence, mosque, treasuries, and barracks. Histori- To administer their empire, the Abbasids relied on skilled ans understand the plan in terms of the assertion, through bureaucrats, many of Persian or Christian origins. These officials symbolic means, of the coming of a new imperial age. No less to a size (kuttab) oversaw a growth in the Abbasid bureaucracy than earlier dynasties, the first Abbasids thus devoted them- offices and complexity unknown under the Umayyads. The selves to massive building programs. In Baghdad, Samarra, offices (diwans) of the Abbasid administration included the chancery, and elsewhere, extensive palace complexes emerged along- treasury, police, and intelligence-gathering servside congregational mosques, extensive markets, and an im- ices, and a special court of appeals (mazalim) presided over by the caliph. pressive infrastructure of roads, canals, way-stations, and Control of the treasury and access to the imperial the like. family allowed key families to build extensive networks of influence as exemplified by the eastern Iranian (and originally Buddhist) It appears as well that the early Abbasids sought to imbue Barmakid family under al-Rashid. In 803, al-Rashid, their office with religious as well as political meaning. Com- having long tolerated Barmakid authority, finally turned against the mitment to holy war (jihad), a presiding role in the hajj,

family. By the first half of the tenth century, patronage of religious scholars: All were efforts to perpetuate successors, such as al-Muqtadir (r. 908–932), the caliph’s moral leadership. The claim found little sustained support within the religious community. For the ulema, the High-level bureaucrats retained no less crucial a traditions of theocratic monarchy contradicted the model of the Buyids and Seljuks; prominent civilian officials leadership crafted by the prophet Muhammad and the first similar part in Egypt, particularly late in the generation of caliphs. The problem of delineating lines of authority was gradually resolved by the middle Abbasid period as the scholars asserted a near-monopoly over legal its borders and assure political calm, the and social authority. No less significant a source of challenge like the Umayyads, relied upon a semiprofessional to Abbasid legitimation were the sectarian movements of the supplied and paid by the state. The mainstay of Kharijites and the various Shi’ite tendencies, all of whom Abbasid armies were the Khurasani troops that viewed Abbasid authority as illegitimate. Early Kharijite to bring the dynasty to power. A number of these rebellions under the first Abbasid caliphs were suppressed at a were settled in Baghdad by al-Mansur and his moderate expense to the state. Far more costly, in ideological and naturally viewed themselves as integral to the and political terms, was the challenge of their Shi’ite detractors. The civil war that brought the emergent Twelver Shi’ite tendency in Iraq and Ma’mun to power in the early ninth century witnessed the elsewhere remained relatively quiescent, by the early tenth these regiments at the hands of a new generation of century, a prominent Ismaili movement had won support troops recruited by the new caliph bolstered by a from local forces in the central Maghrib (modern-day Tunisia) and laid the foundation for the Fatimid state. and successor, Abu Ishaq al-Mu’tasim (r. 833–842). In good part to house these new forces, al-Mu’tasim founded a garrison. The considerable wealth of the early Abbasid empire drew Samarra, north of Baghdad; his successors predictably on agricultural production and commerce. Al-administer the empire from Samarra for the next half-Mansur’s decision to build a new capital beside the two major The practice of using slave regiments, many of

however, his proved bureaucrats. role under played a Fatimid To defend Abbasids, army largely the earliest had fought regiments successors, fortunes of altors. If the emergent Twelver son center in would century.

Iraqi rivers and in the midst of the extensively farmed areas of which were drawn from Turkic peoples of Central Asia, central and southern Iraq, had much to do with assuring would be emulated by later Near Eastern dynasties. The

208

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

The Al-Kazimayn mosque in Baghdad. Early in its reign, the Abbasid empire possessed substantial wealth from agriculture and commerce, enabling ambitious building projects that included palaces, mosques, and markets. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

heads of the Samarran Turkish regiments, however, would (Samarra, the imperial administrative seat for much of the rely on their troops, and close ties to the caliphate, to ninth century, never replaced Baghdad in this sense.) Much of interfere in caliphal decision-making; the result was a period this activity was directly tied to the patronage of the imperial of violence and instability in Samarra that sapped the re- state and networks of elite urban families. Historians are sources of the caliphate and set the stage for the humiliations divided, however, over the question of whether to credit the of the tenth century. support of the caliphs and elite urban society with the complex translation movement that rendered, in Arabic, nearly

Culture and Society

the entire corpus of Greek scientific and philosophical work A revival of Near Eastern urban culture, rooted in Umayyad over a period of roughly two hundred years beginning under history, was a hallmark of the Abbasid period. The early Arab garrison centers, among them Basra, Kufa, Fustat, and al-Mansur in the later eighth century. Equally significant was Qayrawan, were now functioning towns while, under Umayyad urban literary production. The list of writers, poets, musiciand then Abbasid rule, Damascus and other pre-Islamic cians, and cognoscenti that flourished in the Iraqi urban centers witnessed rapid population growth and cultural de- milieu included such luminaries as the grammarian Sibawayh velopment. Constructed expressly as an imperial center, and (d. 793); the poet Abu Nuwas (d. 810); the essayist, linguist, occupied probably by the late 760s, Baghdad quickly emerged, and theologian al-Jahiz (d. 868); and the tenth-century however, as the nexus of early Islamic culture and scholarship. polymath Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. 1023).

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

Urban patronage and the demands created by steady Empire was, nevertheless, to remain a main political and conversion to Islam throughout the empire explain the for- ideological rival to the Islamic empire. In Arabic-Islamic writings, mation of a community of sophisticated and increasingly self- the Byzantine Empire became the only real “House of confident religious scholars (ulema). Their efforts yielded of War” and the war against it the very model and prototype of jihad. seminal contributions to Qur’anic exegesis, hadith scholarship, and Islamic law. In the Sunni regions, four major The schools of legal interpretation emerged: the Hanafi, Maliki, first period marked the greatest Byzantine influence on the Shafi’i, and Hanbali. The work of the great exegete and developing Islamic civilization. The Arabs borrowed the historian Abu Ja’far al-Tabari (d. 923) exemplifies both the abundantly from Byzantine institutions. Byzantine influence was remarkable scholarly achievements of the ulema and their reflected in the retention of the Byzantine civil service; ambivalent stance vis-à-vis the caliphal state. Ulema served the use of Byzantine administrative, legal, and numismatic the empire in their capacity as judges, market inspectors, and traditions; and language. Another striking legacy of the imperial heritage is furnished by the Umayyad policy of erecting the like; their role in imperial administration was crucial. As imperial religious monuments. Indeed, it was the presence of noted earlier, however, they were loath to provide yet further imposing Christian monuments in Greater Syria that enbacking to the caliphate. The trajectory to socioreligious encouraged them to construct the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Umayyad mosque in Damascus. Umayyad caliphs Abbasid state sharply declined. are said to have requested Byzantine help in the decoration of See also Empires: Byzantine; Empires: Umayyad; Mahdi, the mosques in Medina and Damascus.

Sadiq al-; Rashid, Harun al-.

The ambition of the first-century caliphs seems to have been directed toward the establishment of their power in

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 which forces and efforts were directed in a continuous
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 Young, M. J. L., et al., eds. *Religion, Learning and Science in the
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 line was a second-line district containing the
 Press, 1990. strongholds
 known as al-awasim, fortresses where the warriors would seek refuge.
 Economically, these invasions resulted
 Matthew Gordon in a diminution in agricultural, commercial, and
 industrial
 activity for the Byzantine Empire. Demographic changes
 BYZANTINE took
 place as a result of the massive displacement of popula-
 The Byzantine Empire, which spans the period from 330 to tion. The
 chronicles paint a picture of devastation and aban-
 1453, grew gradually from the old Roman Empire. The first donment
 of the more exposed settlements in favor of the less

reference to the Byzantines in the Islamic sources occurs in accessible sites. Life in these areas, which were regularly the Qur'an (surat al-Rum) in conjunction with the Byzantine-plundered, meant yearly raids, constant insecurity, and frequent Persian wars that exhausted the Byzantine Empire and along the flights. A certain symbiosis, nevertheless, took place between the lowed for the conquest of its richest and most prosperous frontier region. The result of the interpenetration between areas by the nascent Islamic community. The Byzantine the two populations was not only the diffusion of

210

Islam and the Muslim World Empires

military techniques, material goods, and methods of economic production but also the diffusion of political ideas and culture, thus spelling the end of the Byzantine Empire.

general cultural aspects. This period, thus, witnessed the transmittal of classical and Hellenistic scholarship, via the See also Christianity and Islam; Expansion.

Byzantines, to the Arab Muslim world.

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Indeed, the relationship between the Muslim and Byzantine empires was interspersed with diplomatic, cultural, and commercial relations. While no permanent diplomatic posts were maintained in either capital, embassies were frequent on Nadia Maria. "Byzantium and the Arabs: War and Peace between Two World Civilizations." *Journal of Oriental Studies* 3–4 (1991–1992): 1–23.

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Minor
Century

al-Andalus, and the newly founded Fatimid state in North Africa colored to a considerable extent the bilateral relations

Nadia Maria El Cheikh

these competing states had with Byzantium.

MONGOL AND IL-KHANID

The whole period of the Macedonian dynasty between The Mongol empire, which at its peak stretched from Java to 867 and 1025 was a brilliant time in the political existence of Lithuania, was the creation of Genghis Khan (c. 1167–1227) the Byzantine Empire. It was now the turn of the Muslim and his descendants. They exercised direct rule for over a lands to suffer repeated incursions accompanied by looting century in Iran and Transoxania, southern Russia, and China, and devastation. The Hamdanid principality of Aleppo rose and in the less accessible heartland of these regions, particuto the occasion but the victories of its prince Sayf al-Dawlah larly in parts of Central Asia, where Mongol khans were were short-lived and soon the emirate of Aleppo and other recognized as the legitimate rulers until well into the sevenparts of the Islamic caliphate were to feel the weight of tenth century.

Byzantine invasions. The main events of these wars found an echo in the poems of one of the greatest poets of the Arabic language, al-Mutanabbi. murdered by a rival tribe of Tatars when Temujin was still a small boy. Abandoned by most of his father's followers, he The late eleventh century contrasted with the early part of childhood, first simply surviving and then the century when Byzantium had been powerful and wealthy. Internal difficulties in addition to the appearance of the tribes in Mongolia and eliminating the Tatars and Turks in the Near East accelerated the decline of the Byzantine state, leading to the crushing Byzantine defeat at Manzikert He was enthroned as ruler of the Mongols and in 1071. This marked the collapse of Byzantium as a great

The
The
murdered by
The
spent a hard
working for
most of
other
own forces.
adopted the

title Genghis Khan.

political power and the beginning of the Turkification of Asia Minor. The appearance of the Crusaders and the establishment There followed a sustained attack, first on the neighborof Crusader states in the Near East revolutionized relations ing powers such as the Tanguts (Hsi Hsia) and then on north between the Byzantines and their Muslim neighbors. Follow- China, ruled by the Jurchen (Chin) dynasty (1115–1234). Peking fell ing the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, in 1215, but it took many more campaigns for the relations between the Byzantines and the Mamluk sultans of Chin to be crushed. The scale and determination of their resistance Egypt steadily improved in the late thirteenth century. The was one of the factors that helped to transform the existence of threats common to both states, including the Mongol assaults from raids on the traditional nomadic model Mongol threat, led to the establishment of privileged rela- into more permanent wars of conquest and occupation, for there is tions between them. In the fourteenth century, the Byzantine little to suggest that the annexation of north China empire systematically lost ground to the Ottoman Turks. In was part of Genghis Khan’s original intentions.

Islam and the Muslim World

211

Empires

As the Mongol war machine gathered momentum, its prey on their subjects from a distance, while the largely Turkicized belligerence necessarily attracted further acts of defiance and subjects were more like the Mongols themselves: not inevitable punishment. Their attention drawn ever westward Russians, Persians, or Chinese, with their alien traditions and norms. by the flight of their vanquished foes, the Mongols came up These regions were initially part of the inheritagainst the Khwarazmian empire, based on the cities of the ance of Ögedei and his elder brother Chaghatay, but the descendants Jaxartes and Oxus rivers. The massacre of a Mongol-sponsored of Ögedei were almost eliminated when they lost the merchant caravan in Otrar in 1218 provided the pretext for succession to the Great Khanate in 1251 as the result of a the invasions of the Transoxania and eastern Iran, where the coup by the Toluids (descendants of Genghis Khan’s young- Khwaramshah’s tenuous control was quickly destroyed in a est son, Tolui). While the Western Chaghatay leaders began devastating series of sieges. Pursuing the Khwaramshah across to embrace Islam in the early fourteenth century, pagan ways northern Iran, the Mongol generals Subetei and Jebe then prevailed

in the east up to the sixteenth century.

turned north across the Caucasus and defeated a Russian force at the Kalka river in 1223, before returning to Mongolia.

Controlling a vast area of Asia, the four contiguous Mongol empires opened up territories to new movements of people,

By Genghis Khan's death in 1227, these widespread and

fueling a

process of cultural exchange, artistic patronage, and

crushing victories opened up huge new territories to the relations, which did much to counteract the

commercial

Mongols. It was the work of his descendants to consoli-

initial

savagery of their conquests. Despite their first assault

date them into an empire. His son and successor, Ögedei

on Islam,

ultimately the Mongols were responsible for spread-

(1229–1241), continued the conquest of North China and

ing Islam

among the Turkic peoples and tribes who were

further expansion west, where the Mongols won great victo-

brought

into Central Asia as a result of the Mongol conquests.

ries in Poland and Hungary before consolidating their rule

An illustrated manuscript of Genghis Khan and his sons appears

over southern Russia based on the steppes north of the

in the volume one color insert.

Caspian Sea. These territories, of the so-called Golden Horde,

were held by the descendants of Genghis Khan's oldest son,

See also

Political Organization.

Jochi. They maintained their dominance over the disunited

Russian princes until the early sixteenth century, by keeping

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separate from them and retaining the essence of their nomadic

lifestyle. Nevertheless, their capital at Sarai on the Volga

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Thomas T. Culture as Conquest in Mongol Eurasia.

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became a great cosmopolitan trading center. As early as the

1260s, but definitively by the 1330s, the khans of the Golden

Morgan,

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Horde had converted to Islam.

Spuler,

Bertold. A History of the Muslim World. Princeton,

N.J.: M. Wiener Publishers, 1994.

By contrast, in Iran, an ancient sedentary civilization (like

China), a transformation in outlook was required if the

Charles Melville

nomadic Mongols were to rule effectively. The original

conquests were consolidated by Genghis Khan's grandson,

MOGUL

Hulegu, who captured Baghdad in 1258 and took the title Il-

The Mogul

empire of India was established by Zahir al-Din

Khan or subject Khan (to the Great Khan in Mongolia, and

Muhammad

Babur (d.1530), a descendant of Emir Timur

later in China). Hulegu's dynasty, the Il-khanids (1258–1335),

(d.1405). On his mother's side, Babur was related to the Chaghtai khans of Kashghar. Expelled from his ancestral principality of Farghana (modern Kokand) because of intera fundamental reluctance to abandon Mongol precedents. necine feuds of the Timurid princes and the rise of Uzbek The unwritten Mongol code of law, the Yasa, continued to be power under Shaibani Khan, Babur eventually established himself at honored, even after the accelerated Islamization that fol- himself at Kabul in 1505, and in 1526, defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the Battle of Panipat, founded the Mogul dynasty in the Il-khanate ran out of heirs, the dynasty suffering from an India. The name "Mogul" was given to it by popular endemic instability in the succession to the throne that had usage in India; the later Central Asian designation for first caused the fragmentation of the empire into four main it, equally loose, was Chaghatai. The family continued (with regional states and then the weakening of the states themselves. the exception of the Sur interlude, 1540–1555) to exercise imperial hegemony over much of the Indian subcontinent In the last of these states, the Chaghatai Khanate, which until 1739 when defeat at the hands of Nadir Shah of Iran embraced Transoxania, Turkestan, and Sinkiang, the Mongols signaled the empire's rapid disintegration. retained rule longer than elsewhere, owing partly to the terrain and the preponderance of desert and steppe over the Babur brought with him a tradition in which respect for Mongol isolated oases along the celebrated "silk route." Even more customs was quite strong, though modified by the than in the case of the Golden Horde, the Mongols could conventional attachment to Sunni orthodoxy. The further

212

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

fact that the Timurids were highly urbanized and cultured Muslim as well as customary law and even imperial reguladrew them irresistibly to Iranian culture, despite the fact that tions. The criminal (faujdari) cases were generally decided by in the sixteenth century it assumed a radical Shi ite color. All local military commanders (shiqdars, faujdars, and the like) in these factors demonstrated an eclectic attitude that made the accordance with regulations (zawabit) laid down from time to Moguls particularly suited to govern a country of varied time by the emperor.

cultural traditions like India.

The bulk of the Mogul army was represented by mounted Babur is credited with recruiting a large number of Afghans archers and spearmen employed by the mansabdars out of the and Indian Muslims into his nobility. The recruitment of income of their revenue assignments. An imperial function many Persians by Humayun (1540–1556) was a further im- ary (bakhshi) maintained a descriptive roll of these troopers portant development. But the decisive transformation in this who were brought to muster. To check fraud, branding (dagh) respect came under Humayun's son Akbar (1556–1605). of horses was practiced. A special corps of cavalry (ahadis), a Having recruited a large number of Rajput chiefs, Akbar park of artillery (top-khana), and a large number of musket rendered the Mogul nobility a truly composite group, a eers employed by the emperor supplemented the armed characteristic that persisted until 1739. might of the empire significantly. The matchlock muskets introduced in India by Babur seem to have contributed Akbar, however, was not simply motivated by eclecticism. significantly to the centralizing process in the Mogul empire. He came to have strong views on reason and religion. He evoked Ibn al- Arabi's philosophy to justify a policy of univer- Under Akbar's successors Jahangir (1605–1627), Shahjahan sal tolerance under the principle of Sulh-e Kul (Absolute (1628–1658), and Aurangzeb (1659–1707), the empire con- Peace) and became a sturdy defender of reason and critic of tinued to expand, though Kandahar was finally lost to Iran old social customs. He, and his major spokesman, Abu l Fazl, (1648). Practically the entire peninsula (excluding Kerala) sought to give to sovereignty a nonsectarian character; the came under Mogul control, especially with the annexations of sovereign was held to be a direct representative of God and the kingdoms of Bijapur (1686) and Golkunda (1687). claimed almost limitless authority, as necessary for carrying out the sovereign's abundant responsibilities. Broadly, the administrative institutions of the empire as established by Akbar were maintained by his three successors, It is arguable that Akbar's claims to absolute sovereign with certain changes of a relatively minor character. The powers derived from his own practical success in achieving religious policy of Jahangir followed mainly that of Akbar, not only a series of conquests that brought most of India while under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, it tended to incline toward under his control but also from achieving an immense degree toward Muslim orthodoxy. In 1679 Aurangzeb imposed the of administrative systematization and centralization. The jizya or

poll-tax on non-Muslims, which Akbar had abolished was reflected in the introduction of mansab or number-rank (1574) for rigorously setting the pay and size of military contingents of the nobles, and the division of the empire into provinces. The Mogul emperors were great patrons of art and architecture (subas) (1580) where the administration of one province was like that of any other. The practice of linking mansab obligation to expected income (jama) from revenue assignment (jagir) gave new impetus to financial unification. He gave to Mogul painting its particular touch and realism; and immense innovativeness to architecture as in Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. Under Jahangir, painting reached its highest technical perfection, The political authority and control on resources in the Mogul empire tended to be concentrated in the hands of high nobles. They, along with hereditary chiefs allied closely with the empire, formed the ruling class, whose unity and cohesion, according to Irfan Habib in *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, "found its practical expression in the absolute powers of the emperor" (p. 366). Detailed regulations governing the extraction of agrarian surplus by the revenue collection machine of the empire, which tended to the method of assessment by measurement and collection of revenue in money rather than in kind. Under the Maratha uprising under Shivaji (d.1680) greatly weakened the urban-based educated Muslims (ashraf) claiming noble descents along with favored non-Muslim scholar priests were marked out for state patronage. Some of the ashraf little recovery of stability in the early years of Muhammad Shah (1719–1748), the Mogul empire began to cede (Sadarat) including those of judges (qazis) who enforced after territory to the Marathas. The coup de grace

Empires

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Iqtidar Alam Khan

OTTOMAN

Ottoman state builders (c. 1300–1922) erected and maintained one of the more durable and successful examples of empire-building in world history. Born during medieval times in the northwest corner of then Byzantine-Asia Minor, the Ottoman state achieved world-empire status in 1453, with its conquest of Constantinople. For a century before and two centuries after that epochal event, the Ottoman Empire was among the most powerful political entities in the Mediterranean-European world. Indeed, but for the Ming state in China, the Ottoman Empire in about 1500 was likely the most formidable political system on the planet.

The rapid expansion of the Ottoman state from border principality to world empire was due partly to geography and the proximity of weak enemies; but it owed more to Ottoman policies and achievements. After the migrations of Turkish peoples from Central Asia broke the border defenses of the Byzantine Empire back in the eleventh century, many small states and principalities vied for supremacy. The Ottoman dynasty emerged on the Byzantine borderlands not far from Constantinople, and its supporters employed pragmatic statecraft and methods of conquest and rewarded the human material at hand—whether Greek, Bulgarian, Serb, Turkish, Christian, or Muslim—for good service. These pragmatic policies, coupled with an exceptional openness to innovation, including military technology, go far in explaining why this particular minor state ultimately attained world-power status. This c. 1590 Mogul painting depicts nobles entertained in a garden by musicians and dancers. Due to developments elsewhere in the world, notably the rise of capitalism and industrialism in Europe and then elsewhere, and the New World wealth that poured into Europe, the Ottoman Empire lost its preeminent position, was delivered by Nadir Shah in 1739–1740, with the Persian and by about 1800 it had declined to the status of a second-conqueror's great victory at the Battle of Karnal, near Delhi. class economic, military, and political power. Internally, after The Mogul empire rapidly lost control over provinces. Delhi its initial rapid expansion, innovation diminished as enitself passed under the control of

Marathas (1772–1803) and entrenched bureaucrats and statesmen acted to preserve positions for themselves, finally the English in 1803. Henceforth, the emperor's writ extended to their children and closed entry to newcomers with the emperor's court was confined to the Red Fort in Delhi. The Rebels in 1857 brought fresh ideas. Internationally, the state encountered increased attempts to restore the last emperor, Bahadur Shah II Zafar against increasingly powerful European states on its western and northern fronts, and (1775–1862), to power, but the English deposed him on some of these new states had been enriched by recapturing Delhi and so terminated the dynasty. New World wealth. Warfare became more expensive and more difficult, and expansion finally ground to a halt in the late seventeenth century. See also Political Organization.

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The empire's grand defeat before the gates of Vienna in 1683 was followed by some victories, but mainly it experienced defeats during the subsequent one hundred years. Habib, Irfan. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556–1707*. Rev. ed. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999. Khan, Iqtidar Alam. "State in Mughal India: Re-examining During the nineteenth century, a successful series of programs measurably strengthened both the state and its military. The Social Scientist 29, Nos.1–2 (January–February 2001): 16–45. The state grew vastly in size and in the scope of its

214

Islam and the Muslim World Empires

Ottoman family was hardly ever challenged through the long centuries of the empire's existence. While this rule was a constant, change otherwise was the norm in domestic politics.

Political power almost always rested in the imperial center and, depending on the particular period, extended into the provinces either through direct military and political instruments or, indirectly, through fiscal means. The state exerted its military, fiscal, and political authority through a number of mechanisms that evolved continuously. One cannot speak of a single, invariant Ottoman system or method of rule, except to say that it was based on policies of flexibility and adaptiveness. Military, fiscal, and political instruments changed constantly, hardly a surprising situation in an empire that existed from the medieval to the modern age. Moreover, much of what historians thought they knew about Ottoman institutions has

been challenged and rewritten. Take, for example, the cliché that the janissaries' prowess as soldiers declined when they ceased living together in bachelor barracks and served as married men. It turns out that already in the fifteenth century, when the janissaries were the most feared military unit in the Mediterranean world, at least some were married with families.

The Ottoman state at first depended on the so-called A sixteenth-century Venetian portrait of Ottoman sultan Suleyman I. timar system to compensate much of its military, which was Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire was among the most powerful in the world. © ALI dominated by cavalrymen fighting with bows and arrows. MEYER/CORBIS Under this system, the cavalryman was granted revenues from a piece of land sufficient to maintain himself and his horse. He did not actually control the land, but only the taxes activities. Whereas the early modern state primarily collected deriving from it. Peasants worked the land and the taxes they paid taxes and maintained order, the more modern state took supported the timar cavalryman while he was on camresponsibility for the health, education, and welfare of its paign as well as when he was not fighting. In reality, the timar subjects. Despite an impressive record of reform, however, was at the center of Ottoman affairs for the earlier era of the empire was defeated in the First World War, and was Ottoman history, perhaps only during the fourteenth, fifpartitioned by the Great Powers, notably Great Britain and tenth, and part of the sixteenth centuries. Hardly had the France. Ottoman successor states today include Albania, state developed the timar system when the regime began to Bosnia, Bulgaria, Egypt, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, discard it, and the cavalry it was meant to support. Increas-Montenegro, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Syria, Turkey, ingly, the empire turned to infantrymen bearing firearms. As and other states in the Balkans, the Arab world, North Africa, it did, the janissaries ceased to be a small, praetorian elite and and along the north shore of the Black Sea. evolved into a firearmed infantry of massive size. To support Military, Fiscal, and Political Organization these full-time soldiers required vast amounts of cash, and so In its domestic politics, the Ottoman state underwent con-tax-farming replaced the timar system as the central fiscal tinuous change. The Ottoman ruler, the sultan, began as one instrument. (Timar holders owed service in exchange for the among equals in the early days of the state. Between about timar

revenues, whereas tax farmers paid a sum at the tax farm
1453 and the later sixteenth century, however, sultans ruled auction
for the right to collect the taxes, and they incurred no service
as true autocrats. Subsequently, others in the imperial family
obligation.) By 1700, lifetime tax-farms—seen as better
and other members of the palace elites—often in collabora-
cash cows—began to become commonplace. Varying
tion with provincial elites—maintained real control of the
combinations of cavalry and firearmed infantry, along with
state until the early nineteenth century. Thereafter, bureau- massive
uses of artillery worked quite well for a time, but lost
crats and sultans vied for domination. In sum, the sultan out in
the arms race to central and eastern European foes by
nominally presided over the imperial system for all of Otto- the end
of the seventeenth century. The Ottoman military
man history but actually, personally, ruled only for portions continued
to evolve and, in the eighteenth century, firearmed
of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth centuries. It seems troops
of provincial notables and the forces of the Crimean
important to stress that the principle of sultanic rule by the Khanate
largely replaced both the janissary infantry and the

Islam and the Muslim World

215

Empires

always paying lip-service to its adherence to Islamic principles. In the
nineteenth century, when a flood of ordinances
and regulations marked the presence of an expanding bureaucratic state, even
this lip-service frequently fell away, replaced
by claims to scientific management.

Economic Organization

Throughout most of its history, the Ottoman economy
remained agrarian, although again the specifics underwent
considerable changes over time. During the various periods
of the empire's existence, most Ottoman subjects raised a
wide variety of different crops for subsistence and for sale.
The particular mix of crops changed over time, but cereals
remained dominant throughout, supplemented by a changing array of other crops.
During the seventeenth century, for
example, tobacco imports from the New World ceased as
tobacco became commonly cultivated in the Balkan, Anatolian,
and Arab provinces of the empire. In the nineteenth century
tobacco became a major export commodity.

In theory, the vast majority of land was owned by the
sultan and merely used by others to grow crops and raise
animals. In practice, however, these land users generally

enjoyed security of tenure. Sharecropping was widespread and was the major vehicle by which goods were brought to market. Most cultivators were small landholders; large estates were comparatively unusual. Slave labor was common for Mehmet IV (1642–1692). Early in the Ottoman Empire, the role of domestic work but very rare in agriculture. Commercialization of the sultan was less autocratic than it became in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. THE ART ARCHIVE/TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ART MUSEUM ISTANBUL/DAGLI ORTI tion of agriculture enjoyed considerable development in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in order to meet mounting foreign demand and, in the latter period, the increasing number of Ottoman urban residents. The increasing amount produced for sale derived from committing increasing acreage to cavalry. During the nineteenth century, universal male age to cultivation, not from more intensive exploitation. conscription controlled by the central state slowly developed, and this was perhaps the most radical transformation of all. Ottoman manufacturing, for its part, was and remained largely Lifetime tax-farms were abandoned but tax-farming continued the domain of small-scale hand producers, although there was ued, often in the hands of local notables in partnerships with some mechanization in the late period. During the the Istanbul regime. seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, foreign markets for Ottoman manufactures fell away, but producers continued to Judicial Organization enjoy a vast domestic market for their wares. During the Both religious and secular law regulated the lives of Ottoman nineteenth century, moreover, several new export industries subjects. The Ottoman state determined who administered emerged, notably rug making and silk spinning, staffed largely the laws, members drawn from the Muslim, Christian, or with female labor working outside the home. In transportation and communication there were important technological Jewish communities, or other officials of the imperial state. That is, the sultan or his agents determined the judges in the breakthroughs during the second half of the nineteenth respective communities, either directly or by appointing century. Steam replaced sail on the sea, while a relatively thin officials who, in turn, named the judges. In principle, the network of railroads emerged; telegraph lines, for their part, were religious laws of the respective communities prevailed, be built to connect most towns and cities. that community Muslim, Jewish, or Christian. In practice, however, the Muslim courts were commonly used by subjects Religious

and National Identity

of all religions. This was due in part to the quality of the considerable debate about the nature and quality of justice which the judge (kadi) administered, and in part intercommunal relations, and there are many popular stereotypes around the “terrible Turk” who slaughtered might well have greater weight than those from Christian or Christians. For nearly all of Ottoman history, this Jewish sources. In addition to this religious law, the state stereotype is not true. From the fourteenth century until the routinely passed its own, secular ordinances (kanun), while the majority of Ottoman subjects professed one or

There is

Ottoman

Ottoman

1870s,

216

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

another version of Christianity as their religion. Yet, through- under single political control. Under them a political system emerged out this period, the state’s official religion was Islam. The key in which political and religious boundaries overlapped Ottoman success and a major reason for its longevity lay in overlapped. The Safavid concept of kingship, combining territorial control with religious legitimacy, would endure, with share its professed religion. The Ottoman state, for nearly all modifications, until the late twentieth century. Many administrative institutions established by them survived well into the Qajar era. The Safavid era, finally, saw the beginning of frequent and sustained diplomatic and commercial relations with Europe. The Safavids, who were of Kurdish ancestry, began in about 1300 as a mystical order centered in the northwestern Iranian town of Ardabil, the burial place of the order’s founder, Shaykh Safi al-Din. The nature of their original beliefs those differences so long as its subjects paid their taxes and form of remains unclear but in time they turned to a extremist rendered obedience. Until the eighteenth century, the era of Shi’ism that included the veneration of a leader seen as an the Enlightenment, minorities in the Ottoman world likely as an incarnation of god. Though the Safavid leaders were

were treated better than in Europe. During some years of the spiritual leaders rather than tribal chiefs, they built their state with the final Ottoman era, however, there admittedly were atrocities. military assistance of tribal groups. Known as Qizilbash, These should be understood in the context of the generally Turkmen redheads, in reference to their red headgear, these admirable record of intercommunal relations over the 600- year lifespan of the Ottoman Empire. the mainstay of the Safavid army.

See also Balkans, Islam in the; Christianity and Islam; Under Shah Isma il (r. 1501–1524) the Safavids evolved from a Europe, Islam in; Expansion; Judaism and Islam; Kemal, messianic movement to a political dynasty. Upon seizing Namek; Nur Movement; Nursi, Said; Young Ottomans. power, Isma il proclaimed Tabriz his capital and Shi ism the faith of his realm, thus endowing his new state with a BIBLIOGRAPHY strong ideological basis. In time, Isma il extended his Brown, Leon Carl, ed. *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint* territory as far as Iraq and the Persian Gulf. His expansionism brought him on the Balkans and the Middle East. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Ottomans in the west, both Sunni powers that felt threatened by the Goffman, Daniel. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern formation of a militant Shi ite state on their borders. Europe. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Equipped with firearms, the Ottomans in 1514 routed the Safavid army Press, 2002. in the battle of Chaldiran and briefly occu-* pied Imber, Colin. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650. The Struc- ture of Power.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Aside from waging war, Isma il concentrated on state Inalcik, Halil. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman building.* In 1508 he took a series of measures that increased Empire, 1300–1914. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1994. the power of Iranian administrators at the expense of that of the Qizilbash. Henceforth a functional division emerged Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of between ethnic Iranians, who in majority staffed the bureauthe Ottoman State.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. cracy, and ethnic Turks, who dominated the army. Under

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statecraft. Tajlu Khanum, one of his wives and the mother of Quataert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Shah Tahmasp, was as powerful as the shah himself bridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

in Isma'il's later reign.

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Shah Isma'il was succeeded by his ten-year-old son, Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576). The first decade of his long reign Donald Quataert was marked by a civil war among the Qizilbash that nearly overwhelmed the shah. Once he emerged from this conflict, SAFAVID AND QAJAR Tahmasp adopted a policy designed to curtail the unruly The Safavid period (1501–1722) continued many Mongol Qizilbash. He continued to appoint Tajik officials to key and Timurid practices, but may also be seen as the beginning positions traditionally reserved for Turks, and began the of modern Iranian history. The Safavids unified much of Iran trend of giving administrative posts to Georgians and

Islam and the Muslim World

217

Empires

Armenians, so-called ghulams, who were captured during Shah Abbas is especially famous for encouraging trade. expeditions into the Caucasus. (The women became em- He reestablished road security and had numerous caravanseries employed in the royal harem.) Until 1555, when he concluded a constructed throughout his realm. Under him, Isfahan, enpeace accord with them, Shah Tahmasp also fought three dowed with a newly built administrative and commercial wars against the Ottomans, and in the process moved his center, became a thriving city of some 500,000 inhabitants. capital from Tabriz to Qazvin, a city located further in the His special focus on the Persian Gulf trade and his efforts to interior. stimulate the export of silk combined a need for revenue and a desire to open up an alternative outlet to the land-based Shah Tahmasp presided over a court that fostered culture. routes via Ottoman territory. He allowed Western mer- chants to The quality of the illuminated manuscripts produced during settle in the newly founded port of Bandar Abbas, his reign would never be surpassed. His religious policy offering

them commercial privileges in return for royal profit
 focused on the further implantation of Shi'ism and saw and the
 promise of naval assistance. His overtures to the West,
 attempts to standardize religious practice around a scriptural,
 expressed in countless embassies to European courts, were
 urban-based version of the faith as opposed to the folk beliefs
 mostly aimed at finding allies in his anti-Ottoman struggle.
 of the Turkmen. To disseminate the creed, the shah also
 invited Shi'ite scholars from Arab lands, most notably from Lebanon, to migrate to Iran. Under
 Shah Abbas's direct successors, Safi (r. 1629–1642)
 and Abbas II (1642–1666), Iran offered the outward appear-
 These trends continued and culminated under Shah Abbas ance of
 stability. Baghdad was lost to the Ottomans, but Shah
 (r. 1587–1629), the strongest and most visionary of the Abbas
 II managed to recapture Qandahar from the Mughals.
 Safavid rulers, who came to power in 1576, following the Though
 competent rulers, both lacked the vision and deterinterregnum of the cruel Shah
 Isma'il II and the nearly blind mination of their predecessor. Under
 them, economic prob-
 Mohammad Khodabandeh. Shah Abbas was above all a lems
 became apparent and state control weakened. Some of
 brilliant strategist, keen to regain the territories that had been these
 problems were perhaps inevitable given Iran's inherent
 lost to internal sedition and outside enemies during the
 weaknesses—much arid, unproductive land, an unevenly spread
 turmoil preceding his reign. Well aware that he could not and
 heavily nomadic population, a dependence on the outside
 fight on two fronts at once, he made a humiliating peace with world for
 precious metal. Others stemmed from the very
 the Ottomans so as to be able to take on the Uzbeks and same
 measures taken by Abbas I. Good examples of those are
 attend to domestic matters. This done, he resumed war with the
 conversion to crown land and his practice of isolating the
 the Ottomans and reconquered large parts of Azerbaijan, heir to be
 in the royal harem for fear that he might present a
 Armenia, and Georgia. In later years, Abbas recaptured premature
 challenge to royal power. The first led to extortion
 Qandahar (lost again in 1638), established control over the of the
 peasants by supervisors who only leased the land for a
 Persian Gulf littoral by ousting the Portuguese from Hormuz, limited
 time and thus saw no reason for long-term investand seized part of Mesopotamia,
 including Baghdad (lost ment. The second produced inept rulers and
 empowered
 again in 1639). those who
 inhabited the royal quarters, eunuchs and women.
 The army, already weakened by the continuing antagonism

In his domestic agenda Shah Abbas pursued centralized, personalized power and the maximization of cash revenue. He liquidated a number of powerful Qizilbash leaders, including the ones who had helped him come to power, and suppressed any religious group that challenged his authority. He also resettled tribes to far-off regions with the aim of strengthening frontiers and breaking up loyalties. In the 1590s the shah transferred his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan, a move that gave Iran an administrative center closer to its geographical center, aside from completing the shift from a stationary monarchs who, aside from occasional Turkish to a Persian cultural focus. Most importantly, Shah Abbas set out to break the power of the Qizilbash. He disconnected and hardly interremoved a great deal of the state land that they controlled as they relied on their grand fiefs by turning it into crown domain administered directly by the shah, so that revenue would flow into the royal treasury. Ghulams were appointed as governors of these newly formed crown provinces. Shah Abbas's reformation marks an important phase in the evolution of Safavid Iran from a steppe formation to a bureaucratic state. The results were seen in a deteriorating

between the neglected accord It was and had been realm to reigned as hunting hidden ested in administrative affairs, they wazirs appointed by the istrators who successfully tapped fill the combat the fallen in court

218

Islam and the Muslim World Empires

currency, a fall in agricultural output, and growing numbers of bankruptcies among merchants. Equally serious was the come under Muslim control. Nevertheless, many of pressure that began to be put on non-Muslims, a function of Iranian cities revolted and had to be reconquered

Fifteen lands had the fallen

the growing influence of the Shi'ite clergy, especially under several times. Even after the murder of the last Sassanian monarch, the pious and impressionable Shah Sultan Hosayn, who ruled province from 651 to 652 C.E., parts of the population in various provinces continued to break their treaties of suzerainty. A cleric who advocated a literal interpretation of the faith. He returned to their old religious practices.

The Armenians of New Julfa near Isfahan, a group with a rich and traditions. Particularly, changes of local governorship disproportionately large role in the economy, lost their tax and the deaths of caliphs presented occasions for revolt, as advantages and by the late seventeenth century many wealthy was the case after the murders of Umar, Uthman, and Ali.

merchants began to migrate to Europe, India, and Russia. In spite of this ongoing resistance and the polemics that As of 1710 disintegration set in. While the shah built palaces were directed against the Arab conquerors—who were at pleasure gardens, the cost of which was extorted from peasants times portrayed as devils and associates of Ahriman (the evil spirit in Zoroastrian belief)—a new landholding class eventually emerged, whose strength gradually increased through outside attack. The final blow came from the east, with Baluchi and Afghan tribesmen occupying Kerman and Mashad.

intermarriage with the indigenous residents. In 1722 a small contingent of Afghan Ghilzai warriors penetrated the interior, defeated a hastily assembled Safavid army, The arrival of the new Arab overlords in Iran also brought and proceeded to besiege Isfahan. The city fell six months with it a new religion. But the conversion of Iran to Islam was neither later, brought to its knees by starvation, and Sultan Hosayn was forced to confer the title of shah on Mahmud, the Afghan Islam on a collective basis, but this was the exception rather than the rule. Meanwhile, Russia and the Ottoman Empire took the rule. Some sections of the population opted for the jizya (tax levied on non-Muslims) and the kharaj (land tax), advantage of the turmoil by occupying Iran's northwestern accepting the dhimmi status (a second-class-citizen status regions.

granting non-Muslims protection and limited religious freedom under Artwork original to the period appears in the volume one Muslim rule) in order to hold on to their old ways. The privileges

that came with conversion were, however, a decisive argument for many, especially those who had been See also Abbas I, Shah; Isma'il I, Shah; Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir; Political Organization; Tahmasp I, Shah. rules. Artisans and craftsmen had been specifically affected in this way, as the Zoroastrian taboos regarding the pollution of BIBLIOGRAPHY the elements of fire, water, and earth clashed with many Matthee, Rudolph P. The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk aspects of their professions, branding them unclean by for Silver 1600–1730. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999. association. Ultimately, greater parts of the populace recognized some Savory, Roger. Iran under the Safavids. Cambridge, U.K.: of the fundamental similarities between Islamic and Zoroastrian Cambridge University Press, 1980. faith, which share the belief in one good god, one evil spirit or devil, a final judgment, and the notions of Paradise and Hell. Rudi Matthee Acceptance of the Islamic faith became more and more widespread. But even for those that held to the Zoroastrian SASSANIAN faith, the restrictions imposed by the dhimmi status were less With the Arab victory over the Iranian forces at Nihavand in severe, and the privileges greater, than had been the case for 641–642 C.E., referred to by the Arabs as the “Victory of Christians and Jews under Zoroastrian rule. During the Victories,” the fall of the Sassanian Empire was final. The Umayyad period, however, there was a marked increase in Sassanians had been a formidable power that had endured for contempt and intolerance of Muslims toward Zoroastrian four centuries, but in the end the corruption and greed of the subjects, prompting a group of them to eventually emigrate ruling and priestly classes had left the imperial coffers de- to Gujarat, where their descendants, known as Parsees, prapleted and, perhaps more importantly, eroded support among tice their belief to this day. the empire’s numerous heterodox subjects. Such internal problems hampered efforts to efficiently muster and deploy It is noteworthy that adherents of non-Zoroastrian religthe impressive Iranian defenses. The ponderous Sassanian ions, or of groups that had been considered heretics by the cavalry ultimately succumbed to the speedy attack and retreat Zoroastrian establishment in Sassanian times, enjoyed a distactics of the lightly armed Arab troops. tinctly greater amount of religious freedom under Muslim

Empires

This relief depicts the Sassanid king Shapur on horseback. After a four-century rule, the Sassanian Empire fell to Arab control in 641–642 C.E. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

rule. The Sassanians had suppressed the heterodox groups Zoroastrianism had declined at the close of the tenth century, existing in their empire, and to them the Islamic practice of attacks on Muslims on their way to worship were apparently giving dhimmi status to the “people of the Book” was tanta-still quite frequent in some provinces, and religious riots mount to liberation.

occurred constantly. The Muslims—Arabs as well as Iranian converts—usually emerged victorious from such confronta- The decline of Zoroastrianism in the face of the advent of tions due to their increasing numbers, bolstered both by Islam was by no means a rapid nor an altogether peace-conversion of Iranians as well as immigration of Arabs into Iran. ful process. Interfaith strife and competition over local authority and resources persisted into Buyid times, and as The rivalry between Zoroastrians and Muslims found late as the end of the tenth century an unsuccessful upris-expression not solely in riots and skirmishes. The two seging of Zoroastrians took place in Shiraz. Although urban ments of the population also competed over economic assets,

220

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

specifically the trade between China and Iran via Central TIMURID Asia. On the other hand, some Arab immigrants joined The Timurid Empire was a powerful, conquest-driven emexisting trade networks, a cooperation that resulted in an pire that devolved into disunited dynasties more noted for increase of overland trade. artistic than political endeavors. Tamerlane (Timur Lang) (1336–1405) was not a Mongol but emerged out of the chaos The degree of either cooperation or enmity between the of post-Mongol Turkistan. He was born on 8 April 1336 at two communities depended to a large extent on the way the Khwarju Ilghar, just south of Samarkand near Shahr-e Sabz. conquest of each particular area or province had unfolded. Although his people (Turks), the various lineages of the Barlas, The provinces in Iraq, Khuzistan, Azerbaijan, and Sistan, for lived a pastoral life and became nomads, they existed in close example, had surrendered to the Arab invaders after com-

proximity to sedentary people and sedentary culture, paratively few battles. In the absence of memories of pro- even while antagonistic to it. Thus, like Genghis Khan (r. 1162–1227), Tamerlane was the product of a mixed environment readily forged. In these areas, where Arabs and Iranians even ment and was not a man of the deep steppe. The political stood together against outside aggressors like Turks and system that he later employed to rule his empire was also Mongols, the Muslim colonizers encountered a more fertile mixed. It continued the Chaghatay ulus tradition of a strict separation between sedentary and nomadic sectors, with the subsequently took place in a comparatively peaceful manner. sedentary world (the tax base) protected from destructive nomadic incursions to the greatest degree possible and ruled, Urban strongholds central to Zoroastrian power, in which not by tribal chieftains, who were simultaneously command had to be conquered in protracted battles under immense ers of tribally based military forces, but by local administrablloodshed, were far less welcoming to the invaders, who in tors, bureaucrats appointed for set periods of time. turn employed draconian measures to ensure their dominance. The resulting atmosphere in such locales was conse- Their methods were primarily rooted in Iranian techquently characterized by mutual resentment, distrust, and niques, including largely Iranian and not Mongolian methods general tension, a state of affairs that was ameliorated only of taxation. By the fourteenth century, to be sure, the two with great hesitation. Finally, there were areas where hostility sides of the former Chaghatay domains had begun to interand active conflict persisted long after Arab settlements had penetrate, Tamerlane was himself a reflection of the type of been established. In the Transoxanian and Caspian regions, changes going on, and much of the formerly nomadic aristocconstant military confrontations between Iranian lords and racy had moved into the cities that they ruled, even if Arab generals precluded coexistence, cooperation, and peaceful indirectly. Nonetheless, they remained culturally and physiconversion longer than anywhere else in Iran. But ultimately, cally quite distinctive and a class apart from their subjects, all efforts to oust the Arabs failed. The late Sassanian Empire even the assimilated Turkic ones. One major way in which had not fostered a society that stood united behind its ruling the nomadic side of Timurid domains differed from the and priestly classes. After its fall, Zoroastrian leaders attempt- sedentary was in the nomadic tradition that treated land as a ing to rally military opposition against the Arab conquest collective

possession, belonging to an entire tribe, and not to individuals, institutions, or the state, as was the case in required for such undertakings. sedentary areas. This made groups, and not territory, the key organizational element for the nomadic sector, as had been See also Islam and Other Religions; Minorities: the case under the Mongols.

Dhimmis.

Tamerlane's early life and career is obscure and sur-

BIBLIOGRAPHY rounded by

legend, but it is clear that he showed military talents at an early stage of his life and the kind of charisma Boyce, Mary. Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices. necessary to acquire a following. He gained power first within London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.

his own Barlas people and then, in a manner typical of the Choksy, Jamsheed K. Conflict and Cooperation: Zoroastrian steppe-based societies of the era, carefully began to make Subalterns and Muslim Elites in Medieval Iranian Society. allies outside it. The most important of these allies was Amir New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Husayn of the Qara unas, descendants of a nomadic garrison, Frye, Richard Nelson, ed. The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. or tanma, placed by the Mongols in Afghanistan during the

4: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs. Cam- early thirteenth century. Unlike Tamerlane, or Amir Temür, bridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

as he was then known, Amir Husayn was an important part of Tabari, Abu Ja far Muhammad b. Jarir al-. The History of al- the Chaghatay political establishment of the area, offering a Tabari (Ta rikh al-rusul wa l-muluk), Vol. 14: The Conquest legitimacy much sought by Tamerlane.

of Iran. Translated by G. Rex Smith. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. Ultimately, Tamerlane and

Amir Husayn, after back and forth relationships, had a falling out. Husayn was killed by Henning L. Bauer Tamerlane, who now became the effective ruler of Chaghatay

Islam and the Muslim World

221

Empires

domains, although not its actual ruler since Tamerlane main- was once comprised of a mosque, a caravansary, and a khanaqa tained the fiction of a ruling khan (qan) of the line of Genghis (Sufi convent), in addition to the madrasa of Ulugh Beg ibn

Khan to the end. As Tamerlane was only associated with it by Shahrukh (1394–1449), grandson of Tamerlane, who was marriage, as a guregen, or imperial son-in-law, he did not responsible for the other buildings, too. With Tamerlane’s qualify for this office. Tamerlane received a formal corona- mausoleum, Gur-e Amir, the complex celebrates not only the tion at Balkh on 9 April 1360. power and glory of the Timurid ruler, but also the artistic fusion achieved under Chaghatay and other Mongol rulers. Tamerlane spent the remainder of his life warring against The colored tiles that are characteristic of the architecture of his enemies, conquering and reconquering territories, all the the time are directly derived from Chinese blue-and-white while building up and beautifying his capital of Samarkand. porcelain that itself represented a response to the tastes of the The major campaigns were into Khwarazm in 1371, into the Mongol world conquerors. Semiryeche and beyond from 1375–1377, into Iran and Afghanistan from 1381–1384, and into the Caucasus and Iran The late Timurid period was also the time of the great wazir, from 1386–1388. He undertook two campaigns into the turned Golden Horde, first from 1391–1392, again from 1392–1396. Timurid Chaghatay Turkic into a literary language. A minor his Next, he brought war against Delhi between 1398 and 1399, tradition, prince, Babur (r. 1483–1530), conquered India, and in India and into Anatolia and Syria between 1399 and 1404. At the survives. the time of his death, Tamerlane was preparing to attack China. including the Caghatay language, which persisted His military strategy was based on the use of steppe archers to until the 1920s, and Central Asian cuisine, which still the maximum extent, except that by this time these were no longer the lightly armed force of the Mongolian empire, and See also Political Organization; Sultanates: Delhi; siege trains and other special forces were a regular part of his armies which, nonetheless, remained highly mobile.

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Like Genghis Khan and other Mongol rulers, Tamerlane Buell, Paul D. An Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire. Lanham, Md., and London: The Scarecrow Press, 2003. outdid the Mongols. His most enduring military accomplish- Carswell, John. Blue & White, Chinese Porcelain Around the World. ments were his utter defeat of Golden Horde forces under

Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2002.

Toqtamysh (r. 1377–1395) on the Terek River on 14 April Jackson,
Peter, and Lockhart, Laurence. The Cambridge His-
1395, from which the Golden Horde never recovered, and his tory of
Iran, Vol. 6, The Timurid and Safavid Periods.
defeat of the powerful Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402)
Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
in the Battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402, an event which Lentz,
Thomas W., and Lowry, Glenn D., eds. Timur and the
considerably slowed development of the Ottoman empire. It Princely
Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth
was not during these campaigns but during his youthful fights Century.
Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of
for survival that Tamerlane sustained the wound that pro- Art,
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1989.
vided him the Persian nickname, Temur-e lang, “lame Temur,” Manz,
Beatrice Forbes. The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane. Camfrom which our own name for
him originated. bridge, U.K.: Cambridge University
Press, 1989.

After his death, Tamerlane’s empire fell apart quickly and

Paul D. Buell

his primary successors, Shahrukh (r. 1404–1447) and Khalil-
Sultan (r. 1404–1409), controlled no more than a small Umayyad
portion of its original territory. Later this shrinking realm The Umayyad
dynasty ruled the early Muslim community
was subdivided even further. Nonetheless, despite the grow- from 661 to
750 C.E. The Umayyad Empire had its capital in
ing political impotence of the Timurids, whose rule was Damascus
and was supported through the military strength
finally extinguished in the early sixteenth century, Herat and of Syrian
troops. It was characterized by a continuous effort at
other centers of Timurid power in Transoxiana witnessed an territorial
expansion of the Islamic empire, reaching its apounparalleled cultural
development. This was the era of some gee in the early eighth century.
The territorial growth of
of the finest books ever produced in the Islamic world, and the empire
set into motion processes of Arabization and
during this time the already substantial architectural achieve-
Islamization that would shape the culture of the region.
ments of Tamerlane’s own reign (his mausoleum in Samarkand Umayyad
overexertion of military forces in the continuation
and the classic shrine of Ahmad Yasavi in Turkistan City) of
expansionist efforts, together with an unequal treatment of
were further enhanced with such marvels as the Registan in Arab and
non-Arab Muslims, and problems of religious and
Samarkand. This is a planned complex, one of the earliest of political

legitimacy contributed to the weakening of the
its kind in the Islamic world. It focuses on a central square and Umayyad
dynasty and its eventual downfall.

222

Islam and the Muslim World

Empires

Muslim historiographical sources generally portray the
Umayyads in a negative light, accusing not only the Umayyad Umayyad
Caliphs

caliphs, but also their ancestors and relatives, of all kinds of
moral failings and un-Islamic behaviors. Much of this criti- SUFYANIDS
cism needs to be sifted carefully for anti-Umayyad biases, as
Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan 661–680 C.E.
Yazid b. Mu'awiyah 680–683 C.E.
most of the available Muslim sources have been penned in
683 C.E.

Mu'awiyah b. Yazid

late Umayyad and early Abbasid times, when anti-Umayyad
sentiments were extensive, particularly among the emerging
MARWANIDS

religious class that left its imprint on many of the literary

Marwan b. al-Hakam 684–685 C.E.
sources at our disposal. 'Abd

al-Malik b. Marwan 685–705 C.E.

al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik 705–715 C.E.

Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan, whose caliphate marks the Sulayman b.
'Abd al-Malik 715–717 C.E.

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz 717–720 C.E.

beginning of the Umayyad dynasty, was appointed the gover- Yazid b.
'Abd al-Malik 720–724 C.E.

nor of Syria under caliph Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644 Hisham
b. 'Abd al-Malik 724–743 C.E.

al-Walid b. Yazid 743–744 C.E.

C.E.). During the first Civil War (656–661 C.E.) the third
Yazid b. al-Walid 744 C.E.

caliph, Uthman b. al-Affan (r. 644–656) had been assassi- Ibrahim
b. al-Walid 744 C.E.

nated by discontented elements in the growing Muslim Marwan b.
Muhammad 744–750 C.E.

empire. Mu'awiya, his relative, challenged the authority of

Uthman's successor, Ali b. Abi Talib (r. 656–661) purport- An
illustration of the two caliphate families of the Umayyad dynasty.

edly because the latter did not prosecute the murders of

Uthman. While Mu'awiya's direct challenge to Ali at the
battle of Siffin (657) ended in a stalemate, Ali's assassination power.

Abd al-Malik also began the process of making Arabic by a Kharijite (separatist) in 661 effectively put Mu awiya in the lingua franca of the empire, and he built the Dome of the power. During Mu awiya's long reign, from 661 to 680, a Rock in Jerusalem.

relative calm returned to the Muslim empire, as Mu awiya After the Second Civil War between the Umayyad forces successfully kept discontented elements in check. The relaand the nascent Shi a, a new phase of imperial extension was tive stability of the empire allowed Mu awiya to reinvigorate inaugurated. Of particular importance were annual raids the expansionist warfare of the earlier caliphs. Yet the issues against the Byzantine Empire, including further attempts to that had led to the First Civil War, namely a different conquer its capital, Constantinople (716–717). Additionally, understanding of legitimate leadership of the Muslim com- successes in North Africa led to a defeat of the last remaining munity, continued to plague the Muslim community. Upon Byzantine outposts. With the conversion of Berber tribes of Mu awiya's death in 680 C.E., his son Yazid, designated heir North Africa, the conquest forces were reinvigorated, leading apparent, faced revolts by Husayn b. Ali b. Abi Talib, to the crossing of the straits of Gibraltar in 711 and a grandson of the prophet Muhammad, and Abdallah b. al- vanquishing of the Visigothic kingdom of the Iberian penin- sula. After Zubayr, son of a prominent companion of Muhammad. the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty in the Disorganization and woefully inadequate military support for Muslim heartlands by the Abbasids in 750, a descendant of Husayn brought about his quick defeat and death at the Battle the Umayyads would find refuge in Muslim Spain where an of Karbala in 680 C.E. Yet while Yazid's military success Umayyad kingdom and later caliphate was founded, lasting against Husayn was swift, the ideological repercussions of the until 1031. The eastward expansion of the empire in the early Battle of Karbala would come to haunt Umayyad ambitions eighth century included successful conquests into Transoxania and Sind. for political legitimacy for centuries. Husayn's martyrdom at Karbala became a powerful symbol for Shi ite aspirations. Yet the increase of military failures on the frontiers in the With the death of Mu awiya b. Yazid in 683 C.E., Umayyad second quarter of the eighth century, coupled with growing tensions control of the empire suffered a nearly total collapse during among different tribal factions in the Syrian army (which had the Second Civil War (683–692), until Marwan b. al-Hakam provided the main support for Umayyad power), and growing assumed the caliphate, inaugurating the Marwanid lineage.

unrest among different groups of “piety-minded”
 Marwan, and later his son Abd al-Malik, gradually restored opponents
 led to a weakening of Umayyad strength and its
 Umayyad control of the empire, defeating a number of final
 demise. A carefully organized underground movement,
 opponents in different parts of the empire. Abd al-Malik coordinated
 by the Abbasid agitator Abu Muslim in the
 reestablished full Umayyad control in 692 C.E., when he eastern
 province of Khurasan garnered support among varidefeated counter-caliph
 Abdallah b. al-Zubayr after a siege ous groups in opposition to the
 Umayyads. The Abbasids’s
 on Mecca that had led to a fire, destroying part of the Ka ba. initial
 claim to rally troops against the Umayyads in favor of
 The siege itself and the damage done to the Ka ba reinforced the family
 of Muhammad particularly appealed to Shi a. Only
 criticism against the Umayyads as irreligious usurpers of after the
 Umayyads had been decisively defeated did the

Islam and the Muslim World

223

Erbakan, Necmeddin

Abbasids reveal their claim to the caliphate, centering its
 claims to legitimacy on descent from Muhammad’s paternal
 ERBAKAN, NECMEDDIN (1926–)
 uncle al- Abbas.

Necmeddin Erbakan served as Turkey’s prime minister
 The geographical spread of the Islamic empire did not (1996–1997) and
 was the founder of the Welfare Party (Refah
 directly correlate with the spread of Islam as a religion among Partisi). A
 mechanical engineer, university professor, diesel
 the inhabitants of conquered territories. Indeed, during much factory
 founder, and Union of Chambers of Commerce and
 of the Umayyad caliphate Islam as a religious tradition was in Industry
 president, he was elected to Parliament in 1969 as a
 a state of flux and only gradually assumed more identifiable spokesman
 for small business.
 contours. Forced conversion of local populations was rare;
 conquered peoples usually continued to practice their relig- Erbakan
 started the National Order Party (Milli Nizam
 ious traditions, and Islamization of these territories spanned Partisi) in
 1970, which was banned after the 1971 military
 several centuries. In addition to a gradual spread of Islam coup. As
 founder of the National Salvation Party (Milli
 among the conquered peoples, Muslim traders and pious Selâmet
 Partisi, 1972) he became deputy premier. After the
 preachers spread Islam as a religion beyond the borders of the 1980 coup
 this party also was banned and Erbakan ousted

conquered territories. Likewise, Arabization in the newly from
 politics. Erbakan's third party, the Welfare Party (formed
 conquered territories was a slow process; Arabic as the official in 1983),
 which opposed corruption and demanded a prolanguage of Umayyad administration
 seems not to have been Islamic, anti-Western foreign policy, received
 21 percent of
 prevalent before 700, and specifically Muslim coinage does the vote in
 1996. Erbakan headed a coalition government
 not seem to have been in use before the end of the seventh with Tansu
 Çiller of the True Path Party.
 century.

As prime minister Erbakan became more moderate, im-
 The major contribution of the Umayyads to Islamdom proving
 Turkey's Mideast relations while maintaining its
 consists not only in their military successes, its Islamization Western
 alliances. Domestically, he raised civil service salaand Arabization, but also
 in its support for the development ries and cleaned up the cities. He
 could not halt corruption,
 of Islam as a religious tradition. In spite of the negative however;
 coalition partners as well as opponents were involved.
 attitude in which later sources portray the Umayyads, the first
 Pressure from the military, alarmed by Islamism, forced
 collections of sayings of Muhammad and of early Muslim
 historiography were undertaken with some support of the Erbakan's
 resignation (1997) and the party's closure (1998).
 Umayyads; likewise, Umayyad patronage in religious build- He was
 imprisoned for a year for "inciting hatred," though
 ings produced a first, identifiable Islamic architecture in supporters
 considered him a fighter for religious freedom.
 buildings like the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the After his
 ouster, Erbakan unofficially backed a successor
 Umayyad mosque of Damascus. party, Virtue
 (Fazilet), which disavowed radical Islamism.

See also Arabic Language; Arabic Literature; Dome See also
 Modernization, Political: Participation, Politiof the Rock; Empires: Abbasid;
 Empires: Byzantine; cal Movements, and Parties; Political Islam.
 Husayn; Islam and Islamic; Karbala; Kharijites,
 Khawarij; Marwan; Mu awiya; Umar.

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the Umayyads. Albany: State University of New York

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Classical Age. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.

It is important to distinguish how the term ethics was used in Wellhausen, Julius. *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*. 1927. premodern Islam compared to its usage in the modern period. Translated by Margaret Graham Weir. Edited by A. H. riod. In the premodern period, ethics was chiefly concerned Harley. Reprint, London: Curzon Press, 1973. about the formation and disciplining of the self through the cultivation of practices that were deemed “good conduct.”

Alfons H. Teipen Such conduct was naturalized through education, ritual, and

224

Islam and the Muslim World

Ethics and Social Issues

disciplinary practices that were intended to help the devout Innumerable reports attributed to the Prophet place special value Muslim internalize the values that underlay an ethical life. cial value and emphasis on the need to cultivate good character, *husn al-khulq*. The phrase also has an aesthetic quality of

In the modern Muslim context, by contrast, matters such beauty (*husn*) to it. In other words, character is related to an

as education, ritual, and disciplinary practices have them- inner magnificence. In fact, numerous hadith stress that the

selves undergone a significant, if not radical, change from perfection of character is equal to the perfection of faith. In

previous eras. The modern period is governed by the logic of some hadith, good character is described as half of faith.

systems, bureaucratic processes, and the logic of abstraction. Similarly, good character was viewed as the most effective

Education in particular, but ritual, and other social practices antidote to the human predisposition to commit sins. In early

too, have felt the influences of bureaucratic modernity. Now Islam, as today, moral education is the primary responsibility

ethics is conceived of as a set of abstract values, derived from of parents and teachers, who should not only transmit moral

sources that do not always completely resonate with the

knowledge, but also supervise its application through prachistorical self, given the massive global transformations of

tice, discipline, and training.

cultures and values. Although the earlier understandings of and approaches to ethics are only partly adhered to, Muslim The Pietists and the Philosophers

communities are forging new ethical identities in the mael- The early Muslim ethicists differentiated between the etistrom of paradigmatic transitions in knowledge, culture, and quette of the self (adab al-nafs) and the etiquette of pedagogy

history. (adab

al-dars). Abd al-Nabi al-Ahmadnagri (d. 1769), the Indian encyclopedist, describes the etiquette of the self as Terms and Historical Developments

being designed to protect the limbs as well as religious

Ethics in premodern Muslim thought finds its expression

symbols from harm: Implicitly this invokes the obligation

around concepts such as character (khuluq) and in the literary

not to inflict harm intentionally (the ethical principle of

genre of civility or etiquette (adab). Historically, Muslim

nonmaleficence). Ideally, through regular practice, this etiethics draws from several cultural sources: the pre-Islamic

quette should become internalized by the practitioner, beethical traditions of Arabia and the Arab-Islamic tradition

coming a part of his or her very disposition, or personality.

followed by cross-pollination with the practices of neighbor-

The ethics of learning, on the other hand, relate to the

ing cultures, such as Persianate, Greek, and Indian philoproduction of knowledge, especially to questions of language

sophical and ethical traditions, in addition to mystical (sufi)

and epistemology. Here the concern is to figure how knowlsources all of which no doubt left their marks on the face of

edge is constituted and the manner in which its authority is Muslim ethics.

implemented. Knowledge is deemed to be highly beneficial

Within the first three centuries of several Islamicate and almost intrinsically to contribute to the welfare of the self

cultures of the Near East, several ethical traditions arose. The and others, and invokes the active ethical principle of benefi-

two principal genres of early ethical writing were pietist (or cence.

Almost all the early Muslim sources discuss prescripmystical) and

philosophical. The earliest texts are primarily tive norms that relate in some way to aspects of nonmaleficence

concerned with the ethics of the self, especially with the and the promotion of beneficence, among other principles.

disciplining of the body and soul. The literary genre of ilm

al-akhlaq, literally meaning “the science of innate disposi- A more formal discipline of the “science of ethics” took

tions” and the emergence of the discourses of civility, urban- shape

under the influence of philosophical writers like ity, or humanitas, called adab are among the most prominent Miskawayh (d. 1030), Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. 1023), and contexts in which ethical debates were set forth. In fact, Abu 'l-Hassan al-Amiri (d. 992), among others. These writers materials in the form of prophetic reports (hadith) make up expanded the sphere of ethics, developing new meanings the bulk of what we consider to be the “science of innate within a primarily Persianate environment but in conversadispositions.” tion with other regional intellectual traditions. Many of these teachings were intended as moral pedagogy for the young, for Normative discourses about morality can be found in both bureaucrats, and also for the ruler’s entourage and his aides de the hadith literature and in the Qur an. There is a famous camp. In time, more specialized forms of political ethics were report in which A isha describes her husband, the prophet developed as part of the nasiha or advice-genre, offered in the Muhammad, as the embodiment of Islamic values, saying that form of “mirrors for princes.” The philosophical writers also his character mirrors the Qur an. In this pithy statement, the contributed to a marked growth in moral pedagogy, in the linkage between the Qur an and ethical values cannot be form of the adab genre. ignored. In short, the expression suggests that the prophet Muhammad had internalized the virtues proposed in the Even among the early Muslim pietists the cultivation of Scripture. In fact, the Qur an, addressing the prophet Mu- character and the disciplining of the self is a preeminent concern. hammad, says: “Indeed you [Muhammad] have been en- Through pious acts and obedience to the norms dowed with a noble character.” (68:4) Here the word khuluq were said to be derived from revelation (shari a) the individual (character) assumes extraordinary emphasis. was thought to be able to develop an inner disposition that

Islam and the Muslim World

225

Ethics and Social Issues

compares favorably to a notion of conscience. Figures like Later on, the martyred jurist-mystic, Ayn al-Qudat al-Harith al-Muhasibi (d. 857), Raghib al-Isfahani (d. ca. 1108), Hamadhani (d. 1131) considered the necessity of relying on and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) produced extensive and the dictates of the heart, fatwa al-qalb. For him there was no detailed treatises and manuals dealing with topics that address doubt that the heart was the seat of conscience, basing his

intentionality, the cultivation of virtuous habits, good character, and how to perfect practices that lead to salvation. Each a response (fatwa) from your heart, even though the of these texts specified how a novice in the path of piety could jurisconsult (mufti) had issued a response (fatwa).” This attainment sanctity for ethical ends by giving attention to practice places the ultimate ethical responsibility on the individuals. Readers were taught how to undertake a moral self-cultivation, and detracts from the expert knowledge of the legal evaluation in order to identify character flaws, and were also specialist. In short, for al-Hamadani, fiqh was the medieval taught how to remedy such ills. homology for what today is called applied ethics.

Often the remedial path advocated a conscientious approach to rituals and practices prescribed by legal discourses, Concept of Fiqh In seeking to identify broad historical trends in Muslim both those of the shari'a and those embodied in the legal thought on the subject of ethics, Ibn Khaldun provides a regulations called fiqh. The fulcrum of Muslim ethics is valuable starting point. He argued that fiqh, as practiced ideally expressed in the practical applications of the law at the within its original Arabic linguistic habitat, was an embodied most public level. disposition and aptitude (jibilla wa malaka). The idea of malaka can be understood as something akin to a socio-biological. Nonetheless, the ethics practiced by both the mystics and biological disposition or aptitude, rather than a purely biophilosophers is highly specialized, with its own rarified vocabulary or psychological one. In this sense it has a strong cabulary that was aimed at serving a certain elite and educated resemblance to what Marcell Mauss calls a habitus. Ibn Khaldun strata of Muslim societies. No less an authority than the argued that the concept of malaka was subject to cultural intellectual historian Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) erosion as Islam expanded into other cultural and linguistic traditions. noted the difference in the perspectives on the shari'a held by traditions. In these new contexts, the need arose to theorize jurists (fuqaha) and jurisconsults (ahl-futya) on the one hand, about and develop rules and principles of the Arab and the mystics and ascetics on the other. While the former language, law and legal theory, and other disciplines. With this advocated the general rules for devotional practices, social development, concepts such as malaka underwent alteration. transactions, and customs, the latter provided the etiquette of This

altered state of cultural and ethical subjectivities led to practice, relying on intuitive cognition or aesthetic sensibility the development of what Ghazali would denounce as the (dhawq) informed by ascetic practices (mujahada) and self-soulless formalism of fiqh, deprived of its ethical and moral examination (muhasaba). purposes.

The Influence of al-Ghazali

Despite the efforts of people like al-Ghazali, the bulk of In the twelfth century, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali combined the Muslim jurisprudence developed along very formalistic lines, methods of both the jurists and the mystics. He grew dissatisfied with the popular understanding of law, fiqh, and with legalism. By the twelfth century, the line was clearly drawn between what he believed to be the ultimate perversion of the law: those who held that fiqh was part of the development of the self reductionism, hairsplitting, specialization, and arcane debates. Al-Ghazali admonished that legal debates about marriage, divorce, the manumission of slaves, or the execution of certain ethical concerns, these are most likely traces of pre-Islamic and contracts do not result in reverential fear and awe of Islamic understandings of ethics, rather than the product of a the divine; in fact they result in the opposite. He argued for lively contemporaneous ethics in conversation with the immediate need to retrieve the meaning of fiqh from its earliest society in which the law is practiced.

usage, when it meant “the path of salvation in the afterlife.”

To be fair, some jurists, other than the mystics, did In order to restore fiqh to its former meaning, Al-Ghazali attempt to engage fiqh in a dialog with moral and ethical objectives. believed that a deep knowledge of the tribulations of the soul the law, In order to highlight the ethical strains implicit in and what constitutes morally detrimental acts was required, the law, some jurists began to emphasize the role of public interest rather than a familiarity with the minutiae of the law. He interest (maslaha) by elaborating its ethical purposes (maqasid), such as in called for fiqh al-nafs (discernment of the soul), a form of the protection and advancement of religion, life, inner enlightenment. He believed that a proper understanding, reason, wealth, and paternity or family. This method, popularized by the work of scholars like al-Ghazali, Najm al-Din and soul of the practitioner. Ghazali explicitly stated that fiqh al-Tufi (d. 1316), Izz al-Din Ibn Abd al-Salam al-Sulami (d.

primarily signifies the requisites of faith, and least of all was 1262), Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi (d.1388), and Ibn Qayyim alconcerned with the dictates of jurisprudence (fatwa, pl. fatawa). Jawziyya (d. 1350), enjoyed only limited success. It is no

226

Islam and the Muslim World Ethics and Social Issues

coincidence that several of these jurists also adhered to complexity of fetal life. This point of view is informed by the certain mystical traditions. theological doctrine that the spirit (ruh) enters the fetus around 120 days (four months) after conception. Those who In fact, in order to reinvigorate the law with an ethical take a strict position argue that, once the sperm enters the component, many modern-day Muslim jurists have also taken womb, it is destined to produce life, and thus abortion is recourse to the doctrines of public interest and the objectives proscribed. Given the 120-day rule, however, many jurists of the law. In fact, much of contemporary jurisprudence and find it less morally onerous to sanction a justifiable abortion ethics is indebted to this method, but it has met with mixed within this period. outcomes. A brief recapitulation of some of these efforts as applied to major issues of the day may shed light on the The classic precedent for permitting abortion within the developments in modern Muslim ethics and the way they first 120 days is the case where a nursing mother falls relate to the inherited tradition. pregnant. The new pregnancy would stop her from lactating, and the husband may be unable to afford to pay a wet-nurse to The Ethos of Killing breastfeed the infant. When facing two competing harms, it is The unlawful killing of a human being is categorically forbidproposed that one choose the lesser nonmaleficence. In a den in Islamic law and ethics, and deemed as a major sin. Both similar vein, there is almost universal unanimity that if a the Qur an and hadith sources, as interpreted by the jurists, pregnant woman faces a life-threatening risk, it is permissible view life as sacrosanct. The preservation of life is one of the to terminate the pregnancy, irrespective of the stage. Preservmoral objectives of the law and intrinsic to human dignity. ing the life of the mother takes precedence over the rights of Life can only be taken as part of a just recompense for the the unborn child. crime of murder and for defensive purposes such as war and restoring order during chaos. The noted hadith scholar, Muslim

ethicists disagree as to what reasons justify termination. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Dhahabi (d. 1348), however, made a distinction between abortion and infanticide, and, more importantly, how such a determination is to be made. An interesting point about the legitimate amount of force that may be made. For most jurists, a medical diagnosis that detects a fetus to be severely deformed or defective, carrying a life-threatening condition, he argued, the goal is not to kill them, unless threatening hereditary or untreatable disease, or afflicted with a serious handicap is not sufficient grounds for termination. To kill without need is to revert to a state of spiritual infidelity, according to a hadith. Only the official Egyptian fatwa-body sanctions termination attributed to the Prophet. Whoever kills without a just cause is a murderer. Nations prior to 120 days in the above-mentioned instances. However, if pregnancy has advanced beyond this period, then termination of such fetuses is not permitted even there. A fetus with a serious handicap carries the burden of killing all of humanity; and whoever saves a life, it is as if the whole of humanity had been rescued, according to the Qur'an (5:32).

Some classical jurists, motivated by an exclusivist and triumphalist ethos, have interpreted these and other Qur'anic verses as tolerable. The Deoband seminary in India only sanctions termination if there is an actual threat to the life of the mother, for killing a non-Muslim or a slave. More egalitarian counter-views have discredited this view. Nonetheless, fetal defect is not a valid reason to terminate at any stage of pregnancy. Many Muslim jurists are increasingly retreating from the 120-day rule as advances in medical technology provide more visible and definitive evidence of fetal abnormality that would result in blindness or deafness, risk; and Islamic law the right to seek redress in cases of murder of the fetus. belongs to the family of the deceased. The family of the deceased has the right to choose from several options: they may seek material compensation for their loss, they may call for the execution of the offender, or they may even pardon the offender. In other words, the death penalty is not a requirement.

abortion for family planning purposes within the 120-day period. mandatory requirement in terms of Islamic law. However, Ayatullah Fadl Allah of Lebanon is one of the few some theologians of the classical period viewed the mere authorities who permits termination within 120 days, on the grounds desire to be an abolitionist as a doctrinal offense. that the pregnancy and its consequences will cause an intolerable social hardship for the mother and her family. The Question of Abortion On the other hand, the mere deformity of a fetus does not constitute grounds for termination, even within the 120-day period. classical Muslim jurists consider a fetus in the first 120 days Other scholars counter by arguing that the birth of offspring after conception to be nonviable. However, there is no denial is predestined and cannot be limited on the grounds that as the fetus incrementally develops, so too does the of material considerations.

Islam and the Muslim World

227

Ethics and Social Issues

Muslim women in the waiting room of a birth control clinic in Cairo. Abortion is a contentious topic in the Muslim world. © PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS

Mufti Nizam al-Din Azami of the Deoband seminary does mittee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). not consider pregnancy outside wedlock or one caused by Artificial insemination from a husband is deemed permissible to be a valid reason for termination. For him, the sanctity ble, while that from any other donor is impermissible. Islamic law of the new life takes precedence over the autonomy of the law insists on legitimate paternity being an essential requirement for reproduction, pregnant woman and the negative social consequences arise- ment for reproduction, thus outlawing donor insemination, ing from her added responsibilities. A minority of Egyptian since the donor and donee are not married. Ayatollah Fadl jurists at al-Azhar University also shares this view. However, Allah expresses some concern that a woman seeking artificial the highly respected Indian jurist, Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawi insemination, even legitimately, might be guilty of indecent (d. 1886), argued that it is permissible to terminate a pregnancy exposure of her body to a male physician during the course of nancy conceived outside wedlock, even if there are visible the medical procedure. Such an indecent exposure is legally signs of fetal formation, in other words even if the pregnancy prohibited, unless an emergency necessitates it. However, it

has advanced beyond 120 days. He gives greater consideration to the mother's autonomy and the need to liberate another female. Mufti Nizam al-Din of India outrightly single woman from social stigma and the accompanying prohibits artificial insemination, declaring these procedures reduced life-chances she would encounter if she carried such are contrary to religion and natural law and increase the a pregnancy to term in very unfavorable cultural conditions. A minority of jurists in contemporary India draw on the prospect of dehumanization.

rationale of al-Laknawi to permit termination for pregnancies caused by rape and sex outside of wedlock.

With regard to sperm banks, Ayatollah Fadl Allah discourages the use of a husband's stored sperm after his death, Ayatollah Fadl Allah has issued several rulings related to modern reproductive technologies, as has the Islamic Fiqh Commission posthumously conceived legitimately belongs to the

since

any

228

Islam and the Muslim World

Ethics and Social Issues

wife and is to be attributed to the deceased husband, cause concerns about how they may affect the relations among siblings who share a wet-nurse.

mate. However, such a child would not be able to inherit from the father's estate, since the fetus was produced after his

Contraception

death. In Egypt the permissibility of such a practice has also been a subject of serious contention. of

contraception are temporary and not irreversible. The most popular premodern means of contraception was by way

Ayatollah Fadl Allah permits a female to store her eggs in order to be fertilized later.

Fertilized embryos can be used for a wife to practice

experimental purposes, he argues, reasoning that such organ-coitus interruptus if she wished to protect her body aesthetics cannot be equated to be a living person, which only cally and avoid the changes to her body that accompany

occurs at ensoulment around 120 days after conception. He pregnancy and child birth. Birth control can also be pursued

also permits the sale of unfertilized female gametes for in order

to avoid the burden of material difficulties of providing experimental purposes, provided that the financial compensation for a large family. There is almost unanimity that vasectomy and hysterectomy, unless recommended for sound medical reasons, there can not be a monetary value placed on these or any reasons, are not permissible, because they result in irreversible changes to the body. He also permits surrogacy, under limited circumstances. Surrogacy is only permissible if the surrogate mother at least temporarily becomes a wife to the Birth control as part of a national family planning program whose sperm fertilized the egg she is carrying to term. Countries whereby governments place an upper limit on the

Technically, however, the child is attributed to the female permissible size of a family, has often been controversial and whose egg was fertilized, and not to the female who delivers the child. The Ayatollah finds the Muslim world. Some suspect that the Western world. The Ayatollah finds several objections to an uncontrolled transnational institutions wish to use family planning that allows a mother to act as a surrogate if her daughter is born to limit Muslim populations. Another concern is that is incapable of carrying a pregnancy to term. That birth control measures such as the pill and condoms may increase promiscuity. The controversy remains unresolved.

Adoption and Fosterage In Egypt, for instance, former al-Azhar shaykh opposed the use of the pill, while another senior official, the state mufti, encouraged its use. This form prevents the adopted child from taking on the fictional identity and paternity of his or her adoptive parents. the opposition to birth control measures has lessened. Forging a fictional identity between persons not related biologically is prohibited according to Muslim ethics. As long as the adopted child knows that he or she has biological Indian and Pakistani authorities have been opposed to organ transplantation and cloning from its very inception. Several fatwas, including one issued by Mufti Nizam al-Din, allow organ transplantation only under conditions of emergency. Blood transfusion, too, is only permissible under extreme conditions of necessity. For many traditionalist Muslim ethicists grounds increases the risk of biologically related offspring from the

There is perhaps greater uniformity among the diverse punishment can serve as an effective purgative for this act, ethics committees in their approach to the subject of repro- and therefore that its immorality precludes an earthly pendentive and therapeutic cloning; all express great caution and alty. Some jurists are so morally offended by homosexuality apprehension. Fears stem from the idea that biogenetic tech- that even to raise the question of its permissibility is enough nology can radically transform human identity, undermining to lead to calls for excommunication and anathematizing. if not perverting current moral and ethical practices. For this However, Muslim ethicists have yet to reach consensus as to whether reason the Islamic Fiqh Academy prohibits all cloning prac- whether

homosexuality is a socially constructed practice or
 tices that allow a third party to be associated in genetic part of a
 biological, genetic predisposition. Such an inquiry
 reproduction between two married persons, whether it is by may prompt a
 deeper ethical investigation into whether or
 means of another womb, the provision of third-party gametes, not persons
 can be held accountable for responding to their
 or through the manipulation of animal or human cells. For natural
 proclivities, even if those proclivities may be deemed
 now all forms of human cloning are banned, but the future unnatural by
 heterosexual standards.

may bring exceptions on a case-by-case basis, as knowledge
 and experience in genetics advance. Although the Academy Ethical
 Trends for the Future

permits research in animal and plant cloning, it encourages Over the
 centuries, Muslim ethics have undergone tremengovernments to adopt legislative
 measures to close all the dous change, even though little attention has
 been paid. In

avenues for direct and indirect experimentation in human the modern
 period, new scientific discoveries and technolocloning until substantive
 knowledge makes it safe. Similarly gies have severely challenged the
 ethical heritage of early

the Academy has declared a moratorium on genetic engineer- Islam. Yet,
 Muslim ethics remain deeply embedded in the
 ing and the human genome project until greater clarity is premodern
 legacy, and little of modern scientific thinking has
 achieved and its ethics committee is in a better position to seeped into
 ethical discourses in any meaningful way. The
 offer meaningful and practical guidelines. cultural,
 political, and economic encounter with the West
 continues to elicit great caution from Muslims, especially

Euthanasia

those within the traditional religious sector, who view the
 Indian Muslim scholars rule out both active and passive forms
 premodern Muslim ethical legacy as a bulwark against exterof euthanasia. Active
 forms of euthanasia are a major moral
 nal ethical and moral encroachment. Clearly there is very
 sin and an unthinkable act within Muslim ethics. Mufti
 little consensus between various and diverse Muslim religious
 Nizam al-Din argues that for terminally ill individuals, sufgroups that adhere
 to diametrically opposed views on ethics.
 fering has a redemptive quality that should be borne with
 However, the above survey of current ethical issues demonpatience by both the
 patient and his or her caregivers.

strates that there are pragmatic approaches to Muslim ethics
 Seeking to hasten the death of the terminally ill is tantamount
 that seek accommodation with the ethics of modernity. At the

to the abdication of a caregiver's responsibility, and would be same time, there are approaches to ethics that seek to predeem both a criminal offense and a major sin. Passive

serve distinctive Muslim subjectivities and identities, finding euthanasia on the part of a caregiver would amount to gross their best models for such preservation in the historical legacy negligence, and such deplorable ethical conduct is deserving of ethics in Islam.

of disciplinary consequences. For this school of thought there remains an irreconcilable gap between ethical and medical See also Fatwa; Futuwwa; Ghazali, al-; Homosexuality; standards of assessing life and death. The Indian ethicists do Ibn Khaldun; Law; Shari a.

not accept any standard of death to be conclusive, save for the cardiopulmonary standard (cessation of all heart and lung activity). For medical practitioners, other measurements of ascertaining death, such as brain-stem death, are acceptable. Jonathan E., ed. Islamic Ethics of Life: Abortion, War, and Euthanasia. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.

Some of the scholars of the Islamic Fiqh Academy concur with this cautious view, and oppose such acts of passive George F. Reason and Tradition in Islamic Ethics.

euthanasia as taking a patient off life-support or withholding U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

treatment. However, the official resolution of the Islamic Musallam, B. Sex and Society in Islam. Cambridge, U.K.: Fiqh Academy permits withholding treatment and the removal of life-support machines from patients whose doctors Rispler-Chaim, Vardit. Islamic Medical Ethics in the Twentieth affirm that they have suffered irreversible brain-stem damage. Century. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993.

Ethics and Sexuality Skovgaard-Petersen, Jakob. Defining Islam for the Egyptian Homosexuality is strictly forbidden in Muslim ethics, on the State. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997.

grounds that it is an unnatural act. Some jurists suggest severe Tahanawi, Muhammad Ali. Mawsu a-t Kashshaf Istilahat alpenalties for homosexuality, ranging from death to flogging, Funun. Edited by Rafiq al- Ajam, et al. Beirut, Lebanon:

whereas others disagree. The latter group holds that no Makataba Lubnan, 1996.

Yacoub, Ahmed Abdel Aziz. *The Fiqh of Medicine*. London: core. Peoples like the Oromo, Afar, Sidama, Somali, the Taha Publishers, 2001. various tribal groups of today's Eritrea, and various other groups adopted elements of Islamic culture partly due to the Ebrahim Moosa long processes of their confrontations with Ethiopia. In medieval times fourteen Islamic emirates, notably Ifat and Adal, centered on the town of Harar, emerged in what is today southern Ethiopia. Their Islamic history culminated in ETHIOPIA 1529 when, under the leadership of the imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim (nicknamed Gran), they united and conquered Chris- Ethiopia was the third political entity to embrace Christianity tian Ethiopia for a short period lasting to 1543. after the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Armenia, in 334 C.E. It remained a Christian state, never separating the church Ahmad Gran's short-lived Islamic unification was inspired from the crown, up to the 1974 revolution. Her long, by the rise of the Ottomans in the Red Sea area and by multifaceted relations with Islam and Muslims can generally simultaneous Islamic scholarly revival in the Arab peninsula. be analyzed along two themes. One is the concept of Chris- Ulema from Arabia helped the process of Islamic unification tian Ethiopia as it has been conceived throughout the ages by by spreading Arabic and the teaching of Islamic law. How- Muslim scholars and politicians of the "land of Islam." The ever, after the demise of Gran the various Islamic groups of other is the role played by Islamic minorities in Ethiopian the whole region failed to reunite. They remain to this day history. The two aspects, naturally, have developed with divided along linguistic, ethnic, and regional criteria. Centers dialectical mutuality. of Islamic learning remained in Harar and in some other In a way, Ethiopia was the state most affected by Islamic towns, but most communities followed popular versions of foreign relations. Muhammad's sending of the sahaba (Com- Sufism and adopted just the basic elements of religious panions) in 615 and 616 to seek asylum with the Christian education and law. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuking of Ethiopia, al-Najashi Ashama, was also known as the ries Islam flourished again when the Oromo clans began first hijra. The sahaba were saved from Meccan persecutors by abandoning their sociopolitical system to develop a chain of the Ethiopian king, and this gesture gave birth to a legacy of emirates, and when Egypt captured the Sudan and the Red eternal gratitude. This history was reflected in the hadith Sea coast and sent learned men to spread Islam from Harar to

whose essential message was “leave the Ethiopians alone as	its
surrounding Oromo-inhabited areas and from the Sudan	
long as they leave you alone.” Most orthodox Muslim jurists,	to western
Eritrea. However, during the last quarter of the	
scholars, and moderate politicians interpreted this admoni-	nineteenth
century the Christian Ethiopian empire expanded	
tion as a declaration that Christian Ethiopia would be a land	and conquered
nearly all Ethiopian territories and the people	
of neutrality, dar al-hiyyad. On the other hand, the same	who lived
there. The process of assimilation into the Ethiosahaba-najashi	episode was said
to have ended with the najashi	pian state and society in modern times has
been multidimen-	
(king), in 628 C.E., embracing Islam. This assumption of	sional.
Coercive measures and forced Christianization were	
Ethiopian neutrality in religious matters was interpreted	applied, for
example, by Emperor Yohannes IV (1872–1889).	
differently by more radical Muslims—pointing to Christian	In general,
however, Muslims, who numbered about one half	
Ethiopia’s illegitimacy. This principal argument among Mus-	of the
population during this period, remained free to pursue	
lims over the legitimacy of historical Ethiopia resurfaced	their ways as
long as they accepted Christian political hegemony whenever Ethiopia became a	
subject of the radical Muslim	only. Where Islam was politicized, or
when Muslims adopted	
agenda, and it remains an active issue today.	Arab
identity—like in Eritrea of the 1960s—the Ethiopian	
leadership, recalling the history of Ahmad Gran, mobilized to	
Islamic thought concerning Ethiopia was shaped by dy-	stem it. Under
Emperor Haile Selasse (1930–1974) only a few	
namic cultural, economic, and strategic relations between the	Muslims could
be counted among the country’s political elite.	
Middle East and the Horn of Africa. It has been also influ-	Yet most
Muslims, especially the elite, were integrated into	
enced by the presence of Islamic communities within Ethiopia.	Ethiopian
life and culture, used the Amharic Ethiopian lan-	
Muslims lived in Ethiopia from the very beginning of Islam,	guage, and
went on dominating trade in both the periphery	
and tradition has it that members of the sahaba established the	and the
center.	
first community there, which was tolerated by the Christians.	
In time Muslims speaking the Semitic Ethiopian languages	In the
last quarter of the twentieth century Islam seemed	
(Amharic, Tigrinya, etc.) and living in the core regions were	to be
experiencing a resurgence in Ethiopia. First, the 1974	
called Jabarties. As Ethiopian Christians looked down upon	revolution
and Mangistu Haile-Mariam’s communist-inspired	
traders and Muslims were often deprived of landowning,	regime

separated the church from the state. By eroding there developed a functional economic coexistence, mixed Christianity, and by recognizing major Islamic holidays as national ones, the new regime helped to grant the two religions Most Muslims during Ethiopia's history were members of more equal national recognition. Then the 1991 revolution various ethnic-linguistic groups surrounding the Ethiopian reshaped Ethiopia along a decentralized cultural

Islam and the Muslim World

231

Ethnicity

and administrative line, meanwhile fostering a free market to be a Kurd, a Muslim, or an Iranian depending on the particular economy. The end result was a visible strengthening of Islam particular social or political context. In the Middle East, the primary in practically all aspects. As more Muslims make their way to significance of ethnic identity is its role in the social and political the core of Ethiopian life, the new phenomenon underlines example, structure of the society. Until the mid-1950s, for particular ethnic groups tended to be associated with specific pluralization and economic progress, and is it therefore a of Isfahan occupational niches: the Jews of the Iranian city and silver, major aspect of Ethiopia's modernization? Or, is Islamic revival turning political, gradually reviving those old radical Assyrian Christians of Iraq dominated the hotel ideas about the need to Islamize Ethiopia? and restaurant business, Azeri Turks in Iran were car mechanics and long-distance truck drivers, and most of the cooks in See also Africa, Islam in; Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi; Egypt were Nubians. Today this pattern is changing; mass Empires: Ottoman. education, social mobility, and the emergence of new occupations have all but eroded the traditional ethnic divisions of BIBLIOGRAPHY labor in the region.

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Middle East? The single most important source of individual Erlich, Haggai. Ethiopia and the Middle East. Boulder, Colo.: and group identity and, by extension, social cleavages, is Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. religious affiliation. Coreligionists perceive themselves as

Spencer, J. Trimingham. Islam in Ethiopia. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952. marriage is having rights and obligations to each other and interfaith

generally discouraged if not strictly prohibited by all the communities. On a larger scale sectarian divisions have Haggai Erlich important implications for political action. Secular nationalistic movements within any one country or those like pan-Arabism that seek to transcend national frontiers are usually undermined by sectarianism. Likewise, pan-Islamist movements that ETHNICITY

presume to encompass all Muslims tend to fracture along Muslim sectarian divisions of Sunnis, Shi'a, and Alawis, among The Middle East is distinguished by its ethnic and cultural diversity. And while non-Muslim communities like the Jews (until the mid-fifties) and the various Christian sects have, saic," is the product of long historical processes of which the people themselves are acutely aware. Almost every country in dominant Muslim rule throughout the Middle East, the region has local communities and groups that are distinct tions of what constitutes nationality and full citizenship have yet to be resolved in most of the states in the area. This includes the both by themselves and by others. In fact, the recognition and modern Jewish state of Israel as well as that of the Muslim acceptance of communal or ethnic differences has been a Muslim Wahhabi kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

basic component of social and political organization in the Middle East. This is best exemplified by the Ottoman millet Ethnicity in the Middle East is also structured along system whereby the ruling Sunni Muslim Ottomans formally linguistic differences which, in general, set the largest culrecognized the authority of the religious and communal tural boundaries between groups. There are three major language leaders of the different sectarian communities in their em-families in the region: Semitic, Indo-European, and Altaic or pire. By the nineteenth century, the Ottoman list consisted of Turkic. Arabic and Hebrew are Semitic languages. Hebrew is about seventeen millets, which included Jews, Druze, Alavis, spoken exclusively in Israel while Arabic, with its Armenians, and a number of Christian sects. Ethnicity basi-many dialects, is the national language of the countries of North Africa, cally refers to a social or group identity that individuals Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, ascribe to themselves and that is accepted by others; ethnic Yemen, and the Gulf states. Modern Persian and

identities are most commonly based on shared religious Indo-European languages; Turkish and Azeri affiliation, language or dialect, tribal membership, and regional or local customs. The Berbers of North Africa who, like the Arabs, are Muslims, speak different dialects of Berber, an Afro-Asiatic language and generally Ethnic identity, which tends to be perceived as immutable refer to themselves as Imazighin (or Imazighen). In countries and ascribed at birth, is most commonly a cultural construction that, in practice, is both malleable and contextual. Individuals may choose to stress their ethnic identity in one Morocco and Algeria, language assumes a political dimension and mute it in another; thus an individual may claim one. National governments tend to strongly promote one

232

Islam and the Muslim World

Eunuchs

national language and may even at times seek to suppress empires, which were the early Islamic state's chief models for minority languages, as happened in Turkey with Kurdish. To court culture. Eunuchs were regarded as the most loyal slaves educate their children and to participate fully in the national because they were not only separated from their families and economy and culture, members of minority ethnic groups territories of origin but robbed of reproductive capability. must adopt the national language and, to a certain extent, Hence, their sole loyalty was ostensibly to the ruler who dissociate themselves from their mother tongue. enslaved them, and they had an enormous stake in the continuation of the system in which they were employed. Of all the elements that may be used to define groups or social categories, phenotypic race or biological variation is The earliest mention of eunuchs in Islamic empires dates to the least important in the Middle East, where the vast to the Abbasid era (750–1258 C.E.). In his ninth-century majority of the people from the west in Morocco to the east in description of Baghdad, al-Ya qubi notes quarters for African eunuchs in Afghanistan tend to fall within the same racial category often the central square of the original round city. No doubt the referred to as "Mediterranean." Where a markedly differentiated population exists such as the abid or blacks in Saudi African eunuch who became de facto ruler of Egypt following

Arabia and the Gulf region, the Nubians in Egypt, or the the death of the last autonomous Ikshidid governor, just before the Turkmen of Iran (with their pronounced Mongolian features); such phenotypic differences are locally recognized but employed eunuchs not only in their palaces but in their armed forces as well. In one confrontation between the Fatimid and Byzantine Islam has no racial ideology based on color and, while slavery Byzantine fleets, the admirals on both sides were eunuchs. was practiced throughout the Islamic world, it was not exclusively associated with Africans or any other particular population. Eunuchs played a number of important roles under the Mamluk sultanate, which ruled Egypt, Syria, and the western Arabian peninsula from 1250 to 1517. The Mamluks were neither racially or ethnically distinct groups. Outside of a few reported large numbers of eunuchs from the Caucasus and from India, as towns in southern Arabia, slavery in the Middle East was not as well as from Africa. They evidently pioneered the primary means of organizing menial labor; as a consequence, the practice of employing eunuchs to guard sultans' tombs in the association of class and race or ethnicity and race is not Cairo and, ultimately, to guard the prophet Muhammad's tomb in Medina.

and political organization in the region.

The greatest fund of information about eunuchs under Islamic regimes comes from the Ottoman Empire (1299–1923),

See also Pluralism: Legal and Ethno-Religious; Tribe.

which employed eunuchs from the Caucasus and eastern Africa. Because Islamic law forbids enslaving and castrating

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subjects of a Muslim ruler, castration was typically performed by Christian physicians: Armenians in the Caucasus, Copts in Upper Egypt. Banuazizi, Ali, and Weiner, Myron, eds. *The State, Religion, and Ethnic Politics: Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986.

formed in the Ottoman palace itself, so the prohibition must at times have been ignored. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of Caucasian eunuchs rose to be grand wazirs or provincial governors. At the same time, both

Gross, Jo-Ann, ed. *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of black and white eunuchs served at Topkapi Palace. By 1592, Identity And Change*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992. the corps of African eunuchs had acquired a monopoly over the post of chief eunuch of the imperial harem (Darussaade Weekes, Richard V., ed. *Muslim Peoples: A World of Ethnographic Agasi or Kizlar Agasi*), who guarded the residence of the palace women. Survey. 2d edition. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984. (Babussaade) White eunuchs guarded the "Gate of Felicity" separating the outer court from the sultan's throne room. The chief black eunuch also supervised the Amal Rassam pious foundations (waqf, Turk. vakaf) endowed to provide services to the poor and to pilgrims to the Holy Cities. Beginning in 1644, the chief black eunuch, on his deposition, was routinely exiled to Egypt, where he cultivated ties of EUNUCHS patronage with the provincial grandees.

In the Near East, the use of eunuchs to guard rulers' and their The last surviving eunuchs under Islamic rule were guards families' private quarters dates at least to Achaemenid times. of the Prophet's tomb in Medina, who were pensioned off by They were certainly employed by the Byzantine and Sassanian the Saudi government in the 1920s.

Islam and the Muslim World

233

European Culture and Islam

See also Gender; Harem. that the earliest universities in Europe, such as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, were founded on Islamic models. Simi- BIBLIOGRAPHY larly, many of the financial instruments and techniques of Ayalon, David. *Eunuchs, Caliphs, and Sultans: A Study of Power long-distance trade, which became so important in the early Relationships*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew Univer- development of European capitalism, were borrowed from city, 1999. Middle Eastern models. The Crusades, by contrast, appear to Marmon, Shaun E. *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic have brought into Europe primarily certain military techniques*. Society. New York and Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1995. Over the following centuries, cultural exchange both ways Penzer, Norman M. *The Harem: An Account of the Institution as was*

diminished. The Ottomans very quickly adopted some of
It Existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans, with a History of the new
military technologies of Europe, especially artillery,
the Grand Seraglio from Its Foundations to the Present Time while
Europe during the eighteenth century developed a
(1936). Reprint. New York: AMS Press, 1974.

fascination with things “oriental” in the arts and crafts. The
globalization of European trade combined with the industrial
Jane Hathaway revolution firmly moved the initiative into European
hands.

At the same time the encounter between Europe and Islam
spread beyond the Mediterranean into South and South-East
Asia and into sub-Saharan Africa. The imperial expansion was

EUROPEAN CULTURE AND ISLAM the

context for the adoption of “curious” elements of Islamic
culture into European culture, but Islamic cultures came
Since the rise of Islam in the seventh century there has been
under an all-pervading European impact. Initially, this imcontinuous
interaction between Europe and the Islamic world,
pact was mainly economic. As the industrial revolution gathoften with profound
implications on either side. Deepest and

ered pace, so European industrial exports began to replace
with greatest effect has been the interaction between Europe
the products of local craftsmen, and the colonized economies
and Islam in the Middle East and North Africa, that is, Arab
became suppliers of raw materials. Egypt was a good example
Islam. The new Arab-Islamic state, established in the 640s
of this process as it switched its agriculture from producing
and 650s, included major areas that had been conquered from
food to producing raw cotton during the first few decades of
the East Roman (Byzantine) empire. Many aspects of Byzanthe nineteenth century.

When Egypt took control of Syria in
tine culture and custom were absorbed into the nascent
the 1830s and cut import duties, the finished cotton goods
Islamic culture, including administrative and legal practices.

produced in the mills of England from Egyptian cotton
Over a longer term, the Hellenistic philosophical heritage
played a major role in the development of Islamic philosophy, replaced
the locally produced crafts of the Syrian cities.

and its gnostic tradition in Islamic mysticism. Through both
But European ideas also started attracting the urban
official and unofficial translation projects, major Greek works
intellectual and professional classes of the Islamic world.
of philosophy and science became available in Arabic, laying
Initially the attraction was limited to individuals, but as states
the foundation of a flourishing of the sciences, including
began to restructure on European patterns, either because

mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, in Arabic. they came under European rule, as in India, Indonesia, or Arab-Islamic civilization in turn made a major contribution to the development of European Christian civilization a major challenge, as in the Ottoman empire, Egypt, and Persia, few centuries later. The main routes for this transfer were also built up new education systems to produce the kind of manpower they needed. By the end of the nineteenth century on the early Renaissance is often quite explicit, as in many of the well-known churches and palaces of Florence and other and many more secondary schools. The early attractions of Italian cities. Likewise, the impact of the Spanish Islamic social and political ideas of the French revolution were the philosophers, above all Ibn Rushd (Averroes), on Thomas Aquinas, is widely acknowledged. It is also the case that much of the nationalist philosophical ideas that had been developed of the Greek philosophical tradition, in particular that of in Germany. These ideas were being circulated ever more widely Aristotle, was for a long time known primarily through the among a growing urban middle-class and literate Arabic versions of the texts. It has been suggested that the population through newspapers, a new literature of poetry, influence goes much deeper. Especially via the Norman histories, essays, and political pamphlets. connections, from Sicily to northern France and England, and through Italian networks, the patterns and structures of The early precursors of national movements can be found learning, of the organization of institutions, and of professional development throughout the Islamic world by the beginning of the twentieth century. Their ideas were transmitted from the Mediterranean world into western Christendom. So often combined elements of European Islamic world into western Christendom. So it is suggested that European ideas with Islamic ones, and many times used Islamic

234

Islam and the Muslim World

Europe, Islam in

against modernity or withdrawing from participation in it, providing some of the Islamist political movements much of their support. On the other hand, many younger people have started using their newly gained educational resources to challenge the traditions of the older generation. They seek to separate local custom from the core of Islamic expectations

and principles, placing themselves on a collision course with many of their parents' generation. A number of Islamic intellectuals have recognized this and have become prominent participants in a rethinking of Islamic law and theology that has a large audience both in Europe and the Islamic world.

A Seljuk manuscript of Aristotle and students appears in the volume one color insert.

See also Andalus, al-; Balkans, Islam in the; Europe, Islam in.

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The Selimiye Camii Mosque sits on a hill in the center of Edirne, Waardenburg, Jacques, ed. *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions: A Historical Survey*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Turkey, and dominates the city's skyline. It was completed in 1575 after six years of construction. © ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

Jorgen S. Nielsen

terms to express European ideas. During the 1930s, a growing sense of disillusion with European models could be discerned. The European ideas of liberty and democracy were not being extended to the colonies, so many intellectuals in Europe, Islam in

began to look for their ideas in Islamic traditions, the most radical formulating explicit and complete rejections of anything European. This trend was strengthened in response to the establishment of Israel in 1948, perceived as an imposed foreign body, and even more so after the Israeli victory in 1967, after which the Islamic trends gradually moved center-stage. The main concentrations of Muslim population in Europe today are to be found in Russia (25–30 million), France (4–5 million), Germany (2.5–3 million), Britain (c. 2 million), former Yugoslavia (2–3 million), Albania (3 million), and Bulgaria (c. 1 million). Many of the smaller countries of western

Europe are home to several hundred thousand Muslims each.

However, throughout the twentieth century the continuing impact of a globalizing economy appeared irresistible. History

Declining agriculture and the growth of industry and services	Almost from
the beginning of the history of Islam, there has	
led to a massive movement of populations from the country-	been a
Muslim presence in Europe, first in the form of envoys	
side to the large cities. A small proportion of that movement	and traders
to the Byzantine empire and soon, as Arab Islam	
took the form of migration to European cities. The impact on	spread
across North Africa, into the main trading centers of	
Islam of this urbanization—and with it the growth of educa-	
Mediterranean Europe. The first major arrival of Islam in	
tion and literacy—is difficult to underestimate, and the im-	Europe
was a result of the conquest of the Iberian peninsula,	
impact is similar whether in Islamic cities or in European cities.	which
started in 711 C.E. Through settlement and conversion,	
The traditional synthesis of Islamic practices and local cus-	large
Muslim communities became part of the indigenous	
toms finds it very difficult to function in the modern urban	
population of the peninsula. Spanish Muslim intellectuals	
environment. Many have responded to this by rebelling	became
significant participants in Arabic and Islamic culture,	

Islam and the Muslim World

235

Europe, Islam in

including most famously Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn	Muslim
expansion but from European expansion. Today's	
Khaldun. As the Christian kingdoms, led by Castille and	Muslim
communities in western Europe are a consequence	
Aragon, gradually pushed the borders of Islam southward, so	primarily
of empire. This is most evident in Britain and	
the Muslim population also was pushed south. When the	France. The
first major growth came about as a result of the	
Muslim kingdom of Granada finally fell in 1492, substantial	opening of
the Suez Canal in 1869, when British shipping	
Muslim populations left for North Africa. But many, under	from India
began taking on Yemeni and Somali labor in	
the general term Moriscos, remained throughout the region	Aden. Over
the following decades many of these people	
for several generations. For a shorter period Sicily had also	settled in
and around Cardiff, Liverpool, Newcastle, and	
fallen under Muslim rule. The conquest was slow, lasting	London. The
first mosques in the country were established in	
from 827–878, and Muslim control lasted until the Normans	Liverpool
and the London suburb of Woking already around	
conquered the island later in the eleventh century.	1890.
Between the two world wars, the London-based elite	
sought to lay the foundations for a London central mosque. It	

While Muslim populations thus disappeared from the
was only when a plot of land was granted by the king during
European side of the western Mediterranean, the establishthe Second World War
that the project began to move
ment of a continuous Muslim presence in the east had started.
forward, leading to the opening in 1977 of the Islamic
In the early thirteenth century the Mongols had spread their
mosque and center in Regent's Park.
power far into Russia. While Genghis Khan's empire did not
last long, it left behind a number of Mongol-Tatar successor In
France, there was an elite immigration during the
states that had adopted Islam. The Tatar state of Kazan nineteenth
century, including exiles such as Muhammad
survived until the 1550s when it was conquered by Russia, Abduh and
Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. But labor migration also
while the Crimean Tatars had fallen under Ottoman rule started
then, recruiting mainly into the olive oil industry of
already in 1475. The Muslim populations of these regions the south
and mining and heavy industry in the northeast.
stayed and later spread around the Russian empire as soldiers, During the
First World War large numbers of North Africraftsmen, and traders settling at
various times in regions cans were requisitioned into industry and
infrastructure works.
ranging from the Ukraine and Poland to Finland. Here they Recognizing
their contribution during the First World War
remained more or less undisturbed until the great forced the
government sponsored the establishment of a mosque in
migration of the Stalinist period of the 1930s and 1940s, Paris,
opened in 1926. Numbers of migrant workers fell
when a large proportion, in particular the Crimean Tatars, during the
recession of the 1930s and reached a low at the end
were transported to Soviet Central Asia.
of the Second World War. But migration soon rose again
Founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century in and, despite
their active involvement in the Algerian war of
western Anatolia, the Ottoman empire gained its first foot-
independence, the number of Algerians working in France
hold in the Balkans in 1354 and within ten years had re- continued
to rise.
stricted the Byzantine empire to the region around
The other main country of Muslim immigration in Europe
Constantinople (which finally fell to the Ottomans in 1453).
during the twentieth century was the Federal Republic of
The Ottoman armies then proceeded to spread Ottoman rule
Germany. Its historical proximity to the Ottoman empire
westward and northward, reaching the gates of Vienna in a
meant that there had been for a long time a cosmopolitan

failed siege in 1529. Substantial permanent Muslim communities established themselves in the Balkans as a result. In the rise of Prussian power, in Berlin. The numbers grew especially after the two empires started drawing closer to each other toward the end of the nineteenth century. The Ottoman policy of settlement. Significant numbers of economic ties between them were such that by the outbreak of indigenous people of Slavic culture also converted to Islam. the First World War they might be termed at least pseudo-The majority of Albanians became Muslim at this time. As the colonial. The defeat of both empires in 1918 left only a small Ottoman empire was gradually pushed out of the Balkans Muslim community in Berlin but it did manage to establish a during the nineteenth century, many Muslims also left. The mosque. During the Third Reich, the German armed forces Ottoman defeat in the First World War led to major population exchanges between Greece and Turkey. But the major established several units of Muslim troops that had defected communities in Bosnia, the Albanians and the Bulgarian from the Soviet army. While some were handed back at the Muslims, often called Pomaks, remained as did large numbers of Turks in Bulgaria, smaller numbers in Greek Thrace, also must not be forgotten that in German-speaking Europe, and parts of the former Yugoslavia. Vienna had for long been the capital of an empire that included significant Muslim populations. In 1878 the Austro-Hungarian empire had occupied the Ottoman regions of On this background the most recent arrival of Muslim communities in Europe is a new departure, since it arises not from 1909 the state extended official recognition to Islam. During

236

Islam and the Muslim World
Europe, Islam in

N Finland

0 250 500 mi.

Islam's Expansion

0 250

500 km

into North Africa
and Europe

Muslim lands by 634 Kazan
 North
 VOLGA
 Muslim lands by 656 Sea
 BULGARIA
 Muslim lands by 756
 Route of advance
 Poland
 (711) Date of conquest
 New city founded
 by Muslims
 City Poitiers
 Ukraine
 Vienna
 (732)
 Ca
 Toulouse
 Narbonne
 s
 (721)
 Crimea
 pi
 (720) Bosnia
 an
 Castille
 IBERIAN Saragossa (714)
 O Black Sea
 Se
 PENINSULA Aragon
 T
 Albania T
 a
 Constantinople
 O Thrace ANATOLIA
 Lisbon Cordoba Toledo (712)
 M
 (711) (711)
 AN
 Granada Greece
 E M P
 I R E
 ATLANTIC OCEAN
 Sicily
 Tunis

Rabat
Kairouan Mediterranean
Algeria Tunisia Mahdia
Sea
Morocco Tripoli Barka
(647) (643)
Alexandria
(642)
Cairo

Islam's Expansion into North Africa and Europe. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

much of this period the Austrian courts were administering
Tunisia, while Belgium started finding labor in Turkey and
Islamic family law for those Muslim populations.

Morocco. Labor immigration into the Scandinavian countries during
this period was smaller but was also more varied
These historical precedents have tended to be forgotten

in its sources, including Turkey, North Africa, and Pakistan.
under the overwhelming impact of immigration post-1945.

Initially, once the reviving West European economies had

Just as immigration from Muslim sources into mainland
absorbed their returning armies, the search for additional

Europe was taking off, so Britain reached a turning point.
labor had extended first into the domestic countryside and

After almost two years of debate, the doors of labor immigrathen
into the countries of southern Europe, which resumed

tion were closed by the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration
their traditional patterns of sending labor abroad. It was

Act. However, family reunion remained possible. The length
Britain and France that first looked outside Europe. In the

of the debate was a major reason for the sudden influx of men
latter case, the recruitment from Algeria grew and was sup-

from Pakistan, arriving to beat the expected ban. More
plemented from the 1960s by immigrants from Tunisia and
significantly in the long run, the establishment of family life

Morocco, then from sub-Saharan West Africa, especially

brought with it a much greater awareness of Muslim self-
Senegal, and finally, from the 1970s, by Turks as a result of a

identity. The closing of the gates of labor immigration and
treaty signed between the two countries. Britain first found

the consequent immigration of women and children led
its additional labor needs satisfied from the Caribbean, with

directly to a marked increase in organized Muslim activity
immigration starting already in the late 1940s. During the

and the establishment of mosques and other places of worship.
1950s, migration from India came on stream, and in the early

1960s immigration from Pakistan (East and West) took off.

Organization

By this time other industrial countries of northern Europe

A decade after Britain closed its doors, the rest of continental also began to need additional labor. Having for some time

Europe followed in response to the economic downturn recruited from Yugoslavia, Italy, and Greece, the Federal sparked by the rise in oil prices during 1972 through 1974.

Republic of Germany signed a labor agreement with Turkey

The effects were similar: a marked rise in the opening of in 1962. The smaller countries followed the lead of their

Muslim places of worship and in Muslim organizational larger neighbors. During the 1960s the Netherlands signed activity. The process of organization followed a similar patagreements with Turkey, then Morocco, Yugoslavia, and tern across the various countries. Often the initiative came

Islam and the Muslim World

237

Europe, Islam in

from a small group of local leaders who were concerned simply with finding a place where the required prayers could western Europe

be conducted, and where children could be taught the rudiments of Islamic knowledge, how to conduct the core rituals

Number of Muslims Muslim % of

Country (x 1,000) total population

and how to recite the Qur an. Soon, however, the initiative

Austria 200 2.6

passed to specific movements. These had usually existed in Belgium

370 3.8

the country of origin and were now following the émigrés to Denmark

150 2.8

Finland 20 0.4

the country of settlement. They had the resources and the France

4,000–4,500 7

organizational experience to meet community needs and, Germany

3,040 3

Greece 370 3.7

often, to provide support to local initiatives. In West Ger-

Ireland 7 0.2

many a leading organization of this kind during the 1970s was Italy

600 1

the Verband islamischer Kulturzentren acting as the German Luxembourg

5 0.8

Netherlands 696 4.6

branch of the Suleimançi movement. Since the 1980s the Norway

23 0.5
 Milli Gorus, closely associated with the National Salvation Portugal
 30–38 0.3
 Spain 300 0.7
 Party of Necmeddin Erbakan, has gained prominence. Simi- Sweden
 300 1.2
 lar roles have been played in Britain by extensions of the United
 Kingdom 1,400 2.5
 Deobandi and Brelwi networks, and by a network of organi-
 SOURCE: Felice, Dassetto; Maréchal, Brigitte; and Nielsen, Jorgen,
 zations related to the Jam iyat-e Islami, and in France during eds.
 Convergences musulmanes: Aspects contemporains de l'islam
 the 1980s by Foi et pratique, a movement arising out of the dans
 l'Europe élargie. Paris: Academia Bruylant, 2001.
 Tablighi Jam iyat, which subsequently forged links with the Muslim
 Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria. Many of these
 population in western Europe.
 movements had found themselves at odds with the regimes in
 the countries of origin; some of them, indeed, had experienced repression. To
 counter their influence, governments
 was that each European country had its own practices regardsought to establish
 their own organizations to meet the needs ing establishment and
 registration of voluntary organizaof their émigrés. The Amicales of Moroccan
 workers was thus tions, as well as often very different traditions of
 relations
 a means for the monarchy to maintain close ties to the between
 religion and state. At one extreme, France had
 émigrés, and after the Turkish coup of September 1980, the inherited
 an almost complete separation of church and state,
 new government aggressively promoted the role of the offi- which for a
 long time excluded Muslim groups from any
 cial Diyanet among Turks in Germany. participation
 in public life. At the same time it was not until a
 change in the law took place in 1982 that it was possible for
 Legal Status
 foreign citizens to set up their own organizations. At the
 A complicating element has been the very different legal
 other extreme were states in which there was a status of
 statuses available to immigrants across the continent. For a
 officially recognized religions. Under this heading Islam
 long time some of the West German states adopted a policy
 gained official recognition in Belgium in 1974, in Austria in
 of rotation, whereby no residence extension was given after a 1979, and in
 Spain in 1992. One of the main issues of public
 certain period, so “guest workers” were regularly replaced. In
 contention in Germany has been the continued refusal by the
 other German states, longer-term residence was the norm. state to

admit the Muslim community to the recognized status Germany generally made it very difficult for foreigners to enjoyed by the main churches and the Jewish community. acquire citizenship, as did several other countries, most notably Switzerland. Both Britain and France had compara- Public Participation tively easy access to permanent residence and citizenship, and Over the 1990s Muslim participation in public life has bechildren born in those two countries had virtually automatic come marked. In many countries Muslim immigrants have right to citizenship. The Scandinavian and Benelux countries become citizens and have started taking part in political life allowed comparatively easy access to citizenship and soon through political parties. In most countries there are now Muslims also gave local voting rights to foreigners. These very differ- Muslims elected onto local councils, national parliaments, ent stances were reflected in work permit policies. Since the and the elected bodies of European institutions. This is an late 1980s immigration for work has been a minor dimension indication also of the change of generation. The 1989 proof Muslim immigration, replaced by a growing number of tests against Salman Rushdie's The Satanic Verses in Britain, entrants as refugees and asylum seekers, an issue that came to and against the banning of girls' head scarves in certain dominate public debate at the end of the twentieth century. French schools served to mobilize a new generation into political life, as their immigrant parents began to retire from As a result, the situation in each locality in Europe often organizational leadership. Responses to the events of 11 September 2001 have further highlighted some of the tenorganized presence. A further dimension of such differences sions which have been arising since a younger, more active

238

Islam and the Muslim World

Expansion

generation of Muslims has reached adulthood. In various second phenomenon is the spread of Islam as a religion or European countries, demands for faith-based schools have faith—that is, the actual process (often called “conversion”) by which grown and have met mixed reactions. In Denmark, where by which individuals and groups came to identify themselves as there has been a strong tradition of community-led “free as Muslims, both inwardly and publicly. schools,” the political swing to the right has been accompanied by challenges to Muslim schools, while in Britain the These two processes are not

unrelated but are far from identical government has been actively encouraging the expansion of and must be carefully distinguished from one another. Everywhere, the media have been attacked by other. On the one hand, Islam historically first came to some Muslims for “Islamophobia,” often with a degree of justification (but not all) regions of the world through the expansion into those regions of states whose leading cadres were Muslims and which lands, and Britain, both the media and government have espoused a self-consciously Islamic view of the world. State sought to balance their reporting and presentation, although expansion was justified by the doctrine of jihad, it remains difficult to separate domestic and international “striving” or “exerting oneself” (i.e., in God’s service). Jihad priorities in news evaluation. embraced a variety of practices, including the moral struggle against sin (even within oneself), peaceful proselytization of See also European Culture and Islam. others, the use of violence by believers in defense of their way of life when attacked, or aggressive warfare against nonbelievers

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(nonmonotheists) to force them to recognize God’s oneness Dassetto, Felice. *La construction de l’islam européen*. Paris: and to submit to Islam. All these interpretations of the sense L’Harmattan, 1996. of jihad are rooted in Qur’anic verses (for example, 25:48–52 Felice, Dassetto; Maréchal, Brigitte; and Nielsen, Jorgen, on proselytization; 22:39–41 on self-defense; 9:29 on aggressed. *Convergences musulmanes: Aspects contemporains de l’islamique warfare*). It was the last understanding of the meaning of lam dans l’Europe élargie. Paris: Academia Bruylant, 2001. jihad that was most germane to the process of Islamic state expansion. Ferrari, Silvio, and Bradney, Anthony, eds. *Islam and European Legal Systems*. Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2000. The most important instance of this process was the Foblets, Marie-Claire, ed. *Familles–Islam–Europe. Le droit spread of the first Islamic state in the early years of the Islamic confronté au changement*. Paris: Karthala, 1996. era (seventh to ninth centuries C.E.), but it also is visible in Martin Muñoz Gema, ed. *Islam, Modernism and the West*. numerous later historical episodes, such as the expansion of London: I. B. Tauris, 1996. the Ottoman Empire into the Christian Balkans in the fourteenth Metcalf, Barbara, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North America through eighteenth centuries, the Ghaznavid and Ghurid and Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

conquest of Sind and adjacent parts of South Asia in
 Nielsen, Jorgen. Muslims in Western Europe, 2d ed. Edin- the eleventh
 and twelfth centuries, the conquests of the Delhi
 burgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995. sultans in
 India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centu-
 Nonneman, Gerd, Niblock, Tim, and Szajkowski, Bogdan, ries, the
 expansion of jihad states in the western Sudan in the
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 the objective of these Muslim rulers or states was
 Poulton, Hugh, and Taji-Farouki, Suha, eds. Muslim Identity not
 immediate conversion of the local population to Islam,
 and the Balkan State. London: L Hurst, 1997. but rather the
 more mundane concerns of seizing booty or
 Shadid, Wasit A. R., and van Koningsveld, P. Sjoerd, eds. securing the
 tax revenues of the conquered lands, or gaining
 Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe. control of
 strategically important areas. In many instances,
 Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1995. however, the
 conquerors were responding not only to these
 Vertovec, Steven, and Peach, Ceri, eds. Islam in Europe: The mundane
 incentives, but also (or, sometimes, exclusively) to a
 Politics of Religion and Community. Basingstoke, U.K.: Mac- general desire
 to establish in the newly conquered territories
 millan, 1997. an Islamic
 public order—that is, a social order in accord with
 Islamic law (shari'a). This they wished to do both in order to
 Jorgen S. Nielsen extend the glory of the faith they espoused, and in order
 to
 ensure that Muslims living in such areas could meet their
 religious obligations to God under Islamic law: open confession of their faith,
 regular public prayer, fasting during
 EXPANSION Ramadan,
 giving of alms, and performance of the pilgrimage
 to Mecca if that was within their means. In most cases,
 The expansion of Islam historically embraces two phenom- however, the
 establishment of an Islamic order in new areas
 ena. The first is the expansion of Islamic states—that is, states was not
 accompanied by forced conversions to Islam or
 whose ruling elite consisted of Muslims and which con- by official
 pressure on non-Muslims to convert; the image
 consciously aimed to extend Islamic rule to new regions. The of Muslim
 warriors coming to an area and offering the

Expansion

conquered the stark choice between “Islam or the sword” relative simplicity and transparency of its basic doctrines is mostly a myth propounded by Western anti-Islamic prophecy, last judgment, etc.) makes them polemicists. easy to grasp and to defend in philosophical or theological discourse against religious systems with more convoluted The establishment of an Islamic public order in a hitherto doctrines (e.g., the Christian doctrine of the Trinity). The non-Muslim area, however, particularly if sustained over the fact that Muslims developed over the first two centuries of span of several generations, generally created the conditions their existence a strong tool for legitimizing some of these under which many non-Muslims gradually embraced Islam. doctrines in the form of an elaborate origins narrative helped This is why it is said that the processes of state-expansion and bolster the intellectual cogency of Islam’s doctrines. Islam’s of individual and group conversion, while distinct, are intiemphasis on justice (frequently stressed in the Qur an) and on mately related. Still, even under the aegis of an Islamic state, the brotherhood of all believers—the latter made especially the converts’ actual decisions to join the Islamic community manifest in the daily communal prayers and in major ritual openly (to “convert”) seem to have been shaped primarily by observances such as collective fasting during Ramadan— individual factors that were also operative outside the realm were also capable of exercising a strong intellectual attraction of control of any Islamic state. These included social, ecoon many individuals (aside from their obvious possible social nomic, and other practical incentives, as well as the intrinsic attractiveness). appeal of Islam as a faith-system in its own right.

These historical processes can only be sketched here in As noted above, the establishment of states with Muslim rulers and the broadest outlines; their reconstruction by the historian is rulers and an Islamic public order usually created the condimoreover bound to be somewhat uneven because of the tions under which many people came to embrace Islam. Many nature of the sources, which are for many parts of this story converted in response to the working of economic or seriously deficient or even nonexistent. In general, however, social or other factors that the existence of an Islamic public order made one can say that the process of state expansion is much better order made possible. Some, however, embraced Islam for explicitly documented than is the process of Islam’s adoption by new explicitly

political reasons. Besides those who wished to enter “converts,” whether within or outside of Islamic states, for government service (or who were already in it, and believed whose individual decisions, and the factors contributing to that openly confessing Islam would enhance their career them, there is often no trace whatsoever. chances), many others were doubtless attracted to the faith that was now “official,” publicly proclaimed, and so increasingly. The remainder of this article will examine first the general prominent, and associated with success and victory. On factors that have contributed historically to people’s decision the other hand, the use of political pressure or force by to embrace Islam, followed by a brief overview of the spread Muslim authorities to coerce people to embrace Islam, while of Islam in various regions of the world, during which the not unknown in Islamic history, was very seldom practiced, relative importance of state-expansion and other factors will even when politically dominant Muslims absorbed population noted.

tions of nonmonotheists or “pagans.”

Causes and Agents of Islamization At various times individuals or communities may have As with most complex social processes, the Islamization of a responded to economic incentives to embrace Islam. The population that hitherto did not identify itself as Muslim structure of taxation under an Islamic regime—according to normally involved a multitude of causes or factors. These which non-Muslims paid a special tax, the jizya or poll-tax, to factors impinged in differing degrees on various individuals the Muslim authorities—sometimes seems to have encouraged the population depending on their cultural, social, economic, and political situations and their personal temperaments. tax inequities seem to have been minimal (Muslims, after all, ment. It is therefore impossible to generalize from one were liable according to the sharia to some taxes not levied on person’s conversion narrative what the relative importance of non-Muslims, such as the zakat or alms-tax) and not sufficient various factors in conversion was for his society as a whole, to generate waves of conversions to Islam. After all, the nonjust as it is impossible to work back from the aggregate factors Muslim communities of the Near East embraced Islam only operative in a certain historical situation to deduce just which very slowly—a process taking hundreds of years. Far more ones would have been most influential on a particular individual important, probably, was the force of general economic (and ual who chose to embrace Islam; the selection of factors that social) dislocation caused by the policies of various Muslim

were most important to a given person can only be known if that person leaves some written record of his own reasons for states, which caused great flux in all communities under their embracing the new faith—something that happens only in a rule—Muslim as well as non-Muslim—resulting in a shattertiny minority of cases.

ing of the communal solidarity of some non-Muslim communities, in the aftermath of which the uprooted individuals may

First and foremost, we must acknowledge that Islam, as a well have embraced Islam in order to find a secure place for faith system, has significant intrinsic appeal to the intellect. themselves in some community. The agrarian distress of the

240

Islam and the Muslim World

Expansion

middle Umayyad period in Egypt, for example, which led to other than Arabic; this helped to make the faith more accessiwidespread abandonment of lands by their peasant cultiva- ble and familiar to speakers of those languages, once Islam

tors, many of whom fled to the (predominantly Muslim) had begun to spread beyond the Arabic-speaking lands of its towns, weakened or destroyed rural non-Muslim communi- beginnings.

Usually, the language in which an Islamic disties and doubtless led many such refugees to embrace Islam course was newly developing adopted the Arabic script as an

more or less out of desperation, as their only economic outward marker of its Islamic character, to distinguish such foothold became one dominated by Muslims among whom writings from earlier, non-Islamic writings in the same base they now lived and worked. language.

The first appearance of Islamic writings in Persian

but using a modified form of the Arabic script, for example,

Many social factors also contributed to the acceptance of which began in the tenth century C.E., contributed signifi-

Islam by individuals or groups. Non-Muslims from highly cantly to the consolidation of Islam in the Iranian cultural

stratified societies who lived in contact with Muslims could zone over the next several centuries, against its local rivals,

not fail to observe the relative egalitarianism of Islam (re- especially Zoroastrianism, which continued to write in a form

flected, for example, in the fact that all believers, from the of Persian using the older Pahlavi script. Similar processes

wealthy merchant to the poorest laborer, prayed side-by-side accompanied the rise of Islamic literary traditions in various

in the mosque); this may have had an impact in societies with dialects of Turkish, among Indic languages for which Urdu

caste-like social restrictions, such as were found in Hindu society in South Asia or among Iran's Zoroastrians. More and in Indonesian-Malay; the rise of each of these contributed generally, the highly visible collective rituals of Islam, particularly communal prayer and fasting during Ramadan, these languages were spoken.

created an obvious sense of solidarity among believers that could exercise a strong attraction on those non-Muslims who It is important to note that the spread of Islam often has followed a pattern of initial superficial Islamization followed after a generation or more by a "reform" movement. The cogency of Islam's doctrines. For some men, particularly of initial Islamization may be little more than nominal and the wealthier classes, the relative ease of divorce and the marked by much syncretism and the survival of older, nontolerance of polygamy may have been attractive features of Islamic beliefs and practices; the "reform" along the lines of a

Islam's social system. Perhaps most important of all, how- more rigorous variant of Islam is sometimes carried out by ever, was the simple desire among some non-Muslims to indigenous Muslims (not infrequently led by returning pilgrims), sometimes by revivalist preachers from outside the

Muslims among whom they lived and worked, and with area. Examples of this can be seen in historical contexts as whom they had other business or social ties. (Since apostasy disparate as the Maghrib in the eleventh through thirteenth from Islam was punishable by death, according to Islamic law, centuries (Almoravid and Almohad movements), Anatolia Muslims rarely converted to other religions, even when they during the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, the puritanical lived outside an Islamic state.) The fact that Muslim men Wahhabi movement in the Arabian peninsula beginning in

could, according to Islamic law, marry non-Muslim women the sixteenth century, the revitalization of Islamic practice in meant that a non-Muslim who converted to Islam did not

nineteenth-century Indonesia at the hands of returning pilgrims even necessarily cut himself off from the possibility of marrying a woman of his former religious community.

ment in the United States into a form of orthodox Sunni Islam during the second half of the twentieth century. Islamic Cultural factors at times also played an important role in reformers naturally decry the laxity and heterodox character

the spread of Islam among new populations. During the first of the superficially Islamized communities they strive to reform, but several centuries of the Islamic era (roughly eighth through loose it must be recognized that these communities' practice twelfth centuries C.E.), the urban-based Arabic-Islamic civil- the part of initial affiliations with Islam, however unorthodox in Islamic zation that developed in the Middle East was by far the most be an and belief, nonetheless represent a decisive turn on still sophisticated cultural tradition of western Eurasia. As such it tentative, tolerant of some cherished pre-Islamic pracnumerous people in Andalusia who remained Christian, on tices of the local community, or associated with political or the other hand, reveals that the processes of Arabization and other programs that are not those of Islam in general (for example, Islamization were not always congruent.) black separatism in the case of the Black Muslim movement); yet it results in a fundamental reorientation of Another cultural development of importance to the spread the individual's identity toward Islam, and so offers the base of Islam was the rise of Islamic literary traditions in languages on which later reformers can subsequently build.

Islam and the Muslim World

241

Expansion

The agents of Islamization are of course almost infinite in seized most of the Iberian peninsula, followed in subsequent decades by variety, as in principle people of any kind can, under appro- raids deep into Gaul and occupation of significant priate conditions, proselytize others or serve as positive areas of what is now southern France. All these areas have models that attract nonbelievers to the faith. Historically, ever since remained part of the Islamic world, with the exception of however, three groups of people in Islamic society have been southern France and Iberia, from which Musespecially important to the spread of the faith: merchants, lims were expelled in 1492 by a resurgent Spanish monarchy, and some popular preachers, and mendicant Sufis (mystics). Muslim and some islands in the Mediterranean, notably Sicily, where Muslims merchants, who often established themselves as self-contained Muslims established themselves during the ninth and tenth

colonies in non-Muslim areas, historically were the first to centuries
C.E. In the east, Muslim forces defeated the last
bring awareness of Islam to many new areas. Because of the armies of
the Sassanian Great Kings in western Iran already in
nature of their work, they usually established close per- the middle
of the sixth century, and within several more
sonal ties with the non-Muslims among whom they lived, decades
Muslim forces had seized areas far to the east,
which gave them many opportunities to engage in patient particularly
Khurasan, although some areas of Iran (Sistan, Gilan)
proselytization among their associates. Moreover, their pros-
resisted Muslim encroachment stubbornly for many
perity, general reputation for honest dealing and upright more years.
From Khurasan, the caliphs dispatched armies
behavior, and powerful sense of collective identity as Muslims into other
parts of eastern Iran, Afghanistan, and areas
made them strong positive examples of the Islamic way of life beyond the
Oxus River in Central Asia.
that quietly drew many converts.
The caliphs not only organized and maintained the con-
In some situations, popular preachers also were important quering armies
that carried out this remarkable expansion of
to the spread of Islam. Motivated solely by personal piety, the first
Islamic state, they also benefited from the conquests
these individuals were especially effective in situations where in the form
of a share of booty and captives and subsequently
Islam was already known but not yet embraced by many in the form
of regular taxes imposed on the conquered areas.
people. The impact of mendicant Sufis was not dissimilar to But it is
important to note that for at least two centuries,
that of preachers, although the form of Islam they popular- Muslims
constituted a minority (at first, indeed, a very small
ized was in some cases less rigorous than that espoused by the minority) of
the population of the vast area controlled by the
preachers; as such it appealed to people who were unwilling early
Islamic empire between Spain and Afghanistan; it is
to give up all aspects of their former belief-system, and estimated
that the population of the caliphal domains only
initiated that kind of superficial Islamization that, as has been became 50
percent Muslim around the middle or end of the
seen, was often an important first step down the road to full ninth
century. The conversion of the population of the
immersion in the faith. Middle East,
then, even in lands like Syria, Egypt, and Iran,
was clearly something that happened very gradually.
The Expansion of Islam in Various World Regions
Islam began in western Arabia with the preaching of the It was

also during the early Islamic centuries that certain prophet Muhammad (ca. 570–632 C.E.). Under the caliphs, or peoples living adjacent to the caliphal empire, but outside its borders, successors to Muhammad as temporal leaders of the Muslims, borders, embraced Islam. The Bulgars, who lived along the the community he had founded in Medina and Mecca ex-Volga, had embraced Islam by the ninth century, probably Volga, had expanded quickly to control all of the Arabian peninsula, Iraq, under the influence of Muslim merchants coming from the south. The Syria-Palestine, Iran, and Egypt; most of these areas were south. The pastoral nomadic Turkish peoples of the Central seized through military action from the two great powers of Asian steppes were also increasingly converted to Islam during the day, the Byzantine and Sassanian Persian empires. While during the ninth and tenth centuries; some may have embraced the early Islamic conquests remain difficult to explain in full Islam on the advice of itinerant preachers or Muslim merchants as a historical phenomenon, they are probably best seen as an incentives to avoid being preyed upon by slave-raiders coming example of state-formation followed by rapid state expansion. from the fringes of the caliphal empire in Khurasan. Their Once firmly established, the Islamic state, led by the Umayyad conversion was to prove of great importance, for in the caliphs (660–750 C.E.), established major garrison towns in eleventh century the Turks began their epic migration westward through newly conquered areas (Kufa and Basra in Iraq; Herat in westward through northern Iran and into Azerbaijan, the Caucasus region, Syria; Fustat in Egypt; Qayrawan in Tunisia; Qom, Marv, and Anatolia; this folk migration, which their political and others in Iran). These became important urban centers political leaders the Seljuks partly orchestrated and partly followed, where Islamic literary culture developed, particularly under followed, brought both the Turkish language and Islam for the first the Abbasid caliphs (750–1258 C.E.). From these garrison the first time to many parts of Anatolia. Under the aegis of various towns the caliphs launched further campaigns of conquest various rival Turkish-Islamic states, much of the formerly Christian that brought ever-wider areas under their sway. North Africa Christian population of what we today call Turkey gradually was conquered in a series of campaigns sent from Egypt in the embraced Islam between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries middle and later decades of the seventh century, and Muslim centuries C.E.—in this case, a process in which both merchants armies crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 711 C.E. and quickly and syncretistic Sufi fraternities played a significant part.

Islam and the Muslim World

Expansion

Caspian
ATLANTIC
Sea Aral
OCEAN
Sea

Constantinople Tashkent
Samarqand
Granada Aleppo
Mediterranean Baghdad Harat Kabul
Sea Damascus Isfahan
Jerusalem Basra
Cairo
Delhi

Medina

Re
d
Mecca

Se
Timbuktu

N

a
Arabian Sea

Malacca
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Islamic World Expansion

Demak

to 1550

Islamic at the end of the Lost to Christians
Umayyad dynasty (by 750) by 1250
0 500 1,000 mi.

Islamic by 1250 Lost to Christians
by 1500 0 500 1,000
km

Islamic by 1550 Never under
Muslim control

Islamic World Expansion to 1500. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

Eventually, this Turkish-Islamic matrix gave rise to the
constant campaigning to spread its control against local
Ottoman state, which in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seven-

Hindu and rival Muslim princes. By the fourteenth century, tenth centuries conquered vast new territories for Islam in the Delhi sultans had brought an intermittent patchwork of the Balkans and created the conditions under which the faith areas under their control, extending all the way to south India spread there, particularly in Albania and Bosnia.

and to Orissa in the southeast, and continued battling other Muslim and Hindu principalities. The degree of Islamization The first Muslim presence in South Asia was established

resulting from this political control varied, however, from already in the early eighth century C.E. in the Indus river region to region in South Asia; in general, Islamization was valley (Sind and Punjab) by the conquest of key towns in the (and remains) much more extensive in the regions of Sind, region, but although this community survived for many

Punjab, Bengal, and, by the fourteenth century, Kashmir in centuries little is known about it. The real beginning of the the north and Deccan in the south, than it was in other areas extensive spread of Islam in South Asia came in the late tenth of India, including the Ganges plain.

and the eleventh centuries C.E., when the Ghaznavid dynasty began to launch raids from its main base in Afghanistan into

Although military expansion was important to the spread the Indus valley and beyond, in order to secure the rich of Islam in India, however, it was far from the only factor. plunder the area offered. Eventually, some of these raids

Perhaps equally important was the establishment, no later resulted in the establishment of permanent Ghaznavid out- than the twelfth century, of numerous trading colonies of posts in Sind, especially as the Ghaznavids's control of their

Muslim merchants, usually of Arab or Persian origin, particuoriginal base in Afghanistan was challenged and then taken

larly along the west coast of India. These merchant colonies away by others; their Indian possessions thus became a refuge brought to the rulers (usually Hindu) in whose territories for the Ghaznavids. The Ghaznavids were succeeded by the

they established themselves not only important economic Ghurids, who in the later twelfth century held not only Sind benefits, but also an exposure to some aspects of Islamic high and Punjab but also came to control most of northern India as culture, and a reputation for honesty and fair dealing. The far east as western Bengal. With the fall of the Ghurids in

Muslim merchant colonies were therefore important cata-Afghanistan in the thirteenth century under pressure of the lysts for the conversion to Islam of many people in India, even Khwarizmshahs and Mongols, some Ghurid commanders in before a Muslim prince or the Delhi sultans brought their

India established the first Delhi Sultanate, which engaged in area under the domination of an officially Muslim state. Also

Islam and the Muslim World

243

Expansion

important to the spread of Islam in South Asia were members and warfare launched against their neighbors by local Muslim of various orders of Sufis (mystics), such as the Chishtiyya. princes. In Java, Islam became influential at the court of Some Sufi saints were closely associated with a Muslim ruler, Majapahit around the mid-fifteenth century, and subsequently while others avoided such ties and operated independently; spread widely through the island. Similar patterns can be whatever the case, their egalitarianism, emphasis on the traced in Borneo, Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and Luzon during spiritual life, and eagerness to welcome new adepts made the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Rivalry between Muslim powerful magnets for the faith. Muslim preachers and Christian missionaries (Portuguese and later Dutch) in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries In China, Muslims have always been a minority. Already sharpened the effort of Muslim proselytizers, who presented by the ninth century C.E. there was a large colony of Muslim their cause increasingly as one of jihad against Christian (presumably Arab and Persian) merchants in Canton; it was aggression. In the nineteenth century, Muslim pilgrims largely massacred or expelled by the Chinese in 1898, though turning to Indonesia from extended stays in Arabia were some Muslims remained. The largest communities of Muslim instrumental in fueling a revivalist or purification movement Muslims in China were established in Xinjiang in the west during that did much to deepen the local commitment to Islam. the thirteenth and following centuries, during the period of Mongol rule of China (the Yuan dynasty), when the Mongols, Islam came to North Africa, as we have seen, as part of the who cared little about religion, allowed Muslim merchants rapid expansion of the first caliphal state in the seventh free access to the country. The Mongol Golden Horde century C.E. South of the Sahara, Islam spread more slowly, arriving conquered parts of central Asia and southern Russia, destroyed by several different routes: up the Nile, across the ing the Muslim Bulghar kingdom, but by 1290 the khans of Sahara to the Niger region of West Africa, and by sea to the the Horde had themselves embraced Islam. East African coast. From Egypt, caliphal control, and with it Islam, spread already in the seventh and eighth centuries

The first Muslims in Southeast Asia seem to have been southward up
 the Nile into Nubia and from there into the
 Arab merchants who established a colony in Palembang in northern
 parts of the modern state of Sudan and to the fringes
 the trading state of Shrivijaya in eastern Sumatra in the of
 Ethiopia. Farther west, Muslim merchants from North Africa
 seventh century C.E. In the subsequent centuries, colonies of
 were by 1000 C.E. crossing the Sahara in caravans via
 Arab, Persian, and Indian Muslim merchants established key oasis
 towns such as Sijilmasa, Tadmekka, and Awdaghost, and had
 themselves along the coasts of the Malay peninsula and
 established merchant colonies near the great bend of the Niger
 Sumatra, some fleeing the Chinese destruction of the large
 River, particularly at the trading center of Timbuktu.
 Muslim trading colony at Canton in 878. As in coastal India The
 revivalist Almoravid movement established a Muslim state in
 and East Africa, Muslim merchants established a foothold in
 Mauretania in the eleventh century, and began
 most of the trading ports of Malaysia and Indonesia. The attacking
 the Soninke kingdom of Ghana before expanding rapidly
 important colony of Aceh on the northern tip of Sumatra is
 northward again. By the thirteenth century, these initial
 mentioned already in the thirteenth century by Marco Polo
 seeds of Islamization had grown into several powerful Muslim
 as having a Muslim ruler. The trading entrepot of Malacca, Niger
 kingdoms in the western Sudan: Mali and Gao in the
 which controlled the crucial shipping lane through the nar-
 valley, and Kanam, in the vicinity of Lake Chad. These
 row strait separating Malaya and Sumatra, seems to have had kingdoms
 and other smaller ones periodically waged jihad
 a Muslim ruler by the early fifteenth century. In both cases, against
 neighboring non-Muslims, and also encouraged comthe wealth and commercially
 based assertiveness of these merce, which drew local tribal peoples
 into closer contact
 trading entrepots resulted in the spread of Islam to neighbor- with
 Muslim merchants and their cosmopolitan vision of
 ing areas. The sultans of Malacca extended their control over the world.
 nearby areas of the Malay peninsula, bringing to Islam local
 populations that had not already been attracted to Islam by The
 spread of Islam in East Africa, along the Indian Ocean
 the glittering prosperity of Malacca's rulers; but after Malacca's
 littoral, resembled in some ways Islam's penetration of Southconquest by the
 Portuguese in 1511, its commerce declined east Asia. The first
 agents of Islamization were Muslim
 sharply, particularly because Muslim merchants preferred to merchants
 from Arabia, Iran, and India, who came with the
 take their commerce to Muslim Aceh. The sultans of Aceh monsoon

and founded or established colonies in the major eventually expanded their influence and control southward in coastal trading ports from Somalia southward, particularly in Sumatra and in adjacent areas at the expense of other local Zanzibar, where sectarian (Khariji) Muslims from Oman chieftains, particularly in the seventeenth century C.E.; they established ties that endured in political form until the midcontinued to ply their traditional occupations of commerce twentieth century. Other Muslim colonies remained subject and piracy, and the sultanate ended only in the late nine- to local rulers, but retained close communal and family ties to tenth century during the war against Dutch colonial occupa- their coreligionists in Arabia or India. From the coastal trading tion. The spread of Islam to other parts of Southeast Asia—in ports, Islam gradually penetrated some distance into the particular Java, Borneo, and the Moluccas—was carried out the hinterlands from which came the goods exchanged at the through a combination of peaceful commerce, proselytization, ports of trade.

244

Islam and the Muslim World

Expansion

Muslim communities became prominent in Western See also Conversion; Da wa; Jihad; Tasawwuf. Europe and North America only during the middle and latter decades of the twentieth century. In Western Europe, Mus- BIBLIOGRAPHY lim communities became established in some cases as an Arnold, Thomas. *The Preaching of Islam. A History of the unforeseen by-product of a European country's possession of Propagation of the Muslim Faith.* (1896). Reprint, Lahore: Asian or African colonies or protectorates with large Muslim Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1961. populations. Whether in search of work, education, or (after Bulliet, Richard. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in the colony's independence) sanctuary from oppression, mi- Quantative History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979. grants from these colonial or ex-colonial possessions some- times found a way to move to the metropolitan country, Chaudhuri, K. N. *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilisation whose language and sometimes culture they had often learned. of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750.* Cam- Salient examples are the large communities of Muslims of bridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990. North or West African origin in France, those of South Asian Donner, Fred M. *The Early Islamic Conquests.* Princeton, N.J.:

origin in Great Britain, and those of Southeast Asian origin in Princeton University Press, 1981.

the Netherlands. Other Muslim migrants to Europe came to Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

mainly for economic reasons, such as the many Turkish guest Holt, P. M.; Lambton, Ann K. S.; and Lewis, Bernard, eds.

workers in Germany, or for political reasons (Iranians after The Cambridge History of Islam. Vol. 2: Indian Sub-continent, South-East the overthrow of the shah in 1979, Bosnians during the University Asia, and Africa. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Press, 1970.

many of these Muslim migrants to Europe settled there Levzion, Nehemia, ed. *Conversion to Islam*. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979.

nities of Western Europe are now in their third and fourth McCloud, Aminah Beverly. *African American Islam*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

In North America, large numbers of immigrants from Qureshi, Ishtiaq Husein. *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, 610–1947: A Brief Historical Analysis*. majority-Muslim lands in Asia and Africa came to pursue Karachi: Ma aref, 1977.

economic opportunities or education, or to escape political oppression or economic deprivation (such as the large influx Richards, D. S., ed. *Islam and the Trade of Asia*. Oxford, U.K.: Bruno Cassirer, 1970.

of Iranians of middle- or upper-class backgrounds who came after 1979). The Islamic community in the United States, Risso, Patricia. *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and however, also includes a sizable number of indigenous African- Culture in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.

Americans. Beginning in the 1930s, some African-Americans Schimmel, joined Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, originally a Annemarie. *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*. Leiden: black separatist movement. The Nation of Islam espoused E. J. Brill, 1980.

many ideas that were not part of traditional Islam and most of Smith, Jane I. *Islam in America*. New York: Columbia Unithem identified only weakly with mainstream Muslim com- versity Press, 1999.

munities around the world. During the 1950s and 1960s, Trimingham, J. Spencer. *A History of Islam in West Africa*.

however, this movement underwent an internal transformation (led by such figures as Malcolm X) that led increasing numbers of its members to adopt mainstream Islamic values and to abandon the movement's black separatist origins. The American Muslim Movement that emerged from the Nation of Islam after Elijah Muhammad's death in 1975 is thoroughly orthodox in its doctrines.

Fred M. Donner

Islam and the Muslim World

245

F

FADLALLAH, MUHAMMAD

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Lebanon, was born in Najaf, Iraq, in 1935 to a religious family from Southern Lebanon. Known in the West as the spiritual leader of Hizbullah, unlike most Shi'a ulema, he traces his

Mazyar Lotfalian

genealogy to Imam Hassan rather than Imam Hossein. He studied with Ayatollah Khu'i in Najaf, following which Fadlallah settled in eastern Beirut and became Khu'i's representative. He lived and worked as a Shi'a among Sunnis and Christians during the civil war in Lebanon. At the onset of the war he wrote about the relationship between political power and ideology and became an active community organizer. In Philosophical speculation in Islamic culture has triple roots in theology (kalam), philosophy proper (falsafa), and mysticism (tasawwuf). his relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran, he has both

continued his contacts with Tehran as well as maintained a distance from the Iranian leadership.

The genesis of Muslim philosophical theology is manifested in the marriage of Greek logic and monotheistic apologetics. Fadlallah's career is marked by differences from other Shi'a ulema. These differences include his focus on social and

Oxford,

Trimingham,

Clarendon

Trimingham,

U.K.:

in the

in the

school of Mu tazilah initiated by Wasil ibn Ata (d. 748) charitable organizations, women's participation in public life, and developed by Abu al-Hudhayl al- Allaf (d. 849/850), his nephew al-Nazzam (d. c. 435/445), and the jurist Abd almarja iyya, religious leadership, should be distinguished from Jabbar (d. 1204/1205). They inquired into such questions as wilayat al-faqih, or political leadership. There should be many the compatibility of free will for creatures and Divine omwaly (political leaders), whereas only one person should hold nipotence. Can a person act against the will or knowledge of the title of marja . This means that there are many waly who God? If persons have no free will, how can a just God punish are the interpreters of religion and politics in society. On the them for predetermined actions? If rewards and punishments other hand, marja is a symbolic and religious leadership and are arbitrary, why does God send prophets and reveal sacred jurisdiction goes beyond the political and national bounda- scriptures to guide His creatures? Wrestling with such key ries. Fadlallah believes that marja should be unified under issues in theodicy, the prevalent adherents of the Mu tazilah one authority. Regarding jurisprudence, he argues that the position support the legitimacy of the doctrine of punishment Qur an takes precedence over the sunna, and that jurists need and rewards by proffering their view that persons are free and to interpret meaning directly from the Qur an. Fadlallah's that God is just. Their position criticized subjectivism in ethics religious and political status increased, especially among and upheld a rationalist ethic that persons can reason radicals, after Ayatollah Khomeini gave him ijaza (religious about ethics and thus are responsible for moral actions. permission) to collect khums (religious tax) from his follow- Against this family of doctrines arose the school of Ash arites ers in 1982.

(founded by Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ash ari, d. 935), which advocated the so-called theory of occasionalism. Popularized later

See also Political Islam. in Europe by Nicolas Malebranche (d. 1715), occasionalists

Falsafa

confronted the thorny problem of causality as follows. Among Ibn Sina's concepts, such as the essence-existence distinccreated occasions in the world, there is no causation (neither tions. In this light Islamic texts may be useful both in tracing agent-patient nor an event-type of causation). Specifically, the development of Greek thought as well as in revealing the minds/mental events or bodies/physical actions are subject genesis of

some Latin and Hebrew philosophical writings.

only to an ultimate cause, namely God. Belonging to the Sunni school of theology, this school questioned the mean- Major Muslim thinkers of the classical period. A key figure is ingfulness of the notion of free will; by contrast, it advocated Abu Ya qub Al-Kindi (d. 873), who proffered a search for that God ordained a total resignation to the cosmos, which it supported truth over reliance on authority. Moreover, he the theory of creation by arguing that the eternity of the world claimed. This position does not imply any negative states for which was position of Job) should envision nature and themselves as proven to be impossible by Aristotle. Abu Nasr Almere gifts of the Divine grace; faith commands creatures to Farabi (d. 950), is known as “the second teacher,” an original thinker and passively witness the glory of creation as an icon of the a logician. His numerous contributions include: (a) Creator. Other key issues included the controversy as to construing a Muslim version of the theory of emanation whether or not the Qur an is co-eternal with the Divine; this adopted by a majority of subsequent Muslim philosophers; (b) holding controversy is based on a reading of the Timaeus where Plato in context a Platonic position that philosophizing takes place postulates a co-eternity among the ideas/forms/universals of a polity and its societal ethics; and finally (c) having and the creator-artist-demiurge. Finally they have constantly debated the place of reason versus revelation and the place of relation insights in analytical ontology on topics such as the between language and ontology. He demonstrated philosophy in an Islamic society. A number of Sunni theolo- that in the spite of the fact that Semitic languages like Arabic do not gians like Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and Ahmid ibn contain the copula, they are nevertheless as capable as any Taymiyya (d. 1327) criticized what they considered to be primary untenable attempts of philosophers to intrude into theology. ontic concepts designated by terms such as being, existence, In contrast, Shi a writers like Nasir Khusraw, Nasir ad-Din who is existent, and substance. Abu Ali ibn Sina (d. 1037), perhaps the most original and systematic Muslim thinker, as Tusi (d. 1274), and Sadr ad-Din Shirazi (known as Mulla Sadra), all of whom were philosophers in the school of Isfahan is illustrated by the following ideas.

in the following three centuries, and even as recent as Ruhollah Khomeini (d. 1989), all view theology and philosophy as With respect to the logical structure of metaphysics, Ibn

interdependent disciplines. The most philosophical group of modified the ontology of the peripatetic substance-Muslim sects consists of the so-called Isma'ilis, among them language ontology (where the first division of being was Khosrow, Hamid al-Din Kirmani, and Nasir al-Din Tusi. categories of substances and accidents) to a primary encounter with being and the threefold modalities of necessity, contingency, and impossibility. A concatenation of being The classical age of Islamic philosophy is marked by the necessity leads to necessary being, which, in the second following features: (a) an increasing awareness of the importance of the ontological arguments, leads to the notion of tance of Greek philosophy, especially of Aristotelian delineation of Necessary Existent, the cause of the actualization of all tion and division of philosophical studies such as ontology, beings. epistemology, normative types of inquiry, analytical disciplines such as logic and mathematics, natural sciences, and meditative experience, he theology; (b) the production of commentaries on the Greek four-phase hermeneutic phenomenological entexts, and the development of new and creative solutions to counter as follows: (i) being, (ii) the field of experiencing the the traditional controversies such as the nature of imagination-immediate phenomenon, (iii) a search from a tions and the problem of universals; and (c) the pursuit of of the agent to the inner essence of the agent, which philosophical investigations independent of religious necessary existent, and (iii) finally an aim toward cerns. A majority of recent and some contemporary investigations through a unity of existents. Ibn Sina's system tors in Islamic philosophy focus on the so-called Greek into to reread the ontological argument of both St. Arabic, or/and Arabic into Latin/Hebrew. There is no doubt (d. 430) and René Descartes (d. 1650). In this light that this historical-reductive approach is a legitimate field as celebrated argument for the existence of God is not illustrated in the case of the Persian-born philosopher and empty logical argument based on definition, but a scientist Ibn Sina (known to the West by his Latin name, transformation due to a search from being, to the Avicenna). He claimed that he had read Aristotle's Metaphysics of experience, to God and finally a desperate attempt to form a dealienating unity among all existents. influences are imprinted over his several encyclopedic collections. In turn,

Ibn Sina was mentioned over five hundred In the field of mysticism, Ibn Sina's account of metatimes by the most important Catholic thinker, St. Thomas mysticism and his distinctions between mystical, religious, and Aquinas (d. 1274), who grounded much of his metaphysics in ascetic, as well as his description of states and stations of

248

Islam and the Muslim World

Falsafa

mystics, paved the way for subsequent scholarships on Consequently, reality was depicted as a process; analysis was mysticism. compared to waves in the ocean or wind in motion. Now there are two sides to such a process: an external one, like His original system integrated various aspects of Aristote- drops of water coming from a river that in turn came from an ocean; lian and Neoplatonic Greek theories with the Islamic intel- person thus a drop of water going back to the ocean, or a dying as an individual and then becoming part of the world, of Ibn Sina's system, criticizing him, in the case of al-Ghazali, both of which depict the unity of being as entities Fakhr al-Din Razi (b. 1149), and Ibn Taymiyya, following returning to their archetypal mother, or to the source of their him (as with Tusi), or including in their philosophy some of generation. The other side, an internal, an intentional one in his visions, like Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), Shihab ad-Din Suhrawardi light of which a person is transformed from one state of mind to (d. 1191), Aquinas, and Sadr ad-Din Shirazi (known as Mulla another, is depicted either in celebrated cases like the Sadra). In sum, a comprehensive Islamic philosophical system conversion of St. Paul or in typical cases like becoming a emerged through Ibn Sina's encyclopedic works. parent, falling in love, and the like. Muslim philosophers A parallel vibrant tradition of original philosophy, mysti- needed this Neoplatonic framework of process language as cism, and scholarly commentaries developed in Islamic Spain. they dealt with the key issue of the paradox of mystical union, Mention has already been made of Ibn Rushd—known to the which aimed to bring an ultimate intimacy between persons and West by his Latin name, Averroes—who also wrote a number and their source of genesis, like a child seeking to return to the of commentaries on Aristotle's work as well as on Plato's the mother. In Aristotle's vocabulary no two substances could Republic. He is known in Christian medieval circles as the have become identical with one another, as the only substanoriginator of the

so-called double-truth theory, which renders religious and philosophical languages to be isomorphically cannot become a dog. But in process language, two waves compatible, although scholars today question this interpretation of his theory of truth. Noteworthy among the list of other philosophers is Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185), who presents in a authentic personal experiences, the birth of their child Robinson Crusoe-like tale, an allegorical account of various represents the visible fruit of the merged love of two lovers. phases of the development of persons in light of which issues Muslim philosophers use the method of allegorical are portrayed such as the acquisition of language, communication by appeals to motifs such as “drowning” or “light”; cation with nature and human being, and finally with God. a framework “mystical union” can be clarified by a symbolic or an allegorical theology. Moreover, unlike Aristotle’s system, such processes in the world that were external and Epistemology persons’ bodies had also a personal and an intentional side. Ibn Sina’s original insights culminated in a number of the should be noted that Aristotle’s system is not a static following ideas in later Islamic philosophy. metaphysics, as the ultimate model is an organic depiction of nature, where the highest state consists in imitating the prime The world depicted as a process analogous to a flowing movers’ theoretical structure of the cosmos. river or a shining sun. To begin with, for Aristotle, the ultimate constituent of the world consists of what he called of philosophical analysis. An aspect of recent first substances, which are primarily individual, concrete postidealism in the West has been the rise of philosophical particulars like the stars, living persons, animals, trees, and analysis, characterized by features such as clarification of key rocks. Consequently, other features of the world like quantitative primitive terms and the reconstruction of a clear syntactical tity, quality, place, time, relations, and alike are accidental meta-linguistic framework. This feature was developed in the and are actual only because of the characterization of a philosophy of logical positivism at the turn of the twentieth subspace. Against Plato, he argued that the entity, “being century and culminated in Rudolph Carnap’s (d. 1970) doctrine of exist in or by itself; it is realized if it endures reconstructionalism. Similar themes are depicted in

as a color of a specific tree or the color of a person's eyes. The following three theses of Islamic philosophy. The key issue is his accidental depiction of time, which postulates that the primary account of the world is in the language of The first case lies in Ibn Sina's tripartite solution to the substances, for example, rocks or trees, and events such as called theory of universals, which questioned the ontic status of their locomotion, damnation, and growth, and the alteration of universals (indicated by notions such as "being a number," or of their character. By contrast, in the post-Ibn Sinan philosophy, temporal dimensions of phenomena such as experiences of single philosophical terms are to be found in the context of of persons were depicted as an essential aspect of their reality, their applications as follows: Syntactical universals (such as for which Mulla Sadra coined the expression "substantial "evenness") as well as a syntactical analysis of universals are motion." In Sadra's ontology the universe was depicted as a significantly independent of our mental state or the actual continuum of realms of existents, from the pure absolute world; conceptual universals, such as intentions, are midexistent, identified as God, to series of layers of entities. dependent; and finally in the realm of empirical sciences,

Islam and the Muslim World

249

Falsafa

essences and universals follow our encounter with facts that of what William James (d. 1910) stipulated as "stream of are existents and particulars. An awareness of the linguistic consciousness"; thus the focus is not on persons as things import of philosophical issues can also be found in the clever substances but on the temporal nature of experiencing the solution of Nasir Khusraw (d. 1077) to the question of world. In this light, both Ibn Sina and Mulla Sadra construe a "Which comes first? The chicken or the egg?" He pointed phenomenological metaphysics in which the mind directly encounters out the similarity of this paradox with the inquiry about the being rather than itself as a substance. In sum, a major "initiation of the beginning segment in a circle." He replied major contribution of Islamic philosophy lies in its depiction that a chicken means an actualized egg, while an egg means a of "persons" in the context of the field of experience. potential chicken. Thus, a comprehensive language addresses the question's need to place both of them in the same object Key epistemological concepts depicted in light of both language level of terms (in the same way space and time are value and

experience. Traditionally epistemic models folplaced as primitive notions in contemporary physics). Finally lowed theoretical frameworks of Platonic writings, where

let us consider Tusi's analysis of infinity. As a rational phi- knowledge was identified with the abstraction of concepts.

losopher, he had to agree with Aristotle that there is no actual Later

knowledge was limited either to concepts received

infinite, but as a mathematician, he sought to take "infinite by the intellect or sense data experienced by the senses.

number" as a significant notion. Thus, he made a meta-

Analogous to many recent epistemologies such as American

linguistic distinction between several senses of infinity, syn-

pragmatism, Muslim philosophies examined layers of contactical and ontic,

accepting the first sense and rejecting the sciousness/awareness in

varieties of knowing, as well as the

second. These three examples well illustrate that Islamic relation

between knowledge and morality. Let us consider

philosophy contains an awareness of philosophical analysis, some

examples from everyday life.

meta-mathematics, and logic.

In teaching a trade, the apprentice learns "how to" per-

Depiction of the self as a ground of experience. The form a

task, for example, learning how to ride a bicycle, or

concept of a person is a cardinal issue in the philosophical learning

to dance. In these examples, one learns "how to do

system due to the observation made by Ludwig Wittgenstein an

activity," instead of learning and conceiving a clarification of an

(d. 1951) that we can never see our eyes directly, or that the

analytical fact like an axiom of geometry or empirical

self is not in the world, but that it is implied in the ground of

data, like the distance between the sun and earth; one can also

being-in-the-world. Also, he pointed out that the notion of

become a better perceiver of danger or have a richer experilanguage is like a

game, a societal entity; consequently, a

ence of music, or sport. With respect to morality and ethics,

substantial notion of the self may prevent the possibility of

one may follow Plato's equation of knowledge with virtue and

language and thus of knowledge all together. It is for this

vice with ignorance. Accordingly, learning from the world

reason that a number of western philosophers have rejected

makes one also a better human being. The primary sources of

the Cartesian depiction of the self as a substance. For examthese practical and

holistic epistemologies are the works of

ple, David Hume (d. 1776) depicts the self in terms of a

Plato and Plotinus. Specifically, Plato uses the allegory of a

bundle of impressions, while Kant attempts to clarify the

blindfolded prisoner who, through a continuum of epistemic

phenomenal self in the search for what he calls a transcendenascents, finally confronts the source of all sight, which is the tal unity of perception. Finally, Martin Heidegger's depiction sun; he also depicts love as a ladder through which a lover of self as Dasein, meaning "being-in-the-world" is one of the most celebrated philosophical formulations of the twentieth encounters the true form of absolute beauty, which is another century. Long before these European thinkers, a number of icon for the highest good. Plotinus also discusses the ascent of Muslim philosophers focused on a depiction of the notion of the soul as it seeks to be united with the One, analogous to a daughter, a person in ways to avoid the standard paradoxes such as who, recognizing her true love for the father, seeks "private language fallacy." Ibn Sina, for instance, states that if "no otherness" from the One. Muslim philosophers devela person abstracts his sensations one by one, he can never oped their epistemologies in ways that resemble Ibn Sina's presuppose that the subject of this experience is empty. In a theory of pragmatic imagination. Ibn Sina postulates the similar manner, al-Ghazali points out that both God and the epistemology of internal senses, translated here as "prehensive self are without any quality or quantity—they belong to the imagination," as illustrated in the case of sheep running away at the ground of experience and not to objects of experience (like sight of a wolf. In such a response, it is not necessary for Hume's point that there is no impression of the self). In a Sufi an agent to be conscious in order to act prudently. Similar depiction of the self, persons are construed in a process which cases are found in Muslim theories of learning through the mystical is a continuum of the development of states (ahwal) and apprenticeship with a Sufic master, as the Disciples of Christ stations (maqamat); eventually the finite limited ephemeral learned from Jesus' acts or one learns from parables self is annihilated (fana) and is merged into its ultimate in the sacred texts. Recent development in the West in "fuzzy logic," source; in such a state, a person merging into its essence Gestalt psychology, the epistemologies of Marxists, persists (baqa) eternity in this blessed state of union. Here a American pragmatists, the views of a number of philosophers person is not depicted as a substantial soul but in the context such as Henry Bergson (d. 1941), Alfred North Whitehead

250

Islam and the Muslim World

Falsafa

(d. 1947), and Wittgenstein—all these question the legiti- original desire. The Muslim mystic's vision of the ethics of

macy of the notion of a conscious state independent of life
 much stronger than the simple case stated above. The
 activity. Al-Ghazali ironically wrote against philosopher's
 return is, in fact, an integration of the last phase of
 mistakes, but in fact was instrumental in strengthening phi-
 of self-realization, which constitutes the perfection
 losophy among subsequent Muslim scholars. For him the
 persons. The Isma ili philosopher Nasir Khusraw
 major feature of God and persons is intentional volition. In
 the following Neoplatonic version of this theme of
 the case of the Divine, there is the will to create the cosmos.
 through emanation and return. To begin with, neither
 In the case of persons, we have intentional epistemic virtues
 nor existence may be applied to the term God.
 of the soul's urge in seeking salvation. The most outstanding
 be talked about is the cosmogony of the emanation
 features of humanity are found in immediate existential
 world from the first intelligence, having been begotten
 feeling tones of exuberance (dhawq), urgency (shawq), and
 One who emanates the universal soul; the latter
 authentic states of intimacy (uns). Al-Ghazali's system inte-
 the individual souls. Now the problem is what to do
 grades a number of insights from various traditions, such as
 individual souls, as they need to be differentiated
 the supremacy of the power of good will in the Zoroastrian
 another in the spiritual realm. In this context,
 tradition and in Friedrich Nietzsche, in Wittgenstein's ear-
 proffers the view that the souls are temporarily
 lier doctrine as well as in St. Augustine's account of the
 in order to partake of morally significant experisimilarity between persons and
 the world, of the soul and ences, and in life's struggle, they have
 an opportunity to
 God. Al-Ghazali's writings were instrumental in integrating
 purified. The theme is a repetition of Plotinus's view
 the philosophical dimensions with extensive mystical (Sufi)
 body is like the useful instrument of a musician who sets
 writings in enriching Islamic epistemology and ethics.
 after the dance of earthly life. This example clearly
 signifies that the Islamic ethos is not an ascetic one, as Muslim
 Facets of the ethics of self-realization. A major issue in
 philosophers, such as Ibn Sina, clearly distinguish between
 Islamic moral philosophy is various epistemic and normative
 religious devotee, and mystics. In this tenor, it
 facets of the ethics of self-realization. The essence of the self
 mentioned that the prophet Muhammad's personal
 is presupposed to be the divine-God-nature; accordingly, the
 embodied as a prophet statement, as well as in an

unity is
 mystical
 the ethics
 (kamal) of
 presents
 unity
 temporality
 What can
 of the
 from the
 emanates
 with these
 from one
 Khusrau
 embodied
 between persons and
 become
 that a
 it aside
 ascetics,
 should be
 life is

ultimate self-knowledge lies in the archetypal theme of the religious law (shari'a), which is concerned with the return to the origin of cosmogony, expressed as dealienation. dimension of life on this earth as well as in the afterlife. The Qur'an itself has a number of references to As is to be expected, there are varieties of Islamic ethics, issues such as the economics of gender relations, and such as treatises on pragmatics of politics for princes, and ethical issues in legalistic theology, as well as standard philosophical ethics such as utilitarianism and the Kantian type of morality emphasizing a sense of duty. The most original and vision of politics. As exemplified in the works of complex Muslim contribution to ethics is the Sufi prescription of the good life. Amazingly, this type of ethics may be described in the context of the problem of alienation—individualism of John Locke (d. 1704) and John Stuart Mill (d. 1836), focuses on the Unitarian view of persons, enologists, and psychoanalysts to be the most important these not as independent individuals, but rather as problem in modern times. The Islamic mystics, known as the a society or even a global village. The essence of Sufis, take a theme common to both Neoplatonism and the individual is being a member of a polity. Official Muslim Qur'an that all entities seek to return to their source. Because tolerant of Zoroastrians, Christians, and Jews, for persons are finite and the ultimate being, such as the God of "people of the [sacred, monotheistic] book." Accordingly, Muslim rulers have a moral obligation to protect is a need for a Christ-like sage, a mediator figure who is half-human and half-divine, who can link the two realms. Usually monotheistic believers can practice their own kind of worth this union assumes the absorption of persons into the ultimate being, as a river returns to the sea. Here is an example. Suppose a male realizes that his beloved resembles his mother, the first instance of the feminine archetype for the male child. and numerous references to parables from the If so, then naturally his "new love" integrates his urge to in the literature of Muslims, show that Muslims regard

Islamic

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A global

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ingly, Muslim rulers have a moral

temples

this union assumes the

ship. In a so-called imaginary

Jewish and

heathens to

Muslims

Torah,

return to the blessed state of an infant cared by his mother. Jews as the chosen people of the Lord. In the same tenor The love of the specific mother induces the unconscious love Jesus, who is taken to be human but a prophet of God, born of a virgin, of the feminine archetype that results in his discovery of the a virgin, is often depicted as the mediator figure in Islamic mysticism. actualization of an instance of the feminine archetype in his mysticism. In light of these affinities, one may ask in what sense future spouse. Thus, love in a sense signifies a return to the sense Islamic political philosophy may be unique.

Islam and the Muslim World

251

Falsafa

Muslims envision themselves not as being opposed to the meta-theories for making particular laws but as a direct power that earliest monotheistic approaches to society and the poleitia, intervenes in national and international politics of the nation and but as a recipient of the later revelation of God to humanity. is backed by the military branch of the government. The Hebrews received the gift of monotheism, calling Elohim/ Islamic Yahweh the only God of the universe, a source of divine themes have been integrated in the social thoughts of a number justice prescribing both rewards and punishment. Christians Ali A. of recent African political thinkers. For example preached the message of a loving God, who sacrificed His type of Mazrui (b. 1933) proffers Islam as the first Protestant Son, God incarnate, for humanity. The salient feature of the Islamic political philosophy is its vision of a unity applied to last revealed universal religion. Moreover, he questions the the global politics of achieving a political unity under a Eurocentric approach of alienating Africa from the Middle East and theocratic order. A further delineation of this political philosophy has two implications. First is the rejection of the under the concept of "Afrabia." Mazrui's Islamic themes envision the legitimacy of separating the state and religion, similar to Afrocentric agenda as a phase of a dialectical encounter Plato's vision expressed in the Republic that morally useful to the Eurocentric perspective of the earlier centuries. "myths" should be embedded in the praxis of the state. Following the Islamic principle of unity (tawhid), he Among the Shi'a, a minority of Islamic creed, this theocracy proposes a synthesis found in Islamic political philosophy, takes a stronger turn. namely a vision of global harmony based on justice such as

praxes of Black reparation—a vision suited for the global village of the present millennium.

The salient philosophical framework of Islam, unlike the Islamic intellectual tradition lies in its symbolic expression of faithful global citizens. Consequently, several modern Muslim thinkers have offered a number of theories about the encounter between Islam and Western cultures. A partial list of these social philosophers includes Jamal al-Din Asadabadi Tusi, and Mulla Sadra, who could and did write technical philosophy, (also known as al-Afghani, d. 1897), Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938), Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i (d. 1989), and Ruhollah Khomeini. Afghani appealed to special Islamic virtues, such as modesty, honesty, and truthfulness. He explains the world, nor analyzes concepts. It is the primary aim of suggested that by adopting these archetypal virtues and mysticism to transform the intentional phenomenon of the joining pan-Islamic movements, Islamic culture would be authentic experiences of persons from an alienating one to one able to encounter positively the power of Western culture. marked by harmony—a harmony in which even the death of Iqbal was of the opinion that the essence of Islamic culture one's body is integrated in one's life experience.

lies in its transformation of Greek abstract philosophy into an Another reason for the use of the symbolic method is that the empirical mode of knowledge that takes account of concrete subject matter of discourse is neither empirically observable, sensible, scientific facts; he also saw the active expression of mystical virtues compatible with an Islamic political agenda. Both he contrast, it is concerned with topics such as a Gestalt vision of the unity of being, which places the individual and his experience into a harmonious, unified, connected cosmos, where death praxis. Tabataba'i integrated the Shi'a notion of the imam as

and birth, knowledge, and ignorance, good and evil are an essential mediator figure in a person's search for his connected. Let us illustrate this point in the pragmatics essence, which leads to knowledge of God. A number of of the light motif. As Plato uses light symbolism for the sun in followers of Tabataba'i became part of the group of ayatollah the allegory of the cave, Aristotle's depicts the active intelligibles who initiated and carried out the later Islamic revolution as light, and with Plotinus's use of the Sun as an image of the One, tions in the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by the Ayatollah it becomes evident that the Sun depicts the Khomeini. The praxis of his political vision culminated in a Divine in its emanating light. The culmination of the "light division of government into branches (legislative, executive, motif" is found in the system of the post-Ibn Sina school of philosophy and judicial) under the supreme leadership of a jurist who has of illumination, founded by Suhrawardi (d. 1119). the ultimate power in the state. The new doctrine known as According to this system, reality may be depicted as a continuum of light; the primordial emanatory political implications. In fact it is a continuum of light; the primordial emanatory called the Light of establishes the supreme ayatollah jurist as the guardian of the Lights (depicting the Divine), is part of an eschatological state, since he holds the ultimate political power in the order; last entities are particular bodies, which are also lights. government. This interpretation of Islamic theology views The illumination type of metaphysics overcomes some problems of dualistic ontologies. For the supreme jurist not as a mere interpreter of archetypal elements of dualistic ontologies. For example, a mind-body dualism

252

Islam and the Muslim World

Farrakhan, Louis

is avoided by depicting mental experiences as enlightenment, Ibn Sina. The *Metaphysica* of Avicenna (Ibn Sina). Translated and physical entities as particles; thus a single notion, namely by Parviz Morewedge. New York and London: Columbia University Press and Routledge Kegan Paul, 1972. that of light, can be used in an ontology without breaking reality into two incompatible primary terms. Also knowledge Morewedge, Parviz. "Theology." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islamic World*. Edited by John Esposito. New York and Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1995. (hull) theory of mystical union. For instance, the mystic poet Rumi calls his own master Shams-e Tabrizi, literally "the Morewedge, Parviz. *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Sina*.

Sun of [the City] of/from Tabriz". The Sufi circular dance

Binghamton, N.Y.: Global Publications, 2001.

with one hand to the center of the circle, the other extended Leahman, Oliver, and Morewedge, Parviz. "Islamic Philosophy, Modern." In Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Edited

of its radiation. In the same tenor, faith is symbolized by by Edward Craig. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.

warmth in the heart of the believer, fire as love of the Divine, Sharif, M. Muhammad. A History of Muslim Philosophy. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963–1966.

creature is open to be a witness of the world, which is a creation. The theme of the cycle of descent and ascent is also

Parviz Morewedge

found in other common sets of icons, such as drowning in the sea, a flight of the bird to the heavens, and the like. In sum,

Islamic epistemologies include but are not limited to the standard views of sense perception, conception by analysis FARRAKHAN, LOUIS (1933–)

and deduction. The dominance of symbolism in the pragmatic theories of knowledge is due to the emphasis of the Louis Farrakhan was born Louis Eugene Walcott on 11 May

Islamic intellectual tradition on mysticism, its ethics of self- 1933 in the Bronx, New York. He attended Winston-Salem

realization, and its refined delineation of topics like prophecy Teachers College in North Carolina from 1951 to 1953,

and various intentional senses of memory, imagination, and where he majored in English. He joined the Nation of

communication. Islam in 1955.

Conclusion The

Nation of Islam is a community of African Americans

Philosophical speculations comprise an essential dimension formed in the 1930s. The community's spiritual identity is

of the Islamic intellectual tradition not only in its technical Islam, and its political identity is black nationalism. Louis

philosophical corpus, but also in its religious, mystical, and Farrakhan joined the Nation of Islam because of the message

literary traditions. It is true that its major framework lies in of community and the coherence of faith offered by the

Greek philosophical sources, especially in Aristotle and community in the face of white American racism and violence

Plotinus, and that its content derives from Islamic sources against blacks in the Jim Crow era. After the death in 1975 of

(the Qur'an, the tradition or hadith, as well as early theology- Elijah Muhammad, the community's founder and leader for

ans). However, a number of Muslim philosophers reformulated the earlier Greek views with novel elements that resemble the philosophical base from black nationalism to the global a number of new trends in Western philosophy. Among philosophy of Islam. He also enhanced the spiritual identity noteworthy views are a metaphysics of intentional processes, in Islam. This move into orthodox Islam caused a breach in the depiction of persons in the language of fields of experience, the leadership in the Nation of Islam and its collapse. In 1977 Louis Farrakhan reestablished the Nation of Islam with black integration of ethics and metaphysics to form a mystical nationalism as its philosophy and Islam as its spiritual identity. process of dealienation, and the application of philosophical analyses to both ethics and metaphysics. The salient features Between 1953 and 1956 Farrakhan worked as a club singer of Islamic philosophy are not only special features that and musician. He is married to Khadijah (née Betsy Ross), differentiate it from other traditions, but they are themes that with whom he has had nine children. In 1979 Farrakhan constitute paradigmatic refinement of philosophical thinking. established the newspaper *The Final Call* (whose name is derived from the message in the Qur'an 74:38), and in 1981 See also Ibn Rushd; Ibn Sina; Kalam; Law; Tasawwuf; he held the first national convention of the Resurrected

Wajib al-Wujud. Nation (a name used briefly to describe the Nation of Islam).

On Savior's Day, 26 February 1989, the community that

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founded inaugurated the National Center, named El-Bizri, Nader. *The Quest for Being: Avicenna and Heidegger.* Mosque Maryam in honor of black womanhood, in Chicago.

Binghamton, N.Y.: Global Publications, 2000. During the

1990s Minister Farrakhan was embroiled in a number of Fakhry, Majid. *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, 2d ed. New controversies: with the American Jewish community over York: Columbia University Press, 1983. nity over alleged anti-Semitism, with other Muslims over the

Islam and the Muslim World

253

Fasi, Muhammad Allal al-

ideology of the Nation of Islam, and with many others over **BIBLIOGRAPHY** the black nationalist stance of the Nation of Islam. Cohen, Amnon. "Allal al-Fasi: His Contribution Towards Morocco's Independence." *Asian and African Studies* 3

During the 1990s Minister Farrakhan embarked on a (1967): 121–164. steady program to reestablish the Nation of Islam as an African American Sunni Muslim community. This process David L. Johnston continues today, and the Nation of Islam is recognized as a member of the world community of Islam.

See also American Culture and Islam; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam; United States, FATIMA (C. 605–633) Islam in the.

Fatima (d. 633) was the daughter of the prophet Muhammad and Khadija, spouse of Muhammad's cousin and companion BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ali b. Abi Talib, and mother of al-Hasan and al-Husayn, the Farrakhan, Louis. A Torchlight for America. Chicago: FCN Prophet's only male descendants. Ali headed the line of the Shi'ite imams. Publishing, 1993. Fatima's genealogical position reveals the Muhammad, Elijah. Message to the Blackman in America. significance attributed to her throughout the Muslim world Chicago: Muhammad Mosque of Islam No. 2, 1965. and explains the veneration she enjoys.

Aminah Beverly McCloud Fatima is said to be the source of blessing (baraka), and is a saint, particularly the patron saint of fertility, and is appealed to as a mediator between God and humans. Her blessing hand is commonly used to protect against the evil eye.

FASI, MUHAMMAD ALLAL AL- Little (1910–1974) is known about the actual figure hidden behind a blooming legend that combines the historical with fictional Allal al-Fasi was a leading figure in the Moroccan independence movement. From the launching of the new nation, in and biography, historiography, hadith collections, and Prophet's 1956, al-Fasi was also known as president of the influential exegetical literature do not provide a comprehensive biography of Istiqlal (independence) party. Born to an elite family of Fatima. However, they present some genealogical and biographical Islamic scholars (ulema) in Fez, the religious capital of cornerstones and occasional events of her life. Morocco, al-Fasi studied at the prestigious Islamic university The date of her birth remains uncertain as well as the date of of al-Qarawiyyin, and later joined the protest movement her marriage to Ali b. Abi Talib (622 or 623). Her son Hasan

against the French and Spanish colonial presence on Moroccan soil. He quickly became one of the most visible national leaders in the pro-independence struggle, and was exiled for to the year in which she died, although there is no nine years by the French to Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville. reference to the month, that is, the exact period of time Shortly after his return to Morocco, he chose to leave again, father's death. Furthermore, we find contradictory spending another nine years in Cairo, where he and his party concerning the circumstances of her last hours, thought he could best advance the nationalist cause. at night, and the location of her tomb. Only few records deal with historical events she was involved in. Author of some twenty books, al-Fasi's writings fall into four categories. The first consists of his reformist, or salafi, legend woven about Fatima provides further insights works, which focus on the renewal of Islamic law. These importance as a spiritual personality, both for Sunni include al-Naqd al-dhati (1952, Self-criticism), and Maqasid Muslims. Hagiographical literature is manifold al-shari'a al-islamiyya wa-makarimuha (1964, The objectives portrays the Prophet's daughter as a multifaceted person and ethics of Islamic law). The second category is made up of ality, appearing in Shi'ite texts as early as the tenth century. his political essays on the Islamic socialist positions of the Istiqlal party and its support for Morocco's claim to Mauritania Fatima of the legend is given numerous epithets as aland the Spanish Sahara, and includes Manhaj al-istiqlaliyya Zahra (the Shining one), the Resplendent, or the supreme (The method of self-reliance). A third category comprises his all indicate that she represents the female ideal writings on the modern history of North Africa, especially Morocco, and the fourth consists of his contributions to the genre of nationalist poetry. hagiography emphasized the "orthodox" virtues, such as her piety and her rank as the Prophet's daughter, See also Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa; Shi'ite sources created a figure of cosmic importance, the Salafiyya. final avenger on the one hand and a luminous,

254

Islam and the Muslim World
 Feda iyan-e Islam

celestial being working miracles on the other. Her closeness

was born in
 daughters,
 with regard
 clear
 after her
 indications
 her burial
 The
 as to her
 and Shi'ite
 and
 The
 Mary; they
 of Islam.
 Sunni
 whereas
 more general

religious issues, including theology, philosophy, creeds, and ibadat (religious obligations or acts of worship). Traditionally, despite numerous exceptions (Fatima, to the immaculates, and to the people of the ordeal. Particularly since the eleventh century), the issuer of fatawa,

termed a mufti—whose authority derives from his knowledge of law and tradition—has functioned independently of the judicial system, indeed often privately.

Prophet's daughter stood in striking contradiction to each other. Whereas Lammens's Fatima is unattractive, of mediocre intelligence, and lacking in significance, Massignon depicts an almost mystical and sublime personality with a religious significance akin to that of the Virgin Mary. Laura Veccia Valieri's comprehensive study tries to emphasize the fact that historical reality ranges between the two portraits. Since historical sources are few and sometimes even contradictory, the conflict in historical apprehension continues. Hagiographical models in the earlier Islamic literature show— Instead, it is "informational," and, while decisions of even in historical literature— that making a clear distinction between the real person and the legend can be quite difficult. thus setting no legal precedents, fatawa are very often collected, published, and cited in subsequent cases.

In the course of the Islamic revolution of Iran the legend of Fatima enjoyed a considerable renaissance and actualization as the female role model. She symbolized the committed fighter, engaged for the Muslim community and thus became the model in opposition to the Western woman pursuing only her individual emancipation.

See also Law; Mufti; Religious Institutions.

tion as the female role model. She symbolized the committed fighter, engaged for the Muslim community and thus became the model in opposition to the Western woman pursuing only her individual emancipation.

See also Law;

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Edited by Guity Nashat. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983. FEDAIYAN-E ISLAM

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Feda iyan-e Islam was a Shi ite fundamentalist group that was founded in Iran in 1945 by Sayyed Mujtaba Mir Lauhi bint Muhammad: Vom habar zur Legende." *Der Islam* 79 (2002): 47–86. (known as

Navvab-e Safavi), a man then in his early twenties, with little or no formal Islamic education. Unsettled by the Shari ati, Ali. Fatima ist Fatima. Bonn: Embassy of the Islamic Republic Iran, 1981.

Kasravi, Safavi masterminded his assassination in March 1946. This was followed by the assassination in November 1949 of Abd al-Husayn Hazhir, the influential minister of court, and in March 1951 of prime minister Hajji Ali Razmara, who opposed the nationalization of the British-owned oil industry. The Feda iyan had enlisted the support of the activist ayatollah Abu 'l-Qasem Kashani, but failed to win over the highest-ranking religious authority in the country, Grand Ayatollah Borujerdi.

FATWA

The Feda iyan's relations with Kashani became strained due to the latter's support for prime minister Mohammad Mosaddeq, who assumed power in late April 1951. Refusing question. Fatawa can range from single-word responses (e.g., to give in to the Feda iyan's demands for the establishment of "Yes," "No," or "Permitted") to book-length treatises. shari a regulations, Mosaddeq detained Safavi in June 1951. Although typically focused on legal matters, fatawa also treat In February 1952, the Feda iyan's attempted assassination of

Islam and the Muslim World

Mosaddeq's key colleague, Husayn Fatimi, left Fatimi severely injured. By mid-1952 the Feda iyan had resumed its rights. ties with Kashani, who had begun to oppose Mosaddeq. In the months preceding the coup of August 1953, which topped Mosaddeq, the Feda iyan's antigovernment position led Muslim women, it ought to be kept in mind that the American and British secret services to count on the communities are widespread and diverse, consisting group to help oust Mosaddeq. In November 1954 the group's complex set of interwoven subcultures. For example, the failed attempt on the life of prime minister Husayn Ala realities of Saudi Arabian Muslim life, where resulted in the execution of Safavi and three of his colleagues. cover their bodies and hair in public, are very. Despite this crippling blow, affiliates of the group were able from those of Indonesian Muslim women, where to assassinate another prime minister, Hasan Ali Mansur, in currently a female Muslim head of state. January 1965.

A common claim is that pre-Islamic Arabia oppressed Based mainly in Tehran, the Feda iyan largely consisted of Islam liberated them. There is a similar claim young men of limited education, lower class origins, and by Islamist movements that Western societies or traditional occupations. The group appealed to the resent-non-Muslim cultures in general are oppressed and ments of the lower and underclass urban elements; this, traditional Islam liberates them. One should remember that together with its challenge to the ruling elite, enabled it to or emotional liberation through Islam is individual acquire a significance disproportionate to its size. Ideologi-personal and cannot be judged from the outside. But cally resembling the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood) in Egypt, the Feda iyan espoused a literal reading of intersubjective criteria and Muslim women lag far behind Islamic writings and laws; they abhorred what they considered in all these areas, especially in Muslim majority erred to be decadence resulting from irreligion; they feared. Whether this is due to or despite Islam is open modernity, secularism, communism, and civic-nationalism, and were bent on eliminating those whom they regarded as obstacles in their path or stooges of foreigners. Their primary other end of the spectrum from the Islamists, there

and
equal
about
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issues and
women must
different
there is
women and
made today
women in
spiritual
and
economic,
Muslim men
countries.
to debate.
At the

goal was to establish the shari'a, giving a crucial sociopolitical is a stream of feminist thought that considers Islamic tradition to clerics. Following the revolution of 1978 and 1979, it was seen as irredeemably misogynist and patriarchal. These sentiments of the beliefs that had animated the Fada'iyan became clear. Comments are an echo of those voiced by the women of al-Ta'if in

part of the ruling ideology but gradually came to be identified with the seventh century who wailed and protested when the temple dedicated to the Goddess was destroyed at the in right-wing factions.

destruction of prophet Muhammad. Between these two extremes lie a variety of approaches and convictions, both See also Fundamentalism; Political Islam. defined and undefined, regarding the issue of women and Islam. Whereas the Islamists may desire to discredit femi-

BIBLIOGRAPHY feminism as a

Western ploy, one may posit that neither Islam, nor Kazemi, Farhad. "The Fada'iyan-e Islam: Fanaticism, Politics and Terror." In *From Nationalism to Revolutionary women in society, are either Western or Eastern. Feminism Islam*. Edited by Said Amir Arjomand. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984. represents a deep human aspiration for a sense of community with the world, and Islam, at its core, represents the same aspiration for a sense of community both with the human race Fakhreddin Azimi and the realm of the Unseen.

Most of the literature produced by Muslims in the previous centuries is still in manuscript form waiting to be discovered or

FEMINISM published. The extent to which women participated in the production of the Muslim cultures that they inhabited There is a struggle within Islamic societies over the definition cannot be determined without access to information that may of Islam and the role of women within it. This struggle has not have been recorded or that may not have been adequately accompanied Muslims throughout their history.

preserved even if initially recorded. One of the tasks for The term "feminism" is controversial. It may conceal a feminists today is to use the available sources to construct a

Western attempt at cultural hegemony or it may be labeled as more accurate picture of women in early Islam, from which that by those who oppose women's rights but would not they can deduce early Islam's implications for modern women. admit to it. Many Muslim women who may support women's This study may entail a wider use of noncanonical texts and

rights may not choose to identify themselves as feminists. For sources,
as theological canons generally reflect the biases of the male
many women there may be a perceived psychological, social, the male
elites.

256

Islam and the Muslim World

Feminism

movements took over the Muslim world women participated
in them along with men. However, the disillusionment of the
postcolonial era with its dire economic problems, political
instabilities, corruption, and military or dynastic dictatorships, as well as
covert and overt interference from the superpowers, militated against civil
liberties and human rights in
Muslim countries. Under such conditions Islamist movements gained ascendancy in
many of the Muslim countries
causing women to lose many of the rights that they had
gained in earlier decades. The loss of women's human rights
where religious fundamentalism gained in power is merely an
indication of the lack of human rights for all in such societies.
Such a situation has given rise to a spectrum of Muslim
feminist responses.

Among Muslim women who had the benefit of higher
education are feminists who consider Islam to be a matter of
personal choice that ought not to be "used or abused" for
political purposes. There are also women feminist scholars
who are socialist, agnostic, atheist, or Marxist in their orientation. There
are scholars who see Islam as a rich and viable
culture in need of a thorough and yet sympathetic feminist
critique. There are liberal Muslim theologians writing in the
politically free Western environment who nonetheless remain apologetic, staying
within the prescribed traditional
approach to the Qur'an and the sunna.

Egyptian feminist Nawal Saadawi in her Cairo home in July, 2001,
a day before an Egyptian court would decide whether to take
Finally, in the Muslim countries where one sees a mislegal action against her
for calling Islam a pagan religion. The case
matched marriage between feminism and Islamism it is not
arose because a group of male Islamist lawyers accused Saadawi
of being an apostate for this statement; if convicted, she would no clear
whether the Islamist Muslim women leaders/preachers
longer be able to call herself a Muslim and would face compul- are
contributing toward the relative subjugation or relative
sory divorce from her Muslim husband. The case was finally
liberation of their large female following. The ideological or
thrown out of court, but not before alarming human rights groups

worldwide. © REUTERS NEWMEDIA INC./CORBIS

intellectual differences among Muslim feminist scholars are paralleled in the various forms of feminist activism in various parts of the Muslim world. In certain areas one finds highly visible In the recent past there has been an urgent attempt to feminist movements, in others only guarded private understand the definitive political defeat and colonization of conversations.

Muslims at the hands of the Christian West, as this shattered the imperial Muslim self-image. Modernist male Muslims In general, the area that takes up the attention of most forced to study and understand their subjugation, and thus feminists, whether they work within a traditional Islamic feminization, began to name its causes. Some identified the framework or not, is the implementation of various Islamic malaise of the umma (community of believers) as intellectual laws. Until recently the area of shari a (Islamic law) that was backwardness and lack of dynamism, whereas others identified it in falling away from the path of the earliest generations the Muslim family law covering issues of marriage, divorce, of Muslims whose political success was seen to stem from child custody, and inheritance. In all of these women do not have their adherence to a certain static conception of Islam. The equal status with men. For example, Muslim family laws former stream of thought endeavored to study and emulate and the social consciousness associated with them circumvented the West whereas the latter warned of its moral decadence scribe and constrain women's lives, and so-called honor and sought only to appropriate its material technologies killings that dishonor the lives of innocent women and the of power to regain Muslims' freedom, dignity, and even indiscriminate application of hudud (Islamic criminal) laws supremacy. directly threaten their lives.

It was from among the reformist modernist male thinkers Dishonor killings (an integral feature of all patriarchal that the first proponents for the education and rights of societies) as well as female infanticide (a preemptive dishonor Muslim women arose. Women raised in reformist homes killing practiced in pre-Islamic Arabia) were outlawed by the became the first Muslim feminists. As anticolonial nationalist prophet Muhammad as evidenced both by texts in the Qur'an

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and the sunna. However, the taking of innocent female life in Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a the name of male honor continues to exist in many Muslim Debate.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University countries with the tacit approval of law enforcement agencies 1992.

and clerics, instilling a deep-seated fear of their male family Asma. "Believing Women" in Islam. *Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Qur'an.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

More recently, the enforcement of some of the most severe hudud punishments has alarmed a majority of Muslims, *Islam Through Literature.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

human rights activists, and feminists internationally. Pseudo- Esposito, John. *Women in Muslim Family Law.* Syracuse, liberal Muslims, who in principle do not disagree with an Syracuse University Press, 1982.

informed application of hudud laws, question its implementation in the absence of social welfare and economic justice, as is Muslim Society (1975). Rev. ed., Syracuse, New York: Al the case in some of the areas attempting to implement shari'a laws. But these Muslims fail to recognize or address the Spellburg, Denise. *Politics, Gender and the Islamic Past: The significant lack of political, social, and religious freedom for Legacy of A'isha bint Abi Bakr.* N. Y.: Columbia University individuals in such areas to carry out an expression of religion Press, 1999.

that is harsh and lacking in compassion.

Wadud, Amina. *Qur'an and Women. Rereading the Sacred Text* In the twentieth century, progressive Muslim scholars from a Woman's Perspective. New York: Oxford University have come to look at the hadith corpus as a record of the Press, 1999.

concerns and understandings of earliest Muslim male communities rather than an authoritative divine guide to all the

Ghazala Anwar

details of one's life. Yet they have continued to adhere to an understanding of the Qur'an as the literal word of God. This, however, is giving way to a more complex and self-reflective reading of the Qur'an as a vehicle engendering a "theo-ethics" and aesthetics of mercy and justice as well as a record The oldest of Morocco's four imperial cities, Fez (Ar., Fas) is of the Prophetic struggle, both within his own person and

Ahmed,

Modern

Press,

Barlas,

members in the hearts of

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Women Claim Islam. Creating Islamic Femisevere hudud punishments has alarmed a

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Esposito, John. *Women in Muslim Family Law.* Syracuse,

liberal Muslims, who in principle do not disagree with an

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informed application of hudud laws, question its implementa-

Mernissi, Fatima. *Beyond the Veil. Male-Female Dynamics in*

tion in the absence of social welfare and economic justice, as is

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the case in some of the areas attempting to implement shari'a

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Spellburg, Denise. *Politics, Gender and the Islamic Past: The*

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Ghazala Anwar

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understanding of the Qur'an as the literal word of God. This,

however, is giving way to a more complex and self-reflective

reading of the Qur'an as a vehicle engendering a "theo-

FEZ

ethics" and aesthetics of mercy and justice as well as a record

The oldest of Morocco's four imperial cities, Fez (Ar., Fas) is

of the Prophetic struggle, both within his own person and

situated just above the Sefrou valley, at a natural intersection with the community of Muslims. The Qur'an, the primary of the commercial routes connecting the Atlantic and Mediterranean symbol of Muslim identity, for the most part has become an idyllic landscape with the Atlas mountains and the Sahara. Fez's location and water-rich surrounding helped the city's compassionate will of God in their lives. In an intellectually become an important political, religious, and commercial and spiritually mature and honest Muslim community the center of the medieval Islamic world.

The Qur'an and its readings would be seen as progressive records both of an individual's and a community's encounter with, as Founded on the east bank of the Wadi Fez in 789 C.E. by well as projection unto, the Unseen. Such a Muslim community Mulay Idris b. Abdallah, a descendent of the Prophet who nity that understands the good example of the Prophet not in had fled from Mecca to Morocco to avoid Abbasid persecution of any particulars of his life, apparel, and so on, but in Fez was expanded onto the west bank by his son, Idris b. terms of the ethical values that he struggled to embody at his Idris, in 809. Fez grew under the Idrisi dynasty when waves of best, shall provide the context within which women and other immigrants from southern Spain (Andalusia, or Al-Andalus) groups targeted for discrimination (simply due to a difference in their religion or sexual orientation) will find dignity and the city. With the foundation of the Qarawiyyin mosque and equitable treatment. university in 859 (believed to have been established by a wealthy woman from the Tunisian city of Kairouan) and the See also Gender.

Andalusian mosque in 862, Fez became an Islamic capital of learning that rivaled Al-Azhar University in Cairo.

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the Politics of Participation. Implementing the Beijing Plat- a defensive
 wall pierced by eight huge gates, which are still
 form. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997. functioning
 today. Fez reached the peak of its political and

258

Islam and the Muslim World

Fitna

cultural prosperity under the Marinid dynasty, which con- Le Tourneau,
 Roger. Fez in the Age of the Marinides. Norman:
 quered the city in 1248 and made it the capital of Morocco for Oklahoma
 University Press, 1961.

almost three centuries. This period saw the construction of
 numerous prestigious religious colleges in rich Hispano-

Claudia Gazzini

Moorish style, the finest examples of which are the Al-
 Saffarin and the Al- Attarin madrasas (Islamic colleges). The
 city became home to the famous Arab traveler Ibn Battuta,
 who composed the memoirs of his journeys across Asia while FITNA
 living in Fez, where he remained until his death in 1369.

Although Fez's political importance waned in the sixteenth The word
 fitna (pl. fitan) is used in the Qur an to mean both
 century when Marrakesh was preferred as a capital by the "a
 temptation that tests the believer's religious commit-
 Sa adi dynasty (1517–1666), it has retained a religious pri- ments"
 and "a punishment by trial." In classical Arabic
 macy throughout the centuries. The treaty of Fez, which historical
 texts, it is used primarily to mean "civil war,"

established the French protectorate in Morocco, was signed "rebellion
 that leads to schism," or "violent factional strife,"

on 30 March 1912. but even in
 historical texts, it bears connotations of "communal test, affliction" and
 "the temptation to turn upon one's

In the twentieth century Fez, whose urban population fellow
 Muslims." In the hadith literature, fitna signifies both
 exceeds 510,000 (1994 census), expanded into four dis- "strife"
 between Muslims," and "a trial by which God tests and
 tinct areas: purifies the

believer." Especially when combined in the
 hadith literature with the words malahim (great battles) or

1. The old city (locally referred to as Fez al-Bali),
 ashrat al-sa a (signs of the [Last] Hour), fitan specifically
 which was declared a world heritage site by the
 indicate apocalyptic schisms and battles predicted to break
 UNESCO in 1981, is characterized by rich alout within the Muslim community
 before the Last Hour. The

Andalus architecture, narrow dark alleys crossing

apocalyptic connotation that the word fitan acquired during at irregular patterns, high-walled houses, and trathe first two centuries of Islamic history likely arose partly out ditional markets. It treasures the Qarawiyyin mosque and university, whose present dimensions of perceptions that the early civil wars that were cleaving the date back to the 1135 Almoravid enlargement. fledging Islamic community asunder were signs that the world was ending, and partly from the propagandistic use of

2. The thirteenth-century Fez al-Jedid (New Fez in apocalyptic hadiths during those wars. Arabic), lying west of the old medina, served as the Marinid administrative center and consists of the Early Islamic history saw a series of fitan, or civil wars, Royal Palace with its adjoining Great Mosque, a unfold in relatively rapid succession. Interspersed between Muslim neighborhood, and a formerly vibrant many smaller uprisings and rebellions, the first three major Jewish quarter (the Mellah). fitan dominated the historical memory of the early commu-

3. The Ville Nouvelle (the New City in French), nity. The first fitna broke out in 656 C.E.—within twenty-five built by the French administration in 1916 to years of the Prophet's death—and lasted until 661 C.E. The accommodate modern colonial lifestyle, lies on long second fitna erupted nearly a generation later, in 680 the southwest plateau and is largely a residential C.E., and because various rebellions continued to erupt in and industrial area. different places, it was a dozen years before Umayyad dynasts

4. A new town, which has sprung up since Morocco's again consolidated power, in 692 C.E. The third fitna, the independence, lies to the northwest. Abbasid revolution (747–750 C.E.), successfully overturned the Umayyads, bringing to power the new Abbasid dynasty. A Fez, which gave its name to the brimless, red felt hat and fratricidal fourth fitna (which will not be treated here) erupted in was its sole producer until the nineteenth century, remains 810 C.E. between two sons of the Abbasid ruler Harun altoday a center of religious learning, traditional crafts, and Rashid, the brothers al-Amin and al-Ma mun, and lasted until tourism. the complete victory of al-Ma mun in 814.

See also Africa, Islam in; Sultanates: Modern. Armed strife between Muslims began with complaints about oppressive or unjust practices of the third caliph,

led to that caliph's assassination by a party of
 Burckhardt, Titus. *Fez, City of Islam*. Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic Muslims in
 656 C.E. Many Muslims then supported the
 Texts Society, 1992. leadership of
 Ali, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet,
 Mezzine, Mohamed, ed. *Fès médiévale, entre légende et histoire*, who was
 chosen to succeed Uthman. But troubling questions
un carrefour de l'Orient à l'apogée d'un rêve. Paris: Edition about
 the assassination of Uthman harried the caliphate of
 Autrement, 1992. Ali. Was the
 assassination of Uthman justified, or should the

Islam and the Muslim World

259

Fitna

assassins have been promptly punished? Different religio- in Shi ite
 historical memory, and their deaths are still annupolitical parties formed in
 response to these questions and ally mourned in Shi ite ritual.
 engaged in battles against each other over the correct response (although this
 was by no means the only issue in- Several other important
 Muslims rejected Umayyad rule
 volved). One group supported the leadership of Ali, with his in the years
 immediately following the death of al-Husayn,
 apparent decision not to punish those who had killed Uthman. including
 al-Mukhtar, who claimed to represent another son
 Another group, led by the Prophet's wife A isha and two of of Ali,
 Ibn al-Hanafiyya, and Ibn al-Zubayr, who represented
 his most important companions, Talha and al-Zubayr, op- a pious
 alternative to certain oppressive Umayyad policies.
 posed the leadership of Ali and called for the punishment of Although
 this fitna ended in 692 C.E. with the Umayyads
 the assassins of Uthman. The forces of these two parties met having
 regained control, the ideological seeds of the third
 at the Battle of the Camel (656 C.E.) during which Ali's forces fitna had
 already been planted. The early Abbasid movement
 routed their opponents, Talha and al-Zubayr were killed, and that
 eventually successfully overturned the Umayyads called
 A isha was sent home chastened. for rule by
 a member of the Prophet's family, and the earliest
 Abbasids claimed to have inherited their legitimacy from a
 Ali's troubles did not cease with this victory, since a new descendant of
 the same man whom al-Mukhtar had earlier
 opponent arose: Mu awiya, a relative of the slain caliph claimed to
 represent, Ibn al-Hanafiya. In terms of political
 Uthman, and a seasoned governor of the province of Syria. ideology,
 all of the first three major civil wars were thus

Mu'awiya sent his Syrian forces against Ali and his supporters, and the two sides engaged in battle at a village called Siffin. The battle of Siffin ended with an agreement to engage in arbitration. One group of Ali's supporters rejected this agreement, and eventually turned against Ali, demanding that Muslims adhere to "God's judgment" alone (manifested by the Companions of the Prophet and their immediate successors, venerated and idealized by Sunnis, could have on the battlefield and in Qur'anic injunctions) rather than such violent conflict with each other. The memfallible human judgments exercised in arbitration. This group of these wars and the fracturing of the religious community (the Kharijites) was defeated by Ali's forces but lived on to particularly problematic for Sunnis, because the challenge both the Umayyad and the early Abbasid dynasties in later rebellions and depredations. raised up for mankind" (3: 110) was widely interpreted as referring to the Prophet's Companions. This presented difficulties, since It was not only the Kharijites who threatened Ali's rule, the Sunnis eventually developed the concept however. Since the arbitration agreed to at Siffin did not resolve the conflict, the Islamic community became fractured who fought against him, were to be considered for a time into three competing groups: the supporters of Ali, the supporters of Mu'awiya, and the Kharijites. After a Kharijite assassin killed Ali in 661 C.E., Mu'awiya was eventually recognized as caliph by all but the Kharijites, whose rebellions—brought up not only issues related to Islamic leadership, but other theological issues as well, in part bedown. Thus, although the first fitna came to an end in 661 C.E., the issues of the first fitna did not disappear. They would erupt again in the second and third civil wars, to haunt and struggles to establish righteous Islamic governance. eventually undermine the Umayyad dynasty established by Shi'ites deemed Ali and his descendants (or, more broadly, "the family of the Prophet") to have had exclusive rights to legitimate leadership based on their relationship to

The sons of several of the leaders involved in the first fitna – the Prophet, their designation by the Prophet as his successors, and their superior knowledge and religious insight. The son of Ali and the grandson of the Prophet, rejected the Kharijites, on the other hand, argued that genealogy played a role in the caliphate of Mu'awiya's son Yazid, and set off for the Iraqi city of Kufa to gather support for his own bid for the caliphate. He and a small band of supporters were intercepted en route from Mecca and cut down by Umayyad forces at Karbala. Al-Husayn was rapidly transformed into a martyr-figure among those Muslims who looked to the family of the Prophet to provide just religious and political leadership, how unjust, so as to prevent the chaos, violence, namely, the early Shi'ites. The dramatic story of how al-Husayn and his supporters were killed has long loomed large in the imagination of Muslims. Issues that arose out of the fitna. Competing claims made by these groups included, among

260

Islam and the Muslim World

Fundamentalism

other issues, the legitimacy of rebellion against unjust or destruction wrought by intra-communal conflicts in general. Although the question of whether or not those who committed grave sins should and corrupt was strongly expressed in the hadith literature, some Sunni exegetes and jurists, as Khaled Abou El-Fadl has shown, allowed for activist responses to tyranny and oppression. The impact that the early fitna had on the Sunni hadith literature (which also served to justify the actions of Ali and others in the past.) The Shi'ites, too, developed quietist tendencies in the hadiths that reflect arguments about the relative virtues of as a result of their successive defeats in their early struggles. Ali on the one hand and the earlier caliphs, Abu Bakr, Umar, for leadership of the community, eventually relegating the and Uthman on the other. These arguments were linked to duty to "fill the world with justice as it is now filled with

competing conceptions of history. In addition, the early civil wars bequeathed to Islamic eschatology a number of formative apocalyptic hadiths. Certain hadiths about the figure of the Mahdi, the rightly-guided restorer predicted to usher in a reign of justice before the End Times, can be traced, as impious rulers was religiously incumbent upon Wilferd Madelung and others have argued, to the second Muslims, later moderate Kharijite groups also developed fitna. The Sufyani, a mythical heroic figure associated with doctrines. Thus, the early civil wars and the religious the End Times, emerged as part of Umayyad propaganda they engendered led to sectarian divisions and during that conflict. Finally, the earliest portrayals of the developments that continued to be influential figure of the Dajjal (“the Deceiver”), akin to the Christian throughout Islamic history until today.

Anti-Christ, predicted to battle the Mahdi in the End Times in apocalyptic hadiths, may have been modeled in part upon

Sandra S. Campbell

another of the participants in the second fitna, al-Mukhtar. The Dajjal and the Mahdi are still prominent in Islamic eschatological ideas. The third fitna, too, produced numerous hadiths extolling the Abbasids, often in the form of apocalyptic hadiths aimed at motivating men to fight for the Islam Abbasid cause.

More broadly, the impact of the confusing profusion of battles and competing groups associated with the first two fitan in particular can be seen in the positive value placed in FUNDAMENTALISM

Sunni sources on neutrality or quietism, usually called *qu ud*. The apocalyptic hadiths found in the canonical sources, as well as in early collections such as those of Nu aym b. Hammad, give a clear sense of the despair engendered by following characteristics: a holistic approach to religion, fitan that in part led to this Sunni emphasis on *qu ud*. One sees religion as a complete moral or legal code, such hadith, cited by Nu aym b. Hammad, predicts that answers for all life’s questions; a tendency toward

injustice”
of Time.
Muslims
actions
unjust and
true
quietist
schisms that

doctrinal

FOLKLORE,

Vernacular

The term
attitude or
the
one that
providing

“there will come a time when men will come to graves and roll literal understanding of scriptures; a belief in a foundational golden age, on them, as animals roll in the dust, wishing that they could applied, when the principles of the faith were perfectly and desire to meet God, but because of the fitan they witness.” and sometimes renunciation of not only people of other faiths, but This aversion to internecine conflict found expression in faith; and also supposedly hypocritical adherents of the same faith; and numerous quietist hadiths attributed to the Prophet, such as modern, one cited by al-Bukhari: “Whoever dislikes something that twentieth secular societies. The term was coined in the early United States that reasserted a literal reading of the Bible in a pagan.” opposition to the new biblical criticism and to such scientific theories as evolution, which had gained currency at the time. While this quietist position, expressed in credal state- Because of its Christian origins, many scholars and religious activists ments as well as in hadith, was obviously congenial to the particularly reject its use in other religious contexts. The term is argued, political elites, one cannot understand these condemnations describe all controversial in the Islamic context, where, it is understood as Sunni responses to some of the claims of the Islamic activists, whether they are radicals or Shi ites and Kharijites, and to the bloodshed, schism, and moderates, and because it is generally laden with pejorative

Islam and the Muslim World

261

Fundamentalism

meanings, such as obscurantism, dogmatism, sexism, and organization putatively mirrored the structure of the early Prophetic violence. Many alternatives have been suggested, including community in Medina, but it also resembled the “Islamic revivalism,” “political Islam,” or simply “Islamism.” Sufi orders whose quietism the fundamentalists rejected. These terms, however, have the drawback of not allowing The comparative treatment of a phenomenon common to many ideology of the Jama at was elaborated primarily through the religious traditions. Namely, from the 1970s to the present

prolific writings of Maududi. Al-Banna's writings have seen an increased social mobilization and political activities are more limited because of his early death. Sayyid Qutb

activism on the basis of religion. Moreover, by equating religion with politics, he would become the chief ideologue of the Brotherhood and

fundamentalism with political Islam, the alternatives disappeared because of Maududi's influence upon him, the main conduit

count another ideological strand that has played an important role for propagating Maududi's ideas in the Arab world.

role in Islamic revivalism, namely, Islamic modernism. So, The fundamentalist worldview is premised on the idea

for the lack of a satisfactory alternative, "Islamic fundamentalism that most societies, including nominally Muslim societies, are

talism" has been widely adopted in both scholarly and general in a state of jahiliyya, or "ignorance," akin to the jahiliyya that

parlance. prevailed in Arabia before the advent of the prophet Muhammad. Islamic fundamentalism is found today, in varying degrees of

Only a small, committed vanguard of true mad's mission. of strength and popular support, in every Muslim-majority

discern the corrupted state of Muslim affairs and the Muslims country and in many countries with large Muslim minorities.

to remedy it. Their initial mission is to with proper means. Although they do not form a monolithic movement, fundamentalists

mentally and even physically, if need be, from the draw mentalists do share certain common features in both their

order to inculcate truly Islamic values within jahiliyya in ideology and their organization. The similarities derive from

and their organization. This hijra, or "flight," is themselves the fact that most contemporary Islamic fundamentalist groups

type of jihad that they must wage. On the instructions the first trace their origins to two organizations, the Muslim Brotherhood

leader, the Muslim vanguard must transform their of the hood in the Arab countries and the Jama'at-e Islami in the

into an outer jihad aimed at overthrowing the un inner jihad Indian subcontinent. Both emerged during the 1930s and

order and correcting societal ills. The details of an Islamic 1940s as responses to the problems confronting Muslims

Islamic political system are left vaguely defined in authentic under British imperialism and to the perceived conformism

fundamentalist writings. The basic principle of such an most of secular or modernist Muslim elites to European ideas and

however, is declared to be hakimiyyat Allah, or the order, institutions. Thus, twentieth-century Islamic fundamentalism

"sovereignty of God." This requires the application of divine ism is in many ways a modern phenomenon, a product of both

sharia, in all its dimensions. The fundamentalists law, or

foreign and indigenous influences. Yet, it is also the latest generally do not feel bound to any one school or to the entire corpus of manifestation of a long tradition of reform and revival move- classical jurisprudence that defined shari a. They feel empowered to perform ijti had, that is, to derive law themselves often quote the Hanbali jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) to themselves through their own reading of the Qur an and sunna. provide a classical sanction for their ideas. Similarly, Hanbali Compared to the modernists, who also claim the right to ijti had, influences are evident in the Wahhabi fundamentalist move- the fundamentalist reading of scriptural sources is far more ment of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, literal and conservative. which had a profound, conservative impact, not only in the Both Middle East but also in India and Africa. A more direct Qutb and Maududi castigated those Muslims who renounced forerunner of contemporary fundamentalism was the Salafiyya order. Qutb forceful means in the jihad to establish an Islamic movement led by Jamal al-Din Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida in the late nineteenth and early twentieth Brotherhood after his death officially renounced revolution century. The more liberal spirit of Afghani and Abduh ary violence against the Egyptian state. The Jama at under Maududi was animated Islamic modernism, while the more conservative always a loyal opposition party within Pakistani politics. approach of Rida hints at the conservative backlash against During the late 1970s, inspired in part by the Islamic revolution modernism that moved Hasan al-Banna to found the Muslim in Iran, splinter groups consisting of a younger generation Brotherhood and Abu l-A la Maududi to create the Jama at- of activists broke off from the two older parties to e Islami. form new, much more violent groups. One of these groups, Islamic Jihad, assassinated Anwar Sadat in October 1981. Other spin-offs Both the Brotherhood and the Jama at were organized by are at the forefront of violent struggles in such diverse local chapters, into which members were initiated only after parts of the Muslim world as Algeria, Palestine, Afghanistan, they had been tested for their conviction, piety, and obedi- Kashmir, and Indonesia. It should be noted, though, that ence. The local cells answered to a central coordinating one of the most widespread and important committee. The head of the organization was the murshid fundamentalist organizations, the Tablighi Jama at, is not (guide) or emir (leader), who was assisted by the majlis al- only

nonviolent in its tactics, it generally eschews politics
shura, an advisory council of senior members. Thus, the altogether.

262

Islam and the Muslim World

Futuwwa

Shi'ite fundamentalism differs from Sunni fundamentalism in a few particulars, mainly in the greater millenarianism of the Shi'ite groups, who lived apart from society and enjoyed emphasis that results from Shi'ite expectations of the return of the Hidden Imam, the greater emphasis upon shahada, or men's organizations for musical entertainment, "martyrdom" in jihad, and the theory of the direct rule of the drinking, and self-indulgence.

Shi'ite religious scholars as enunciated by Ruhollah Khomeini. Generally, however, during the periods of intermittent in the doctrine of velayat-e faqih. Yet, in most other ideologianarchy and competition for political power that charactercal aspects and in organization, Shi'ite fundamentalist groups ized the Fertile Crescent from the ninth through the twelfth centuries, these societies were active in the cities, some interaction and mutual influences are evident, for example, in forming paramilitary groups in Baghdad. Some of these the upsurge in suicide attacks by Sunni groups, a tactic groups included fityan and ayyarun, often defined as vagapioneered by the Shi'ite Hizb Allah in Lebanon.

bonds, who, at times, fought with the political regime, at See also Abduh, Muhammad; Afghani, Jamal al-Din; other times defended local autonomy against the military invader, and frequently terrorized, plundered, harassed, and Banna, Hasan al-; Ghazali, Muhammad al-; Ghazali, extorted the wealthy. In Syria, similar groups called ahdath Zaynab al-; Ibn Taymiyya; Ikhwan al-Muslimin; formed urban militias and were used by important notable Jama'at-e Islami; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Maududi, Abu families for political purposes: as hired toughs to fight against l-A la ; Political Islam; Qutb, Sayyid; Rida, Rashid; each other or the regime in power.

Salafiyya; Tablighi Jama'at; Velayat-e Faqih; Wahhabiyya.

Historians have disagreed about the origins and nature of these groups. Some see their antecedents in earlier versions of BIBLIOGRAPHY men's groups that existed in the Middle East such as Byzan-

Choueiri, Youssef M. *Islamic Fundamentalism*. Boston: *tine circus*
factions that originated in the Roman Empire or
Twayne, 1990. *the Sassanid*
Persian fraternities (*javanmardi*), whose wrestling devotees met at the
“House of Strength” (*zurkhaneh*) in
Euben, Roxanne L. *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*. Princeton, N.J.:
Princeton University Press, 1999. *to Sufi orders*
or guilds of artisans.

Marty, Martin E., and Appleby, R. Scott, eds. *Fundamentalism* By the
twelfth century, chroniclers tell of the existence of
Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. *futuwwa*
organizations in the Fertile Crescent that were
Roy, Olivier. *The Failure of Political Islam*. Translated by *distinctly*
men’s clubs. Some were paramilitary organizations
Carol Volk. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University *or youth*
gangs. Some were clubs devoted to sports such as
Press, 1994. *crossbow*
shooting, wrestling, and training homing pigeons
Sivan, Emmanuel. *Radical Islam*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale *while some*
were mutual aid organizations. Members could
University Press, 1985. *include Muslims*
and non-Muslims. There were artisans and
workers, but also the lower class or the marginalized—
Sohail H. Hashmi *eunuchs and slaves*. Women, tax collectors, wine
merchants,
fortune-tellers, magicians, diviners, astrologers, astronomers,
and perpetrators and accomplices of any serious crime were
excluded. There were members who practiced celibacy while
FUTUWWA *some*
married; often groups lived together in *futuwwa*
clubhouses or ate in a common mess hall.
The term *futuwwa* refers to organized groups of youth *Taking*
different forms in various locations, they never adhering to a code of honor who
devoted themselves to *theless* had common characteristics that set
them apart from
manly, noble virtues. By the twelfth century, *futuwwa* organi- *the rest of*
Muslim society. They wore special clothing and
zations appeared throughout the Fertile Crescent and Iran as *were*
invested with their *futuwwa* trousers and belt of honor
organized entities with elaborate rituals and initiation rites. (*libas*
al-futuwwa) during an initiation ceremony when they
drank the *futuwwa* drink, a cup of salted water. The members
Derived from the Arabic word for youth (*fata*, pl. *fityan*),
were supposed to adhere to the *futuwwa* code of honor:

futuwwa groups are mentioned in texts related to Sufi orders; generosity, solidarity, courage, and hospitality toward those they existed in Transoxiana and Khorasan and as akhis in their group, the last a virtue not necessarily applicable toward (brotherhoods) in Turkic areas, where they sometimes ap- society at large.

peared as paramilitary fighters and had connections with Futuwwa artisan guilds. During the eighth through tenth centuries, groups were urban, consisting of groups of youth probably not individuals were referred to, such as Nuh al- Ayyar, a fata of large in number who formed associations. Some

Islam and the Muslim World

263

Futuwwa

lived apart in special clubhouses, with novices under the The new regulations bound by tradition were legitimized by Umar supervision of and discipline of superiors. Each clubhouse al-Suhrawardi (1145–1234), al-Nasir’s confidant and (bayt) was distinguished from the others by a particular belief founder of pragmatic Sufi orders, and by Ibn al-Mi mar (d. 1248) or opinion and there was often animosity between groups. whose Kitab al-Futuwwa was written to provide all those Houses were subdivided into parties (hizb, pl. azhab), each interested with information about futuwwa, noting that futuwwa under the supervision of an elder (kabir) with whom the was incorporated in the shari a, and that only a true believer members had a mutual bond. Members or companions (sing. can be a fata. Futuwwa advocates linked futuwwa ideals rafiq) drank to the honor of the kabir who supervised their with pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur an, and the hadith. Often behavior and adjudicated disputes. If companions disagreed cited, these refer to the generosity of Hatim al-Ta i; the trust in God by the young men in the cave and Ibrahim’s with the kabir, they could move to another house but not rejection of idolatry (Qur an 18:10 and 21:60); and a tradition change elders within the same club to avoid dissension in about Ali as the heroic fata exemplar: “There is no sword but the bayt.

Dhu al-Fiqar [Ali’s sword] and no fata but Ali.”

In this evolving, mobile world, futuwwa orders provided a By the late medieval period, futuwwa groups, guilds, and Sufi niche for men without social status or genealogical prestige. orders had become interwoven through institutionaliza- tion, With their emphasis on personal qualities as a standard for membership, and adaptation of geneology, rites, and

nobility instead of Arab tribal kinship, religious lineage, or ritual. In modern times, futuwwa has denoted such organizational prestige, futuwwa organizations provided marginal functions as the Iraqi paramilitary youth organization of the late 1930s and 1940s. The organization of the late Ottoman men with social links that crossed class and religious boundaries. 1930s and 1940s protectors of Cairo neighborhoods. The *javanmardi* of Iran maintain the religious and social connections closest to the Abbasid caliphate, to the medieval prototype. in the face of military threats and competition for leadership, See also Youth Movements.

Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah (1181–1223) used the futuwwa as a mechanism to instill loyalty to the caliph. He became a

BIBLIOGRAPHY

member of a futuwwa group in Baghdad and in 1207 declared himself head of all futuwwa organizations in Baghdad and Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes and Craftsmen.” *Journal of Eastern Studies* (1970): 28–50.

version of futuwwa with privilege, he forbade pigeon raising and crossbow shooting except under his auspices, and issued decrees setting proper behavior for members. As the head of
Cahen, Claude, and Taeschner, F. “Futuwwa.” In Vol. 2, *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Edited by B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht. Leiden: Brill, 1965.

futuwwa, al-Nasir used the society and its codes of behavior to reduce endemic conflict in Baghdad; and, after initiating neighboring rulers into the order, to create diplomatic bonds between local dynasties and himself.
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Reeva Spector Simon

264

Islam and the Muslim World

G

GASPRINSKII, ISMA IL BAY

Isma il Gasprinskii also championed women’s rights and the importance of education for Muslim women. In one of his (1851–1914)

important journals, *Alem-i Nisvan* (Women’s world), which he began publishing with his daughter Sefika Hanim in 1906, Isma il Gasprinskii (Gaspirali), a leading intellectual in the he consistently argued that society could only reach a high level of civilization if women were also educated.

1851 and died in the same city on 11 September 1914. He received his early education in his hometown and later also Education; Feminism.

attended the Gymnasium in Akmesit (Simferepol). After graduating from the Military Academy in Moscow in 1867,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

he briefly served in the Ottoman army, and then subsequently Bennigsen, Alexandre A. Ismail Bey Gasprinski (Gaspary) and taught at various Muslim schools in Russia. It was the latter Origins of the Jadid Movement in Russia. Oxford, U.K.: The experience that made him realize the necessity of educational Society of Central Asian Studies, 1985.

reforms for Russian Muslims to achieve social and economic progress.

A. Uner Turgay

From 1883 on, when he established the newspaper

Tercuman (Interpreter), Gasprinskii advocated reforms in curriculum and teaching methods, with an emphasis on

advancing the abilities of students in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In his view, religion was to be taught as culture

speak of gender is necessarily to make a distinction

and for spiritual revival. He believed that many of the ills of sex and gender. While sex is the biologically defined

Muslim societies could be cured by an improved new educational capacity of the human body, gender connotes the social tional system (Usul-i Cedit).

significance attached to members of a particular sex. Gender is, therefore, a human construction that nevertheless draws

At the First and Second Congresses of the Union of

divinely inspired texts, social and cultural conventions,

Russian Muslims in 1905 and 1906, held in Nizhni Novgorod

biological capacities to define its role in public and private life and societal institutions.

and St. Petersburg, respectively, Ismail Gasprinskii's ideas on educational reforms and politics received close attention.

Gender-Related Verses in the Qur'an

In 1907 he helped found Ittihak-i Musلمانlar (Union of Qur'an, which is regarded as divine revelation by

Muslims) urging not political but linguistic and cultural unity Muslims, female life is considered intrinsically valuable (Q.

among the Muslim Turkic peoples of Russia. During the

The creation of the female is attributed, along with that

following decade, voicing his motto of "Unity in language,

the male, to a single soul (4:1) from which the other is

thought and action," he traveled to Istanbul, Cairo, and India

created as its mate (4:1). Another verse declares: "Allah

See

GENDER

To

between

upon

and

In the

81:9).

of

urging educational and social reforms in the Islamic world. created
 you from dust, then from a little fluid, then He made
 Despite opposition from existing traditional Muslim educa- you
 pairs” (35: 11). These verses have been interpreted as
 tors, by the time of Gasprinskii’s death, around five thousand
 granting both sexes equality from the perspective of origin
 Usul-i Cedid schools had been established. and
 spiritual status. Although the Qur anic texts do not

Gender

specify which sex is the primary creation, some argue that the an arbiter
 from each one’s kinsfolk should be appointed to
 feminine form of the noun “soul” (nafs) in Qur an 4:1 could attempt
 a reconciliation (4:35). According to the Qur an, a
 be read to suggest that the female was created first. Unlike the man who
 forswears his wife must wait four months (2:226)
 account found in the second book of Genesis, the Qur an during
 which time he may change his mind; however, if
 does not make the creation of the female derivative from the divorce is
 determined as a course of action, then the woman
 male or for the purpose of the male. However, such a view must wait a
 term of three menses to ensure that she is not
 enters the Islamic interpretive framework through various
 impregnated; if the wife is found to be pregnant it is recomsources, chiefly
 through the writings of the very earliest mended that the husband
 take her back as his wife (2:227).
 commentators on the Qur an, as detailed in Barbara Stowasser’s Should
 divorce proceed in such an instance, the wife is
 excellent study. entitled to
 support from the husband until she gives birth
 (65:4), and, if mutually agreeable, while she nurses (65:6). A
 With respect to morality and spirituality, men and women woman may be
 divorced no more than twice by the same
 are equally accountable to God for their actions and for their husband in
 order to be retained; after the third time, she may
 religious beliefs and responsibilities (33:35), and in this re- not be
 taken back unless she has married another man in the
 gard, the Qur an holds an egalitarian vision, as has been meantime.
 In cases where a man chooses to divorce a pregpointed out by Leila Ahmed. In
 the social sphere, women are nant wife, the Qur an urges the man to
 release her with honor
 entitled to inherit (4:7) half the portions received by men only after
 the birth of the child. Additionally, the husband
 (4:11), two women’s testimonies count in weight to that of a must not
 obstruct her remarriage if there has been a mutual
 single male’s (2:282), and men are placed in charge of women agreement
 based on kindness. Furthermore, upon divorce,

because they excel over them and are financially responsible nothing
 that has been given to the woman can be taken back
 for them (4:34). Women must remain monogamous, al-
 (2:229–232). Widows may choose their own course of action
 though nowhere is this specified in the Qur'an but rather is regarding
 remarriage after a waiting period of four months
 implied in the injunction that “all married women” are and ten
 days (2:234). A married man who is about to die
 forbidden to men (4:24). Men are permitted as many as four should make
 provisions for his wife or wives for a period of
 wives on the condition that each wife be treated equally, with one year,
 including a provision for housing, unless the wife or
 the additional caveat that if a man cannot provide for four he wives
 choose to leave of their own accord prior to his death
 should marry only one. He may also possess as many concu- (2:240).
 bines as he can afford (“their right hand may possess”) (4:3).
 Verse 3:129 further declares that “You will not be able to deal Women
 should suckle their children for two years unless
 equally between [your] wives, however much you wish [to do both
 parents mutually agree to wean the child earlier, and the
 so],” suggesting to some Muslims that the Qur'an preferred father is
 charged with the duty of feeding and clothing the
 monogamy as the marital state, but in keeping with the nursing
 mother appropriately. The child may also be given
 customs of the time allowed polygamy. Men may marry any out to a
 wet nurse, provided the nurse is adequately compensated of the women of the ahl
 al-kitab (“people of the Book”) (5:5) sated (2:233).
 whereas women may marry only Muslim men (this being a
 traditional stipulation rather than a Qur'anic injunction). In
 matters of dress and comportment, both men and
 Marriage to idolatresses is forbidden (2:221), as is marriage to women are
 enjoined “to lower their gaze and be modest”
 one's father's wives (4:22), one's mother, daughters, sisters,
 (24:30–31); however, in addition women are asked to draw
 father's sisters, mother's sisters, brother's daughters, sister's
 their veils (khumur) over their bosoms, and only reveal of
 daughters, foster-mothers, foster-sisters, mothers-in-law, their
 adornment (awra, lit. pudendum) that which is manifest daughters born of women
 with whom one has had conjugal relations, and reveal their adornment only
 to a specified list of
 gal relations, the wives of blood-sons, and two sisters from the close
 relatives with whom marriage is disallowed (mahram),
 same family (4:23) as well as all married women except slaves eunuchs,
 and children not yet conscious of women's nakedness already owned (4:24). Marriage
 with former wives of adopted men. Similarly, women should not stamp
 their feet in such a
 sons is permitted (33:37). Women with whom marriages have manner that

might reveal their adornments by drawing attention to their bodies (24:31). Testimony against women in marriage portion have been promised, half of that must be accused of lewdness must be brought by four witnesses, and if paid unless the woman—who is encouraged to do so as a charge is proved, the woman must be confined to her pious act—is willing to give it up (235–237). house until her death or until God provides new legislation (4:15). Those accused of adultery, including the adulterer and Conjugal relations are forbidden with menstruating women the adulteress, are subject to a punishment consisting of one (2:222); otherwise, conjugal relations are permitted at will hundred lashes (24:2).

(2:223). Disobedient wives are subject to a graduated set of measures ranging from admonishment to beating, depending Special sanctions are placed upon the wives of the Prophet: on how the term darraba (admonish, strike) is interpreted the punishment for lewdness is doubled compared to other (4:34). Should a conflict arise between a married couple, then women (33:30), as is the reward for surrendering to God and

266

Islam and the Muslim World

Gender

may be recognized as Muslims and not be harassed (33:59). Women past childbearing age with no hope of marriage may discard such outer clothing, provided they do not reveal their adornments, though it is better for them to retain such coverings (24: 60).

The Qur'an views women as human beings who are creations of God and are vouchsafed full ontological equality with men. With regard to their moral agency, women are not subordinate to men and, like men, they are called upon to surrender to God and the Prophet and embark upon a path of righteousness for which they will be justly rewarded.

In the social sphere, the Qur'an protects and safeguards women's right to life, inheritance, legal recognition, dowry, upkeep, child support after divorce, protection from male voyeurism, and safety while in public. These considerations are laudable given the seventh-century context into which the Qur'an was revealed. As previously stated, restrictions are, however, placed on the portion women may inherit (4:11) and on the weight of their legal testimony. The Qur'an's least egalitarian verse is to be found in 4:34, which declares: "Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their

property [for the support of women]. So good women are the obedient.” Traditionally, this verse has been interpreted as granting to men authority over women, as well as advocating a social division of labor, suggesting that it is men’s responsibility to support women (and hence, that women need not work but rather should tend the affairs of the hearth). Many In Jakarta, Indonesia, Muslim women use fountain waters to make Muslims, women included, believe that the Qur an’s objecttheir ablutions before praying. The role of women in Muslim countries varies tremendously: Indonesia has a woman president as of tive with regard women is to vouchsafe their rights as they

2003, yet in some countries women are required to cover their hair. apply to the economic and legal spheres, especially during

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childbearing and child-rearing years. With regard to dress codes, there do not appear to be any specific Qur anic guidelines for male dress, although both men and women are the Prophet and engaging in righteousness (33:31); they are called to observe modesty, a term that could include dress as well declared not to be “like any other women” and cautioned to as behavior. Qur an 34:59 asks the Prophet to “Tell thy wives keep their speech customary, not soft, lest it causes another’s and thy daughters and women of the believers to draw desire (33:32). They are commanded to stay in their houses their cloaks (jilbab) close around them [when they go out]. (33:33) and abstain from ornamentation, as was the case in the That will be better, that they may be recognized and not days before Islam. The Prophet’s wives should pray regularly, annoyed.” The Qur an’s concern here clearly is to protect women engage in charity, and obey God and his messenger (33:33), from the male gaze, especially harassment from the keeping in mind the revelations of God and wisdom (33:34). “hypocrites” or religious backsliders (munafiqun), thereby Conversation with the wives of the Prophet is to be con- tacitly suggesting that women are vulnerable to impropriety ducted from behind a curtain (hijab) and visits to the Prophet’s on the part of males and that males posed a significant threat to household are to occur upon invitation, with the guests women’s safety in that era. In all of these stipulations, the departing after the meal is ended. The Prophet’s wives may Qur an’s spirit of affording protections and rights to women not remarry after his death (33: 53). They may converse freely illustrates that it is a sacred document in support of women. only with a stipulated set of males: fathers, sons, brothers, nephews, the sons of their female slaves, or their male slaves Sources for Gender Construction (33:55). Should

the Qur'an be construed as a patriarchal text? Later Muslim theology developed the notion that the Qur'an, as a Further, the wives of the Prophet, his daughters, and the body of revelation, is eternal and a copy of a heavenly women of the believers are enjoined to "draw their cloaks" prototype, that is, it is eternally valid in all its aspects. The (jilbab) close around them while going out in order that they Egyptian shaykh Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) argued that

Islam and the Muslim World

267

Gender

while all Qur'anic injunctions pertaining to ibadat (worship understood and utilized as a basis for social organization or ritual acts) were eternally valid and binding on Muslims, adopted the essentialized notions pertaining to the female other Qur'anic injunctions, such as those pertaining to maslaha gender that were well established as part of the patriarchal or societal well-being, were valid within the context in which norms of the conquered societies. Further, key social institutions they were revealed. Hence, Muslims must assume responsibilities such as the legal regimes that would govern Muslim bility for following the intention, and not necessarily the societies were inscribed with gendered markings consonant letter, of the Qur'an in matters pertaining to societal well- with the cultural practices of the conquered societies coming being. Some modern scholars, such as Amina Wadud-Muhsin, prising the Muslim empire. To illustrate, while nowhere in have also argued that the social aspects of the Qur'an should the Qur'an is Adam's partner named or identified as having be viewed in a historical and cultural context. From this proceeded from the male, for the purpose or in service of the perspective, pronouncements that were received and intelligible male, biblical antecedents of the derivative and service-oriented gible to the patriarchal milieu of an earlier period must be origin of the female from the rib of the male enter the Islamic reviewed in light of present-day social arrangements and thus interpretive frame through biblical lore, most likely through reinterpreted. the qisas al-anbiya literature, thereby ensuring for the Muslim female a subordinate role in society. To be sure, the Muslim Historians such as Leila Ahmed have convincingly shown interpreters granted greater weight to the subordinate act that Islam did not invent patriarchy; rather, it was a form of count found in Genesis 2:21 than to the more equitable social organization well established in the Mesopotamian, account found in Genesis 1:27, but they did so in a social and

Greek, Iranian, and Byzantine spheres of influence that intellectual context in which such a view was favored within Muslims encountered during the first century of Islam. Thus, their subject peoples. The subordinate role, with respect to the key discourses generated in the classical period of Islamic civilization (from the seventh century to 1250 C.E.) took place through the Muslim appropriation of the biblical notion that within a patriarchal frame of reference. Indeed, Eleanor Doumato has argued that much of the legislation derived from the Qur'an and other sources was consistent with the Muslim tradition, was ultimately responsible for the fall of the female, unnamed in the Qur'an but named Hawwa by the male, Adam, from the paradisiacal garden as a consequence of her seduction by Iblis, the Arabic equivalent of the devil, or Satan. Such moral frailty on the part of the female is attributed by Muslim commentators variously to her weakness, her willful disobedience, or to her sexually heightened powers of seduction, and punishments similar to those meted to the biblical female sex are attached to the formation and articulation of gender constructs. These include the qisas al-anbiya; the asbab al-nuzul; the hadith; the tafsir; and the fiqh. The qisas al-anbiya, literally the "stories of the prophets," was one of the pathways through which the female. All this despite the many occasions in the Biblical lore entered the Islamic realm of discourse, through which Muslims in general—bearing in mind that many Muslims were converts from Judaism or Christianity—gained an intimate familiarity with Biblical figures and stories. The beatific state enjoyed in the garden is visited upon the asbab al-nuzul, literally the "context of the revelation," was a couple; indeed the primordial couple is assured of God's guidance, with the pledge that "whoever follows My guidance shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve" (2:38).

quence of her seduction by Iblis, the Arabic equivalent of the devil, or Satan. Such moral frailty on the part of the female is

There are several strands of literature during the first three centuries of Islamic self-definition that are critical to attributed by Muslim commentators variously to her weakness, her willful disobedience, or to her sexually heightened powers of seduction, and punishments similar to those meted to the biblical female sex are attached to the

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explicitly are named as responsible for the act of disobedience, and where no punishment save expulsion from

intimate familiarity with Biblical figures and stories. The beatific state enjoyed in the garden is visited upon the

asbab al-nuzul, literally the "context of the revelation," was a couple; indeed the primordial couple is assured of God's

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tion, reasons that were orally transmitted until such time as the Qur'anic commentators sought to incorporate them

Having appropriated and elaborated upon the Biblical within their commentaries. The hadith (tradition literature), order to establish women's essential nature as morally

order to establish women's essential nature as morally

order to establish women's essential nature as morally

which recalled narratives of the Prophet's thoughts and frail, seductively powerful in order to create moral and social chaos, deeds, was also orally transmitted through succeeding generations until hadith collectors such as al-Bukhari (d. 869 C.E.) continued their implicit project of gender construction through their and others sought them out, collated them, checked them for accuracy using various methods, and combined them to form Qur an, whether Biblical, pre-Islamic, or Muslim (such as the canonical collections in the ninth and tenth centuries. Finally, wives of the Prophet). In this project, they were aided by the bodies the fiqh (jurisprudence) drew upon various sources, including of discourse also being produced at that time and by primarily the Qur an, the hadith, urf or local custom, and the social and institutional arrangements already in place in Arabia juridical reasoning (variously ra'y, qiyas, ijtihad, ijma'), to and in the conquered territories. Included in these formulate the legal regimes adopted by Muslim rulers. It is in discourses are the asbab al-nuzul literature that "remembered" the context in literature that extra-Qur'anic features of the bered" the context in which a verse was revealed; the qisas also social construction of gender are largely located. For in- anbiya literature that glorified the lives and acts of prior stance, the interpretive lens through which the Qur'an was biblical figures; and the isra'iliyyat literature that comprised

268

Islam and the Muslim World

Gender

the narratives deemed biblical lore. These discourses served impediment when Muslim women agitate for inclusion in the both to illuminate and reinforce the contemporaneous un- political process or in political leadership. derstanding of the role of God's prophets and their concomitant social arrangements as divinely ordained rather than as The legal regimes developed over the course of this an ever-dynamic result of historical factors, and played a formative period, from the eighth to the tenth centuries, significant role in directing the attitude toward the female again reflect a patriarchally informed lens that led to a greater gender in the construction of the emerging legal regimes weighting of the socially restrictive verses in the Qur'an over the between the first century after the Prophet's passing and the the morally equitable verses also found in the Qur'an. Thus, for third century (eighth to tenth centuries of the common era). instance, the legal formulators found it far more important to lay down the

rules under which polygamy was to be
 Stowasser suggests that the Qur'anic commentators inter- practiced than
 heeding the Qur'anic suggestion that God was
 preterred the references to biblical figures mentioned in the aware that
 men would not be able to deal justly with more
 Qur'an as paradigmatic for women's behavior. Thus, the than one
 wife. The discrepancies with respect to gender
 story of Joseph and Zulaykha was seen to be reflective of the issues
 between the various Sunni legal schools, and between
 social chaos (fitna) engendered by a woman, and the story of the Sunni
 and the Shi'ite legal schools, suggest, at the very
 Moses's future brides was considered paradigmatic for female least,
 that jurists exercised their discretionary interpretive
 conduct in the presence of males (work only if there is no skills in
 addressing issues of gender, thereby belying the
 other male to do so; walk behind the male, remain bashful and notion that
 the legal regime is divinely ordained, eternally
 shy in his presence). Ironically, the cumulative effect of such valid, and
 therefore immutable. The jurists also saw fit to
 discourse was to define the male in relation to and by contrast inscribe
 legal codes with concurrent views of gender, thus, for
 to the female, and thus, as argued by Abu-Odin, was far more instance,
 although the Qur'an says nothing about the validity
 relevant to the construction of male gender than, as might of ritual
 prayer as predicated on proximity to women, a legal
 ostensibly appear, to the construction of female gender. To code
 invalidates all prayers performed by men if not distanced
 be sure, the picture was never entirely a simple one: The from women
 by a space of at least two arms' length, perhaps
 prophetic status of Mary, the mother of Jesus, was debated, in keeping
 with the segregation of men and women in Jewish
 and the wives of some of the prophets were depicted as moral and possibly
 Christian ritual prayer contexts. The essentialist
 agents in their own right, able freely to choose the path of views
 pertaining to women's weakness that enter the Islamic
 righteousness or disobedience. However, the notion that a commentarial
 discourses through biblical lore may explain
 woman might be a moral agent in her own right was not why the
 statement found in 4:34 ("Men are in charge over/
 pursued except insofar as how that freedom might be con- superior to
 women") resulted in the legal arrogation of
 tained given woman's essential nature.
 guardianship rights to the male, extending to women's buying and selling
 property, their commercial activity, and their
 Similarly, in the hadith literature, an ambiguous picture of ability to
 contract their own mates and so forth, again, none
 women emerges again: on the one hand, women are accorded of which

rights are accorded to men in the Qur'an explicitly. authority by implication through the relatively large number of hadith narrations attributed to women, such as the Prophet's explicit statement found in 4:34, and the creative interpretation of a Qur'anic verse that required guardians to handle the legal affairs of orphans and children (4:6) and those of inferior intellect (4:5). Perhaps, rather, these rights are given over to the male through the explicit statement found in 4:34, and the creative interpretation of a Qur'anic verse that required guardians to handle the legal affairs of orphans and children (4:6) and those of inferior intellect (4:5). On the other hand, as Mernissi has pointed out, perhaps the adjudicators of the hadith literature's veracity were less vigilant when it came to retaining hadith from sources that reflected unfavorably on women from less than trustworthy sources, as, for example, the hadith stating the present observations regarding the legal regimes produced by the prophetic remark, "Those who trust their affairs to a woman in the three centuries following the Prophet's death are will never know prosperity" (Mernissi, quoting a hadith cited not meant to suggest that males willfully and in Bukhari). Such a hadith inculcated in many Muslims a misogynistically curbed women's legal agency and comportment of the innate capacity and ability of women to hold political office. Nevertheless, the claim that authoritative discourses in the Islamic world are divinely decreed or generated needs to be more carefully examined and analyzed, as it does not take into account the historical and social factors and processes mentioned in the Qur'an. Despite the later historical record through which sharia law came to be constructed, defined, and implemented, a process that took at least a couple of centuries. Further, the claim imputes to the divine being legal stance, the medieval Yemeni Sulayhid queen Sayyida Hurra) and social discrimination against women, who are creatures and the modern record in which there have been more female considered in the Qur'an to be equally worthy of life as men, created from heads of state in Muslim nations than in North America, the force of the hadith continues to be cited by opponents as much as moral agents as men. Such a claim does not stand up

Islam and the Muslim World

Gender

to theological reason. Rather, the historically and sociological policy law

was handled by his appointees, while laws pertaining to the constructed nature of many of the authoritative discourses in the Islamic world must be acknowledged, namely, jurisdiction of the religious specialists, thereby further linking that the hadith collectors, the Quranic commentators, and linking worship with laws pertaining to gender issues and making the jurists were doing the best they could to contribute to and it even more difficult to modernize or otherwise ameliorate illumine a self-understanding of what it meant to be Muslim the latter without implicating the former. Legal institutions in their day, in social frameworks intelligible to and consistent under the direct control of the caliph, on the other hand, were tent with the cultural modes of the time in the diverse more amenable to context-driven adjustments, as reflected in geographical locales of the Muslim empire(s). Studies in legal the work of the Ottoman administrator Ahmad Cevdet Pasha praxis, such as those of Mir-Hosseini and Tucker, indicate (d. 1895), a member of the ulema, who took his inspiration that jurists treated the sharia as a fluid set of directives that from Roman and French legal systems, while remaining allowed them some limited scope in taking context into within the fold of Islamic principles in working out the account and in treating each case on its own merit, something Ottoman code in order to take into account early modern that one sees in practice in Iran today. legal challenges and approaches.

The Challenges of Gender Reform The third development concerned the colonial, especially British, Several developments at various points in history left in their practice of relegating personal and family law issues wake significations of gender that are almost impossible to to the control of religiously defined communities, thereby dislodge, and render gender legal reform difficult in the undermining traditional or customary practices developed contemporary world. A brief examination of three such developments over time and resurrecting and perpetuating legal regimes developed by religious institutions that were, in the Muslim and jurist al-Ghazali (d. 1111) who, in a move reminiscent of case, formulated several centuries ago. Such a practice further St. Augustine, linked piety to sharia observance. He sug- reinforced the connection of family law with religious idengested, thereby, that a Muslim, by definition, was one who tity and perpetuated gender equities inscribed in the religadhered to the sharia, in contrast to the more loosely articu- ously formulated legal system. The colonial attitude of

lated view that defined a Muslim as one who ascertained the pointing to the “backwardness” of Islamic societies by holdshahadah (lit. testimony, namely, “There is no God but Allah, ing up, for example, the segregation of women from public and Muhammad is His messenger,” to which Shi a add: “and spaces, has ironically created, as observed by Leila Ahmed, Allah is the Master of the believers”). In addition to according the very signifiers through which Muslims now assert their the shari a quasi-divine status, such a move on al-Ghazali’s identity as different from the West and their former colonial part ensured the difficulty of ameliorating the shari a in any masters. In other words, the bodies of women are the sites on manner as to do so would be to suggest that it was a humanly which the postcolonial struggles to define and delineate the crafted instrument for the governance of society, albeit one authenticity, integrity, and marks of an Islamic identity are to taking its cue from a divinely ordained text, the Qur an. The be fought. Such a resignification of women’s bodies, comimplications of this theological development for gender are portment, and legal status has been no more vociferously and immense: Does any attempt to introduce gender-equitable proudly proclaimed than by resurgent Muslim groups. Such treatment under the shari a then suggest that one is tampergroups, often armed with a political agenda that includes ing with what it means to be a Muslim? It is no surprise that taking control of the institutions of governance—assisted by the Hudood Ordinances introduced by President Zia ul-Haq all the tools of modern technology, including print, Internet, in Pakistan in 1978 under the advisement of the shari a bench and educational media—and attempting to convince Muslim have proven to be one of the greatest obstacles in assuring youth disenchanted with global Western political and eco-Muslim women in Pakistan equal consideration under the nomic hegemony, as well as with the ineptitude of local law. Indeed, the infamous zina (adultery) laws have provoked government and economic instability, that wearing one’s international debate with respect to the setback rather than Islamic identity on one’s head and a public expression of the protection, let alone reparation, they provide raped women Muslim piety establish one’s identity as a site of resistance to who, as a consequence of these laws, are punishable for the the West. There is no doubt that modern Muslims face rape. Muslim women academics and activists, such as Asifa Qureishi, have proposed different ways in which the issue of challenges, both internal and external, to building rape might be conceived within an Islamic framework. healthy postcolonial societies; however, the use of

significant

viable and

religion for political ends has resulted in the creation of
 The second development was the caliphal prerogative, organizations
 calling themselves Muslim who serve to whip
 rendered justifiable by his titular mandate as “Defender of the
 minorities, governments, secularists and non-Muslims into
 Faithful,” to set up institutions whereby his office could pious
 (thereby unquestionable) submission to a specific pogovern society in manners
 he saw fit. Thus, for instance, in litical aim in the name of God by
 offering the indisputable
 Abbasid and Ottoman times, the caliph could and did set up promise:
 (their form of) Islam is the solution. Their goals and
 institutions through which criminal, property, and foreign methods run
 contrary to the Qur anic call to humans to

270

Islam and the Muslim World

Gender

believe, to act righteously and with social justice (76:5–9; mind.
 Islamist women also argue that the application of
 90:13–17), and to impose no compulsion in matters of religion. Islamic
 law has ameliorated women’s rights over and against
 feudal or tribal or customary practices. Characteristic of all
 In contemporary times, Muslim women are caught in the these approaches
 is the underlying assumption that Islam as a
 nexus of Islamic resurgence, state agendas, feudal social social and
 legal system offers gender equality, often drawing
 structures, and the economic forces of globalization with its upon the
 oxymoronic adage “equal but different” that bears
 sometimes devastating impact on developing societies. State the
 semblance of erasing hierarchy but reinscribes it in
 agendas include the desire to deliver education, training, making the
 woman the upholder of the shari a vision of
 health, and legal parity in order to facilitate social develop-
 respectability as the “difference” inevitably reintroduces difment that can
 harness the productive capacity of women in ferential equations of
 power. In the current climate of Islamic
 order to build viable societies. However, the need for states at resurgence,
 it is likely that the Islamist form of gender
 times to buy into the legitimating power of Islamic parties has activism,
 which entails a form of reinscription of Islamic legal
 meant a nimble bartering away of women’s rights, or simply a
 frameworks, is likely to prevail and will continue to do so until
 stalling of reforms in exchange for political power. Islamist such a time
 as Muslim societies can work out forms of
 parties have often reinforced feudal social structures that governance
 that keep Islam out of politics and enable a fresh
 reinforce a gendered division of labor, thus dovetailing nicely approach to

juridical principles that emphasize women's agency, with the Islamist perception of gender roles and laws. The control over their bodies and destinies, and full humanity. effects of globalization have resulted in an increasing number of women finding it essential to join the paid workforce, a might be possible to remain a Muslim spiritually while labor migration in search of work, often separating families or allowing for clear thinking on what an egalitarian and just society creating a subclass of domestic worker or sex-worker slavery, might look like without being fettered by social and legal norms and a movement away from the rural areas into urban out- developed historically under very different circumstances in search of work, leading both to urban congestion and cumstances. In this regard, issues of health, poverty, and rural impoverishment, thereby providing increasing fodder universal access to education, work, and childcare should be addressed, for Islamist movements. Globalization paradoxically sup- and regimes seeking populist affirmation through Islamization ports both the state agenda for its female population and the policies need to be examined closely. Another Islamist resistance to western economic hegemony, leaving approach has been to argue that a Muslim cannot be the often already weak state machinery further vulnerable to Islamized, since a person who is already a Muslim should negotiations with the political threat posed by Islamist par- not be made subject to punitive laws in the name of Islam or ties. Any attempt at discussion of gender issues in many parts be subject to an interpretation of Islam that does not accord well with of the Muslim world has been silenced through tactics that its principles of fairness and social justice. Further, have attempted to delegitimize the discussant; such tactics one does not need to be an Islamist, that is, one who believes that public include accusing the discussant of being brainwashed by the and state institutions must adhere to shari a West, being a western feminist, blaspheming, and so forth. prescriptions, developed under different circumstances several centuries ago, in order to work for the benefit of society, Muslim gender activists, mostly but not exclusively women, especially with respect to gender. Thus, for instance, Maha Azzam has have explored various routes toward addressing issues of argued that the challenges facing Muslim women gender equity in Muslim societies. In Iran, for instance, ought to be articulated and addressed "with the use of analytical women's magazines have taken on the challenge of reexamin- frameworks that, for example, draw on the socioling patriarchal interpretations of the Qur an, arguing that the ogy of religion and on the political and

economic dynamics of
 verse supporting male privilege could be understood differ- nationalism
 and dependency” (quoted in Esposito and Haddad,
 ently if greater attention were paid to the language of the p. 49) and
 not conducted within a religious framework that
 Qur an, as in the spirit of the work of the Moroccan feminist dispenses
 what the correct comportment of a Muslim woman
 sociologist Fatima Mernissi and the American Muslim activ- should or
 should not be from a seventh-century social perist Amina Wadud. Iranian
 Islamist women, as elsewhere, have spective. Others, such as the sisters
 Asma Jahangir and Hina
 also sought to create a parallel universe for women that would Jilani
 Jahangir in Pakistan, have sought to address gender
 enable women to participate in activities not normally possi- equity
 issues under the rubric of the law and state enforceability,
 ble in a gender-segregated society, as for instance in the while
 activist lawyers, academics, and other intellectuals such
 Iranian Women’s Games. Islamist women in various parts of as Asifa
 Quraishi, Amira Sonbol, Riffat Hasan, and Amina
 the world have argued that nowhere do sacred texts prevent Wadud in
 North America have sought to address issues as
 women from acquiring an education or participating in the widely
 divergent as rape laws in Pakistan, gender issues in
 political and the legal spheres. Many Islamist women hold the legal
 regimes in parts of the Muslim world, honor killings,
 position that the broad display of headwear and piety has and
 rereading sacred texts, to name a few. A significant form
 earned them the right to have a say in public affairs, and here of activism
 is the consciousness raising evident in the producethe example of the Egyptian
 Zaynab al-Ghazali comes to tion of literary and analytical works by
 Muslim women

Islam and the Muslim World

271

Genealogy

throughout the world, which, if read by Muslims and non- Webb,
 Gisela, ed. *Windows of Faith: Muslim Women Scholar-*
 Muslims alike, may result in transnational feminist activism
 Activists in North America. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Unithat may finally unmask
 and address the endless varieties in versity Press, 2000.
 which Islam, as all world faiths, is used for patriarchal purposes.
 Zayn R. Kassam
 See also *Divorce; Feminism; Ghazali, Zaynab al-; Marriage; Masculinities.*

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272

Islam and the Muslim World

Ghayba

contain what is called a nisba or relational suffix that may indicate city of origin or principal residence, tribal or ancestry from Damascus University in 1968. Tunisia, Ghannoushi received a bachelor's degree in philosophy from Damascus University in 1968. After a year in Paris,

tral relationships, and a further laqab or descriptive epithet he returned to Tunisia to teach philosophy at a secondary school. A based on physical characteristics or profession. A former member of the Tablighi Jama at and a Qur anic study group, he founded the Islamic Tendency Movement Descendants of the Prophet are often designated by the Movement (harakat al-ittijah al-islami) in 1981, which later title sayyid and given special respect in certain Muslim socieformed the Renaissance Party (hizb al-nahda, or Ennahda). ties. For example, in Iran, sayyid males wear a black turban in Ghannoushi was first arrested in 1981, released in 1984, ritual settings, in Morocco they are known as the shurafa, and rearrested and sentenced for life in 1987, but amnestied in in India and Pakistan they are the highest “caste” of Indian 1988. Shortly thereafter he left for exile in London. While his Muslims, followed, respectively, by those claiming Arab, role in the Islamic opposition movement within Tunisia Mogul, or Pathan ancestors. These groups are the nobles remains controversial, his stature as an eminent representa- (ashraf) or descendants of migrants to India rather than the tive of modern Sunni Arab Islamic thought is largely undisdescendants of indigenous converts (ajlaf). This honoring puted. In a series of books, articles, lectures, and interviews he may thus be seen to emerge from religious sentiment of presented his aim to make Islam relevant for modern society, respect for and charisma of the Prophet’s household and notably for the young, by integrating key concepts of modern Companions, and also of the cultural precedence accorded to sociopolitical thought such as good governance, human rights, Arab Muslims in non-Arab contexts. A modern example of social justice, freedom, pluralism, and equality into an Islamic this respect based on genealogy is the designation of Jordan as framework, insisting on general norms and values rather than “the Hashemite kingdom,” Banu Hashim being the clan of conventional understandings of Islamic law and theology, the Prophet, as a factor legitimizing the ruling dynasty, who which he considered to be largely irrelevant to present claim descent from the Prophet’s lineage. realities.

A further element of genealogical understanding in Islamic cultures is the concept of spiritual or intellectual lineages in See also Political Islam.

Sufi or scholarly traditions. Here chains of succession are established to previous masters and authorities, often ascend-

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ing to the prophet Muhammad himself. This concept is Hermassi, Abdelbaki. “The Rise and Fall of the Islamist

known as the shajara (tree) of descent and diagrams tracing Movement
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such trees form a component of hagiographic and other Political
Role of Islamist Movements in the Contemporary Arab
biographical genres and may be ritually recited as part of World.
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See also *Biography and Hagiography; Historical Writ-* Islamism.
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ing; *Tariqa*.
Gudrun Krämer

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ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993. Al-Ghayba
(Persian ghaybat), literally “the hiding,” is sometimes translated as
“the Occultation.” While a number of
Marcia Hermansen early Shi ite theological groupings proposed that their
imam
had gone into “hiding,” it was the Twelver Shi a, the only
such group to survive into the classical period in any signifi-
cant numbers, who fully developed the doctrine. Proclaiming
GEOGRAPHY See Cartography that
one’s imam had gone into hiding had a number of
and Geography
advantages for persecuted Shi ite groups. First, it reduced
their explicit challenge to the established political order. A
hidden imam is (potentially) less disruptive than a manifest
imam, thereby reducing political tension with the ruling
GHANNOUSHI, RASHID AL- (1941–) Sunni
authorities. Second, if this imam is predicted to return
at some point, the community can be charged with merely
Rashid al-Ghannoushi is a prominent Islamic thinker and waiting
(intizar) for his return, rather than actively agitating
political activist. Born in 1941 into a religious family in rural against the
governing political powers. Third, while the Shi a
Islam and the Muslim World
273

Ghazali, al-

had divided into various groups, based around the charisma of Sachedina,
Abdulaziz. *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the*
particular would-be imams, a hidden imam could act as a Mahdi in

Twelver Shi'ism. New York: State University of New York Press, 1981.

avoided.

Robert Gleave

The majority of Shi'a settled upon both an individual and a point in time when the imam went into hiding. The individual was Muhammad, son of Hasan al-Askari (a descendent of Imam Ali and proclaimed as the eleventh imam),

and the time was 868 C.E. According to Shi'ite reports, Hasan

GHAZALI, AL- (c. 1059–1111)

died when Muhammad was only six. Muhammad, also referred to as the Mahdi, went into hiding in order to avoid Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ghazali

(or al-persecution from the Abbasid rulers. At first, he continued to

Ghazzali) (1058/9–1111) was born some seven years before

communicate with his Shi'a through intermediaries. These the Battle of

Hastings, the Norman conquest that transfour intermediaries (known as

“gates” or “ambassadors”) formed England. As an intellectual

and thinker, Ghazali's

passed on the orders of the hidden imam. After sixty-nine legacy is not

only rich, but his imprint on the Muslim

years (in 941), when the fourth agent was close to death, the tradition is

both diverse and complex. For this reason the

imam announced that from that point on there were no enigma of his

legacy makes him both a highly esteemed as

further agents. While the imam was not leaving the world, he well as a

controversial figure. Generations of scholars have

would remain in hiding until God decreed an appropriate debated

Ghazali's role, studying the range of texts he had

time for his return. This ended the lesser occultation (al-written in

order to get a better picture of the man and his

ghayba al-sughra), and the greater occultation (al-ghayba al-oeuvre. For

some people Ghazali is the great “Defender of

kubra) began. The Shi'a are still awaiting the return of the Islam”

(Hujjat al-Islam, hujjat literally meaning “proof”).

imam, known as the Mahdi.

Others blame

him for damaging the rational edifice of Islamic

thought in his sharp critique of Muslim philosophers such as

This doctrine appears to have taken some time to reach its Ibn Sina and

al-Farabi. However, Ghazali's ideas can best be

final formulation, and later it was subjected to extensive described as

a work in progress and not easily abridged.

theological justification. For example, in the eleventh century Therefore,

reducing his work to such polarities is to grossly

Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi, in his Kitab al-Ghayba, oversimplify

the achievements of a very complex life and mind.

outlined both textual and rational justifications that later

became common in Shi'ite texts of theology. He argued that Ghazali's childhood was marked by a frugal and impoverished God would not leave his community without a guide—for to existence, partly caused by the untimely death of his do so would entail his neglect of the Shi'a and hence his father. His early years were spent in his birthplace in Tus, injustice. There must, then, be an imam present in the world near what is today the city of Mashhad in modern Iran. After who acts as God's guide, and this imam must be sinless. his elementary education with his tutor Ahmad al-Radhkani, Because there is no manifest imam who is both sinless and he traveled to the city of Jurjan near the Caspian Sea for recognizable as the emissary of God, the imam must, there- higher studies with a leading scholar, Isma'il b. Mis'ada alfore, be in hiding. Isma'ili (d. 1084). We learn of the apocryphal story of his The doctrine of the ghayba also has a number of legal encounter with brigands during his return journey from consequences. For example, the zakat and khums taxes, col- Jurjan. After the brigands had robbed all the travelers in the lected by the imam, become problematic. Eventually, Shi'ite caravan, Ghazali pleaded with the brigands' leader to return jurists avoided these duties being lapsed by proposing the only his precious dissertation (ta liqa), offering him the rest of doctrine of niyaba (deputyship) of the scholars to carry out his possessions in return. The brigand leader ridiculed Ghazali's these functions. claim to knowledge and mocked him by showing that a thief could so easily take it away. Struck by this insight, Ghazali See also *Imamate; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver)*. later commented: "He [the leader of the brigands] was an oracle (mustafa) whom God made to speak, in order that BIBLIOGRAPHY He could guide me through him." After that episode Ghazali Arjomand, Said Amir. "The Consolation of Theology: The committed all his notes to memory. Shi'ite Doctrine of Occultation and the Transition from Chiliasm to Law." *Journal of Religion* 76, no. 4 But the major transformation in Ghazali's intellectual life (1996): 548–571. took place when he attended the Nizamiyya College in Kohlberg, Etan. "From Imamiyya to Ithna-Ashariyya." In Nishapur. There he impressed the leading scholar of the day, Belief and Law in Imami Shi'ism. Edited by E. Kohlberg. Abu 'l-Ma'ali al-Juwayni (d. 1085), renowned for his expertise Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum, 1991. in dialectical theology (ilm al-kalam) and Shafi'i law. Juwayni's

influence on Ghazali effectively brought him into a full ulum
 al-din). This is now a classic in Muslim religious writing
 engagement with the rational sciences, especially law, theol- and is
 widely used to this day. In it Ghazali explores the
 ogy, logic, and later philosophy. Thus in Nishapur one begins
 ethical purposes of religious practices but more importantly
 to see the first signs of Ghazali's extraordinary strength in law
 provides a road map as to how this can lead to a transformaand dialectical
 theology. In law he followed the Shafi i school tion of the self. As
 a body of writing, Revivification represents
 while also studying Ash ari theology without being a slavish
 Ghazali's personal journey, in which he writes his ailing soul
 adherent to this orientation. These intellectual gifts would to
 health. Given his broad intellectual repertoire, Ghazali was
 serve him well in his rise to intellectual celebrity. At Nishapur, able
 to explore a variety of themes in a complex and convinc-
 Ghazali learned Islamic mysticism (tasawwuf) from Abu Ali ing
 manner, drawing on a variety of sources and ideas that he
 al-Farmadhi (d. 1084/5). It is not clear what Ghazali did for
 combines into an almost seamless narrative. The Revivification
 roughly seven years after completing his formal studies in
 consists of four books, each addressing an overall theme:
 Nishapur. Most historians believe that he remained in Nishapur
 starting with rituals (ibadat), customs and practices (adat),
 but regularly joined the retinue of scholars cultivated by the
 practices that lead to peril (muhlikat), and salvific practices
 indomitable Seljuk wazir (Ar. wazir) Nizam al-Mulk.
 (munjiyat).

In 1091 Nizam al-Mulk appointed Ghazali professor of See also
 Ash arites, Ash aira; Falsafa; Kalam; Law;
 Shafi i law at the Nizamiyya College in Baghdad. It is in
 Tasawwuf.

Baghdad that Ghazali's intellectual reputation culminated in
 the honorific "Defender of Islam." It also marked one of the
 most productive periods in his life. He wrote several books on
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logic and law. It was also during this period that he wrote his
 Ghazali, al-. Freedom and Fulfillment: An Annotated Translafamous refutation of
 the controversial doctrinal beliefs held tion of al-Munqidh min
 al-Dalal and Other Relevant Works of
 by Muslim philosophers about the eternity of the world, their
 al-Ghazali. Translated by Richard J. McCarthy, S. J.
 rejection of corporeal resurrection and that God only knew

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universals, *The incoherence of the philosophers* (Tahafut al-falasifa), Watt, W. Montgomery. *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Farabi* followed by a vitriolic exposure of the doctrines of the Ismailis. Ghazali. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963.

Shi'a called *The obscurities of the esoterists* (Fada'ih al-batiniyya).

Zarrinkub, Abd al-Husayn. *al-Firar min al-Madrasa: Dirasa fi*

But his meteoric rise came to an abrupt and dramatic end

Hayat wa Fikr Abi Hamid al-Ghazali. Beirut: Dar al-Ilm, 1992. Hayat wa Fikr Abi Hamid al-Ghazali. Beirut: Dar al-Ilm, 1992.

described in some detail in his spiritual testimony, *Deliverance from error* (al-Munqidh min al-dalal). He decided to abandon

Ebrahim Moosa

his public life of teaching and embarked on a life of contemplative reflection and asceticism. Explanations abound for

this dramatic turn in Ghazali's life. Some argue that he suffered intellectual self-doubt in his engagement with phi-

GHAZALI, MUHAMMAD AL-

losophy. Others link his anxieties to the series of Ismaili assassinations targeting political and religious figures, which (1917–2001)

gave Ghazali cause to fear for his own life. There is also a view

that he found his political alliances with the Seljuk rulers and Born

in 1917, al-Ghazali was an Egyptian Islamic thinker

his ties to the Abbasid caliphal palace to be a source of moral who

was educated as a jurist at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and

suffocation. Perhaps cumulatively all these pressures had a

held prominent positions with the Ministry of Awqaf and deleterious impact on his mind and soul. the

Mosques Department. During his early career he sided

with the Muslim Brotherhood party until he separated him-

Under the pretext of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, self from

the organization in the 1950s. Al-Ghazali wrote

Ghazali left his family in the province of Khurasan and sought over

forty books that are considered to be very important in

the anonymity of Jerusalem and Damascus, where he spent the

field of modern legal studies and modern theology. In

time meditating at the Dome of the Rock and the Umayyad Islam

and Political Despotism and Prejudice and Tolerance in

mosque. After an absence of nearly five years (1095–1099)

Christianity and Islam, he advocated the variety of ways in

Ghazali returned to his native Tus. During this period, as a which

religion could be a source of social justice and promote

novice on the mystical path, he engaged in reflection and peace

in the modern world.

disciplinary practices of the self as taught by master mystics

such as Junayd of Baghdad, Harith al-Muhasibi, and others. It As

a scholar, al-Ghazali was known for an independent, is also in this period of his life that he undertook the writing of well-balanced approach to jurisprudence, and he cited Ishis magnum opus for which he is best known in the world of Islamic texts in favor of gender equality, greater political scholarship, The revivification of the sciences of religion (Ihya participation, environmental awareness, and human rights.

Islam and the Muslim World

275

Ghazali, Zaynab al-

He was critical of modern Muslim scholars who focus too

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much on pedantic details of adhering to rituals and not Cooke,
Miriam. "Zaynab al-Ghazali: Saint or Subversive?"
enough on governance, finance, ethics, and moral philoso- Die Welt
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phy. Al-Ghazali was critical of radical and neoconservative
Ghazali, Zainab al-. Return of the Pharaoh. Memoirs in Nasir's
scholars who failed to understand the comprehensive nature Prison.
Translated by Mokran Guezzou. Broustton Gifford,
of religion and he refused to recognize their myopic views of
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faith. He felt that they were poorly trained scholars who
Hoffman, Valerie J. "An Islamist Activist: Zaynab al-Ghazali."
purposely select esoteric hadiths and sunna accounts to argue
In Women and the Family in the Middle East. Edited by
their point and further their political agendas. Al-Ghazali's
Elisabeth Warnock Fernea. Austin: University of Texas
contribution to modern Islamic thought was to treat faith as Press,
1985.
integrally linked with the political, economic, and social order.

See also Political Islam.

Ursula Günther

Qamar-ul Huda

GHAZI, AHMAD B. IBRAHIM AL-

See Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi

GHAZALI, ZAYNAB AL- (1917–)

Zaynab al-Ghazali al-Jabili (b. 1917) is Egypt's prominent female Islamist, a leading figure as a lecturer, teacher, and propagator of Islam who describes herself as the "mother" of GLOBALIZATION

the Muslim Brotherhood. After a short interlude in Huda
Sha rawi's Egyptian Feminist Union, she resigned and founded The term
globalization is used in various related senses to refer

the Muslim Women's Association (1936–1964). Her Islamic conviction that a secular and Western-oriented movement for women's liberation was not adequate for Muslim society. Moreover, she emphasizes that the rights guaranteed by Islam as long as they fulfill their duties as mothers and spouses. international and transnational forms of governance, and the rapidly expanding communication networks across Muslim women were entirely guaranteed by Islam as long as they fulfill their duties as mothers and spouses. boundaries, especially with the advent of the Internet. With the exception of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Turkey, the impact of economic and financial globalization on the Muslim world has been smaller than in rate her organization into the Muslim Brotherhood, but she other parts of the world. The integration of Middle Eastern asserted her readiness for cooperation. This refusal safeguarded and North African countries into the global economy has her independence and leadership position, taking into conbeen particularly slow, except for the case of Turkey, and the sideration the patriarchal patterns and hierarchies within the attempts at the privatization of the economy have been Muslim Brotherhood. After the ban of the Brotherhood she largely unsuccessful in the region. gave al-Banna her oath of allegiance and formally joined the organization in 1948, becoming the driving force behind its By contrast, the Internet and e-mail have created rapid secret reestablishment. forms of communication linking different parts of the Muslim world, from Morocco to Indonesia, to each other and to Her own organization was banned in 1964. In the course the rest of the world, even though the spread of these of the arrests of Brotherhood members she was imprisoned electronic media has been slower than in many other parts of and tortured. Six years later, in 1971, she was released. Her the world. This has sometimes been called "globalization memoirs from prison made her famous, even beyond Egypt's from below," to distinguish it from economic globalization borders. through multinational corporations and international finan- The fact that Zaynab al-Ghazali's own life as a relig- cial institutions. The globalization of communication through ious activist appears to contradict women's primary duties the Internet, as well as somewhat older media, such as (as mothers and spouses) should in no way diminish her telecommunications and broadcasting, has had a significant

significance. and
ongoing impact on Islam as a religion. There has also
been unprecedented migration, both from the Muslim world
See also Banna, Hasan al-; Ikhwan al-Muslimin; Politi- into North
America and Western Europe, and within the
cal Islam. Muslim
world into the Gulf countries. Last but not least,

276

Islam and the Muslim World Globalization

transnational political trends and international organization These trends
remain distinct and are not swamped by
have also had a notable impact on the Islamic world.
fundamentalism.

The Push toward Universalism The
twentieth century also gave rise to a combination of
The missionary expansion of the world religions among internal
subglobalization processes typical of the early modnations and across the
frontiers of empires can itself be ern period and externally
stimulated globalization. On the
considered the prototype of the process of globalization. one hand,
the continuous improvement and declining cost of
These religions have a tendency toward missionary expansion
transportation since the Second World War has greatly
because they are in principle universalistic, which gives them increased
the number of pilgrims to Mecca, and of missiona built-in tendency to overcome
many forms of particularism aries from Africa and Asia to the main
centers of Islamic
and to expand their influence beyond familial, ethnic, and learning in
the Middle East. It should be noted that this
national boundaries. In practice, the ideal commitment to aspect of
globalization reinforces Islam's old universalism,
universalism is tempered by all sorts of compromises with the which was
institutionalized around the hajj. On the other
forces of particularism. As a result of globalization, however, hand, the
postcolonial era has also witnessed the massive
these very compromises transform the character and terms of immigration
of Muslims into Western Europe and North
reference of particularism from local to what sociologists America,
where sizable Muslim communities have formed.
have called "glocal" (from the combination of "global" and
Meanwhile, there has been unprecedented global integration
"local"). Furthermore, globalization is an important factor in of
Muslims through the mass and electronic media.
the contemporary resurgence of Islam and the growth of

Islamic fundamentalism. The international repercussions of the Salman Rushdie case are the best illustration of the impact of the media on a The Internet and satellite communication have weakened globally integrated Muslim world. The protests and burning the very tight control of the states over national radio and of his Satanic Verses by indignant Muslims began in Bradford, England. television networks that had once compartmentalized the Images of these protests were broadcast throughout the world, Muslim world into differently oriented nation-states, and and stimulated more violent protests in Pakistan and India. have stimulated the growth of a new, transnational Muslim In a particularly low point of Iranian postpublic space within the global context. These effects of revolutionary politics, after the book had been banned in globalization on Islam are interpreted very differently by India, South Africa, Bangladesh, Sudan, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan different observers. Some see the combined effect of glo- stan, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini broadcast his famous fatwa balization as it impacts upon the world's one billion Muslims. condemning Rushdie, a non-Iranian writer who lived in They point to the growth of education and vigorous discus- England, to death for apostasy on 14 February 1989. sion of Islam in books and in public debates in the press, the audio-visual, and the electronic media as contributing to an Particularism within Globalization Islamic Reformation. In this view, the current Islamicization An interesting feature of globalization is the unfolding of of social life has been both far-reaching and dispersed, lack- antiglobal sentiments in particularistic, variety-producing movements, ing any focus or single thrust. Whether or not one concurs which seek local legitimacy but, nevertheless, have a with the value-judgment that it constitutes Reformation, it is global frame of self-reference. The flexibility of undeniable that there is an unmistakable dispersion of the signing international conventions with reservations has alcurrent trends in Islamization. The opposite view holds that lowed a large number of Muslim states to confirm their globalization has put Islam on the front lines of a "Jihad membership in the international communities by signing versus McWorld" confrontation, creating a sharply focused such agreements while retaining their own particularity of identity and and vehement anti-Western as well as anti-universalist strug- interests. For instance, Muslim nations could sign onto gle. This latter view tends to obliterate the distinction be- the United Nations' human rights instruments, such as the tween Islam and Islamic fundamentalism.

1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, but insist upon significant reservations that affirmed the The negative view on Islam and globalization, though priority of the shari a rules. widely shared by journalists and commentators, seems essentially mistaken. Not only is there variety in Islamic funda- More typically, however, global integration induces many mentalism, but Islamic fundamentalism is by no means identical Muslims to emphasize their unique identity within the frame with all the contemporary manifestations of Islam as a univer- of reference of their own culture, which can be said to be at salist religion. Urbanization, development of roads and trans- once universal and local or subglobal. There can be no doubt portation, the printing revolution, and other contemporary that global integration has made many Muslims seek to processes of social change, including globalization, simply appropriate universalist institutions by what might be called reinforce trends toward expansion and intensive penetration Islamic cloning. We thus hear more and more about “Islamic of society that are typical of Islam as a universalist religion. science,” “Islamic Human Rights,” an “Islamic international

Islam and the Muslim World

277

Globalization

for the study of Islamic subjects in accordance with global standards. This phenomenon is a direct result of globalization, not an outcrop of fundamentalism. It is a reactive tendency, however, and can be viewed as a form of defensive counteruniversalism. This defensive counter-universalism diverges from the old universalism of Islam as a world religion in its reactive character and “glocal” self-consciousness.

Despite its intent, however, the assimilative character of defensive counter-universalism is quite pronounced. It has already resulted in the assimilation of universal organizational forms, and albeit restrictively, of universal ideas such as human rights and the rights of women. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that, despite its intent, defensive counteruniversalism is inevitably a step toward the modernization of the Islamic tradition.

A Changing Islam in the Global Context

The increasing integration of the Middle Eastern states into the international system has exposed them to the global wave of democratization and the promotion of the rule of law. This exposure has introduced a new element of legal pluralism and generated ambivalent reactions throughout the Middle East.

The impact of the human rights revolution on the legal culture of Middle Eastern societies has been significant, and constitutional and supreme courts of a few Muslim countries, such as Egypt and Malaysia, have insinuated international rights provisions into their national legal systems.

Among the human rights, the ones with the strongest social backing that results from structural and occupational In a shop in downtown Cairo, an Egyptian woman drinks Coca-Cola. In February 1999, a Muslim Internet site started a rumor that the Coca-Cola logo, looked at upside down or reflected in a concerned with women's rights. Women's rights are represented by official organs of the states, and by a growing Wasel, Egypt's highest religious authority, concluded after a study of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that are of the logo that the allegation was false and that "there was no defamation to the religion of Islam from near or far." ENRIC MARTI/ AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS Nations increasingly linked with international NGOs and the United agencies. According to some reports, the women's NGOs stole the show from the state delegates at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo system" and a variety of organizations modeled after the (1994), and delegates from the Muslim countries were conspicuous United Nations and its offshoots, most notably the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which was founded in 1969 Women in Beijing (1995). In Iran, women constituted the largest and has fifty-seven countries as its members. group of President Mohammad Khatami's supporters, and the reformists in the Majles include a few prominent The cloning here is unmistakable. Not only is the charter women. The Iranian women's movement has made significant of the Organization of the Islamic Conference derived from cant gains since 1997, and is acting as a channel for the slow the UN charter, but it has an Islamic Development Bank but continuous influence of international conventions on women's (modeled after the World Bank), a Commission of the Inter- rights on Iran's administrative and civil law. national Crescent (corresponding to the Red Cross), and an Islamic Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization In contrast, the transnational Islamic resurgence has caused the (corresponding to the UNESCO). In 1980, the OIC voted to the rejection of the assertion of the universality of human rights, establish an International Islamic Law Commission to secure

and has generated an official “Islamic alternative.” representation of the Islamic viewpoint before the International Court of Justice. The OIC has also set up the International Declaration on Human Rights in Islam. As is to be expected in an imitative document, much of the legal terminology of

This

in an

278

Islam and the Muslim World

Grammar and Lexicography

the international human rights conventions is swallowed, even as quite a number of rights are in substance nullified. For the Muslim World. The Emerging Public Sphere. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999. offers no guarantee of religious freedom. It prohibits the use of any form of compulsion or exploitation of poverty and ignorance to convert anyone to atheism or a religion other than Islam (Article 10). Article 22 of the Declaration bars “the exploitation or misuse of information in such a way as may violate sanctities and the dignity

Eickelman,

in the

Therborn,

Regional

Sociology

Saïd Amir Arjomand

of Prophets, undermine moral and ethical values, or disintegrate, corrupt, or harm society or weaken its faith.” It is

interesting to note that, in flat contradiction to the historical experience and the public law of virtually all the signatory countries, Article 19 of the Cairo Declaration provides that

GOVERNMENT,

al-Islamiyya, al- (Islamic Government)

“There shall be no crime or punishment except as provided for in the Shari ah.” Article 25 further declares the shari a the only source for the explanation and clarification of the articles of the Declaration. While endorsing the Cairo Declaration, the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in April 1993

GRAMMAR AND

LEXICOGRAPHY also confirmed “the existence of different constitutional and legal systems among [the] Member States and various inter-

In the

period before Islam the Bedouin tribes in the Arabian national or regional human rights instruments to which they held poets (sing. sha ir) as well as soothsayers (sing.

peninsula

are parties.” This amounts to a very significant qualification in the highest esteem. Both delivered their message in

kahin)

of the categorical recognition of the shari a in the Cairo form of meter or rhyming prose and they occupied an

a fixed

Declaration, as most Middle Eastern countries are signatories to several such international instruments. Iran, for instance, is among the signatories to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The acknowledgment, therethat had been revealed to him, it was therefore only fitting fore, leaves open the kind of insinuation of the international that this message emphasized its sacred force by referring to law on human rights into national laws of the kind undertaken the linguistic and rhetorical qualities of the revealed book: by the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt.

The Qur'an was delivered in a clear, eloquent language. An increasing number of Muslim intellectuals are defending (Qur'an) mubinan), which was the language of the Arabs. At the same time, the message emphasized the difference between religious liberty and freedom of conscience are clearly deduc- tween the revelation and other literary productions: the Prophet was not a poet and the fact that he had never learned to read strongly imply a form of "natural religion" among mankind, or write demonstrated the miraculous nature of the revelation. which entails religious liberty, and make explicit the concepts of freedom of conscience and religion, most notably, "there is revelation. Right from the start, the believers were concerned with the preservation of the revealed book. According to Muslim communications media beyond government control has made the tradition, during the life of the Prophet parts of the message freedom of interpretation of Islam itself a prominent feature were written down on scraps of writing material, and the of the emerging Muslim public sphere. In Iran, Abd al- Prophet himself sometimes employed scribes to whom he Karim Soroush has gone so far as putting all the world dictated the revelations. It was not until the third caliph religions on an equal footing in the 1998 essay, Saratha-ye Uthman (r. 644–656) that a codified text of the Qur'an was made, the mostaqim (Straight paths), the very title being a sacrilegious pluralization of a fundamental Qur'anic concept. In Syria, canonical text for all later generations, the presence of a large number of Muhammad Shahruihr has offered a similarly radically mod- number of variant readings forced the believers to concernist interpretation of Islam.

trate not only on the contents of the text,

but also on its form.

See also Internet; Networks, Muslim. After the death of the Prophet, the Islamic conquests led to a drastic transformation, not only of pre-Islamic values and BIBLIOGRAPHY customs, but also of the language of the Arabs. The inhabitants of the conquered territories had to acquire the new language in a short period of time, and their mistakes affected Arabic to such a degree that a new type of Arabic arose, which

Islam and the Muslim World

279

Grammar and Lexicography

eventually became the basis for the modern dialects. As a with the language of the revelation and with that of the preresult of this process, which was regarded by the Arabs Islamic poems. In his Kitab, Sibawayhi set himself a task that went themselves as a process of corruption of speech (fasad al- beyond the explanation of the text and aimed at a much larger lugha), the text of the Qur'an became difficult to understand. scope: the explanation of grammar. He dealt with all possible constructions in the language and accounted for their Because of the central place of the Qur'an in Islamic structural differences in terms of the different case endings society it is not surprising that specialists came forward in the found in them. community to help the common believers understand the text. The name most often cited in this connection is that of Sibawayhi introduced a framework that was truly innovative, the Ibn Abbas (d. 687), but we may be sure that each city in the system of declension (i'rab) that became one of the central empire had its own experts. The earliest commentaries all shared a semantic approach, since they focused on the extent imperfect verbs, were assumed to have a series of endings cations of the text for religious, legal, and ritual purposes. Yet, whose function differed from that of the permanent the existence of variant readings and the discrepancies between end vowels of other words such as the perfect verbs or the particles. The declensional vowels were the result of the speech also led to an interest in formal elements in the text as action of an amil, an operator governing the case endings.

well. For instance, signaling the presence of foreign loanwords This
function could be performed either by a verb (e.g., in the sentence
in the Qur an and discussing the tribal provenance of some of
daraba zaydun amran “Zayd hit Amr” the verb is the operator
the lexical items were not essential for the understanding of
of the nominative in the agent, zaydun, and the
the text, but nevertheless most of the commentaries provide
accusative in the object, amran), or a particle (e.g., the
such information. particle
fi is the operator of the genitive in fi l-bayti “in the
house”).

Some of the earliest commentators, such as Mujahid (d. Since
722) and Muqatil (d. 767), used conventional terms in dis-
it is not always possible to explain the structure of
cussing, for instance, the various text types that are found in the
actually spoken sentence, it is sometimes necessary to
the Qur an or the vowel-endings of words. The terms for the have
recourse to an underlying level of speech (taqdir). Thus,
vowel-endings, which were probably derived from the Syriac for
instance, in the sentence an-najdata! “help!” the grammargrammatical
tradition, provided a starting point for later ian posits an
underlying verb ad u “I call for, I ask” in order to
grammarians and may therefore be regarded as the begin- explain
the accusative in the noun. With the help of the
nings of the discipline of grammar in Islam. notion of
taqdir grammarians built a large explanatory framework that was neither
intended as normative (after all, the
From Text to Language Bedouin
were native speakers and did not need correction),
The preoccupation with the formal properties of the text of nor as a
simple description, but as an explanation of the rules
the Qur an inevitably led to an interest in the structure of the of
grammar. Exceptions were not allowed in this analysis,
language in which the revelation was couched. The sources since
language was regarded as part of God’s creation, of
have preserved the names of some scholars in the second which
even the minutest detail must find an explanation.
century of Islam, who dealt with the Arabic language on a
professional basis, not only in order to study the revealed Even
though after Sibawayhi competing schools arose in
book, but also to understand the structure of the language, to Basra,
Kufa, and Baghdad, the theoretical framework re-
find out the qiyas al- arabiyya “the rules of Arabic.” Since what
mained the same for all grammarians. Both the grammarians
is known about these grammarians comes only from later in Basra,
such as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), and those in Kufa,
sources (chiefly the quotations in the first complete grammar such as

al-Farra (d. 822) and Thaalabi (d. 904), used the principle of *amal* to account for the case endings in the certainty what their opinions were, but so much seems to be language, and although they differed as to the scope of the certain that they did not hesitate to correct the text of the examples they allowed as a basis for their *qiyas*, essentially Qur'an whenever they thought it was contradicted by the they may be regarded as belonging to one linguistic paradigm. linguistic usage of the Bedouin.

The science that worked with this paradigm is called in This attitude toward the text and the language of the Arabic *nahw* (which also means "syntax"). Almost right from Qur'an was to change with Sibawayhi (d. c. 793), a Persian, the beginning a strict distinction was made between this science who became the first grammarian to compile a book encompassing and that of lexicography (*ilm al-lugha*). The earliest passing the entire structure of the language. For Sibawayhi beginnings of lexicography are found in the commentaries of the text of the Qur'an had been established once and for all by the Qur'an, some of which concentrated on the lexical meaning the Uthmanic codex, compiled by order of the third caliph, meaning of words that had become archaic by that time. These and he did not feel the need to concern himself with the text early attempts at compiling word lists of the Qur'an or the itself. Instead, he turned to the structure of the language of hadith culminated in the *Kitab al-ayn*, initiated and perhaps partly the Arab Bedouin, which was assumed to be identical both based on the notes of al-Khalil ibn Ahmad (d. 791),

280

Islam and the Muslim World

Greek Civilization

Sibawayhi's teacher in grammar. Like the *Kitab Sibawayhi*, refining the contents of Sibawayhi's *Kitab* rather than in this dictionary no longer concentrated on the Qur'an but on elevating the discipline. the language itself, as is evident from the fact that poetic quotations are far more frequent in it than quotations from This situation started to change with grammarians such as the Qur'an. The *Kitab al-ayn* set the trend for a long line of Jurjani (d. 1078) who combined their interests in rhetoric and ever larger dictionaries that attempted to encapsulate the grammar and criticized their predecessors for not having lexicon of the entire language, culminating in Ibn Manzur's taken into account the semantic aspect of speech by focusing (d. 1311) famous lexicon, *Lisan al-Arab*. exclusively on the syntactic parameters. This new interest in a

comprehensive science of language, including style and poet-
 From Language to Language Use ics, may
 be yet another example of Mu tazilite thinking in
 A new development in Arab linguistics was initiated by the
 linguistics. Their influence is certainly evident in the field of
 introduction of Greek logic and philosophy in the Islamic the ilm
 usul al-fiqh, in which the epistemological value of
 world. The translation of Greek texts that had already started
 linguistic utterances was studied for its relevance to legal
 under the Umayyad caliphs, usually through Syriac, started in
 reasoning. These new developments meant effectively a sepaearnest under the
 Abbasid caliph al-Ma mun (d. 833), who ration between grammar in
 the strict sense and other languagepersonally supported this development by
 founding the Bayt related sciences.
 al-Hikma (an academy of translators in Baghdad). The influx
 of new ideas in Arabic had a profound influence on Islamic See also
 Arabic Language; Arabic Literature; Qur an.
 thinking, especially in the theological system of the Mu tazilites,
 who for some time enjoyed official recognition of their ideas.

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cantly, many grammarians in this period adhered to Mu tazilite
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logic also insinuated itself in the general format of grammati-
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customary to define grammatical notions and to devote
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topics. Likewise, grammarians started to write introductory
treatises, such as Zajjaji's Kitab al-jumal or Farisi's (d. 989)

Kees Versteegh

Kitab al-idah.

In the third/fourth centuries of Islam, grammar had become a technical
discipline with its own terminology and GREEK CIVILIZATION
apparatus. Although grammarians such as Ibn Jinni (d. 1002)
showed a vivid interest in all matters pertaining to language in The rapid
expansion of the Islamic empire led to its speedy
his linguistic encyclopedia al-Khasa is, most grammatical contact
with a cultural world heavily marked by Greek
treatises in this period were concerned with repeating and thought.
Greek civilization had spread throughout the urban

Islam and the Muslim World

281

Greek Civilization

areas of the Middle East, North Africa, and the Iberian thinkers to
oppose the use of Greek-inspired thought, from
peninsula, and it was reflected in the relatively high standards Abu Sa id
al-Sirafi (893–979) to al-Ghazali (1058–1111) and
of living and education, for at least a portion of the citizens. Ibn Taymiyya

(d. 1328). Interestingly, the arguments against When the Arabs came to confront this culture, they might Greek thought often employed Greek mechanisms and so have rejected it totally and sought to destroy it. After all, it could be representative of Greek civilization's ultimate success as a culture that rested on unbelief, from an Islamic perspective, and whose practitioners were ethnically quite distinct from the Arabs themselves. In the early Middle Ages, however, there was an attempt to understand and learn from the Iberian peninsula) there was a particularly happy combination of Greek-influenced cultures, and to use that knowledge to improve the delivery of the Islamic message itself. Several of science and culture generally. There is much evidence that theories could explain this. It could be because the new rulers the intellectual wealth thus produced had as a side-effect were intent on obeying those parts of the Qur'an that recommend toleration of divergent points of view, at least when the Islamic world was far more advanced than Christian Europe. It held by other people of the book; it could have been because the early Islam was not at this stage confident enough to alienate those the early Middle Ages had only a limited supply of Greek texts, and under its recent control; or it could be that the Muslims were indeed only acquired any significant degree of these when they impressed by the level of wealth and culture that they observed were translated out of Arabic into Latin (often via Hebrew).

served and sought to emulate it by coming to grips with its basis in Greek culture. It is sometimes argued that the Islamic world was not able to make creative use of Greek thought, merely being transferred. A very practical issue that soon faced the Muslims was the matters of Greek civilization. This is plainly false, as a great need to argue with their new subjects, since the issue of number of original and innovative theories came out of the conversion was a live one. Yet the non-Muslims were often Islamic world, and the Greeks were not the only group to far better at disputation than the Muslims, given their long make a contribution to the culture of the Islamic world, since practice of rhetoric and logic. The ancient Greeks had developed the role of the Indians within Islamic life deserves careful consideration. opened the art of disputation to a very high degree, and this continued to be studied and practiced by their successors in

the Middle East. Perhaps even more significantly, the Greeks had developed a sophisticated scientific system, not only one chemistry—and, of course, philosophy—Greek that was theoretically rich in its understanding of how the inspired thought was the catalyst for a creative outburst. In the universe might operate, but also a system that was capable of making a very substantial practical contribution to everything and astrology, Greek thought played an even more important role. Greek thought affected the paradigmatically Islamic symptoms of) a variety of diseases. Clearly any rational ruler sciences of theology and law that came to acquire many of the techniques was going to avail himself of this intellectual largesse if he Islamic adab and principles used in Greek thought. Finally, the tradition of literature was also influenced by the found in their new territories. Greeks.

There were many editions of books that contained “wisdom” literature of the Greeks, chiefly consisting of aphorisms often incorrectly attributed to thinkers like Socrates. Despite the first step that needed to be taken was to rapidly translate Greek texts, often via Syriac (a Semitic language like Arabic). It was an expensive and time-consuming process probably widely read and certainly had an effect on the notion carried out largely by Christian translators. The Abbasid of what constituted style in literature. Abu Sulayman al-caliph al-Ma mun founded in 832 C.E. the House of Wisdom Sijistani’s collections of wisdom literature were particularly widely distributed from the tenth century onward. In short, it is difficult to find an aspect of Islamic civilization that was not affected by the Greeks.

of the time regarded Greek thought. The availability of Greek texts in Arabic formed the basis of what came to be a Another area of thought where Greek civilization played a notable part very rich tradition of Islamic philosophy, which continued in the development of political thought. The idea of a ruler who combines the roles of legislator, thinker, and that was to enjoy an even longer life in the Persian world, and religious authority was constructed by adding Islam to where philosophy continued to be studied and written for far Plato, as it

were, proving to be a very fruitful way of analyzing the state longer. The problems that philosophy met in the Arabic- and the nature of political authority. The description of the state speaking world owed much to its Greek, and hence non- as organic in Plato's Republic fit in nicely with the Islamic Muslim, origins. There was a prolonged campaign by many notion of the state being necessarily structured in

282

Islam and the Muslim World

Gumi, Abu Bakr

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GUMI, ABU BAKR

See Abu Bakr Gumi

Islam and the Muslim World

H

HADITH

In this tradition the isnad informs us that Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, a Companion of the Prophet, reported this saying of Hadith is a genre of Muslim literature that originated in the Prophet, and that his report has been transmitted via early period of Islamic history. It is found in the earliest Ata, Ibn Shihab, Malik, and his pupil Yahya to the editor of preserved compilations of legal and historical material as-

collection in which the hadith is found. cribed to authors of the eighth century. Since then and Role in Muslim Culture

continuing until the present time, a huge number of hadith The hadiths, embodying the tradition on the origins of Islam, collections have been brought to light.

are for Muslims an important source of guidance next to the The term hadith (often capitalized by Western scholars) Qur'an.

The "way" (sunna) of their Prophet and of the first denotes both the genre of literature and an individual text of generations of Muslims is taken as a model of how Muslims this genre. Originally the term meant story, communication, should live in this world in order to lead a happy eternal life in or report but as a scholarly term hadith means tradition. the

hereafter. This is most obvious in that this sunna, particularly that of the Prophet, became after the Qur'an the second accounts of the prophet Muhammad. Many Western scholars fundamental source of the shari'a, the Law of God. According use hadith more broadly to include the traditions of the Muslim scholars this status of the sunna is advocated both in the Qur'an and in hadiths of the Prophet and was already Prophet's Companions and even later generations. In this acknowledged by his Companions. In contrast, Western broader meaning, however, it was also used by early and a few scholars usually think that the sunna acquired its status as later Muslim hadith scholars. to

second source of the Law only gradually during the eighth In the early and classical sources, that is, those dated until century and that in Sunnite law the hadiths of the Prophet the eleventh century, one mostly encounters the hadiths in a gained the absolute superiority over other expressions of the typical form. Every single tradition begins with a chain of sunna only in the first half of the ninth century. In Imami transmitters, called isnad (support, foundation). The first Shi'ite law the traditions of the Prophet did not acquire such a transmitter in the isnad is often the collector (sometimes even superiority but are considered equal in value with that of

his pupil) in whose compilation the hadith in question is the
imams.

found, then the collector's informant is mentioned, then the collector, then the collector's informant, and so on until the chain arrives at the original reporter of the text. The text, which is called *matn* in the shari'a in particular, induced Muslim scholars to scrutinize the tradition material critically and to define rules as to when it is an example of a hadith:

which hadiths could be accepted and which must be rejected.

The traditional Muslim hadith criticism focused on the Yahya related to me from Malik from Ibn Shihab from of transmitters (isnads), which accompany a hadith, but Ata b. Yazid al-Laythi from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri that checked whether its content (matn) is compatible with the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant recognized traditions and with the Qur'an. This led him peace, said (= isnad): "When you hear the call to the Sunnites to a classification of hadiths in four prayer (adhan), repeat what the muezzin (mu'adhdhin) classes: (1) sahih (sound); (2) hasan (fair); (3) da'if (weak), with says" (= matn). some subcategories of this class; and (4) mawdu' (spurious).

Hadith

Additionally, special classification systems were developed (849), the Sunan of Sa'id b. Mansur (d. 841), or the Sunan of al-Forayn for the evaluation of isnads and matns. The critical evaluation of Darimi (d. 868), belong to this type, as do the six hadith collections of the hadiths found its expression in special compilations in the collections of al-Bukhari (d. 870), Muslim (d. 874), Ibn Maja (d. 886), which their authors collected the hadiths, that they considered reliable or accepted. The Abu Dawud (d. 888), al-Tirmidhi (d. 892), and al-Nasa'i (d. 915), which over time were recognized by Sunnite scholars as the most reliable ones. The collections of al-Bukhari and Muslim were even called the "sound" (sahih).

Nevertheless, the evaluation of particular hadiths, even of the canonical hadith collections of the Imami Shi'ites contained in the most revered collections, remained piled by al-Kulini (d. 939), al-Babuya al-Qummi (d. 991), and disputed in Muslim scholarship. In Imami Shi'ism hadith al-Tusi (d. 1067) also belong to the musannaf type.

criticism was less sophisticated and appeared late because the isnads consisted in large part of the (infallible) imams. Several comprehensive collections compiled from the ninth century onward show another method of ordering the hadiths. All In modern times the Muslim debate about the reliability traditions whose isnads go back to the same original reporter are put together; for example, the hadiths and intellectuals tried to revise the issue of which hadiths are transmitted from the above-mentioned Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the name of the like Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898), Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905), Rashid Rida (d. 1935), Mahmud Abu Rayya, and called Ghulam Ahmad Parwez are connected with the critique of Prophet. The most famous compilation of this type is the huge Musnad of Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855), but there are earlier ones, such as the Musnad of al-Humaydi (d. 834) and the Musnad of al-Ghazali, or Yusuf al-Qaradawi, also called for a the Musnad of al-Tayalisi (d. 813)—the latter probably a reassessment of the classical hadith literature in light of the compiled by one of his pupils—and many later ones, like the Tahdhib Qur'an and modernity. They argued for a more sophisticated al-athar of al-Tabari (d. 923), which is incomplete; criticism of the content (matn) of the hadiths. A few others the Musnad of Abu Ya'la (d. 919); or al-Mu'jam al-kabir of al-Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988) and Mohammed Arkoun advocated a new understanding of the development of the hadiths. Tabarani (d. 970). Muslim scholars did not always use the terms musannaf and musnad consistently in the titles of the collections, and Collections they classify hadith collections also according to several other The earliest preserved hadith collections confine themselves criteria. to certain types of traditions. For example, the Sira of Ibn Ishaq (d. 767) in the recension preserved from Ibn Hisham (d. 828 or 833) contains mainly historical traditions on Muhammad and his time. The Muwatta' of Malik b. Anas (d. 795) as the eleventh centuries or even later. The hadiths themselves, transmitted by Yahya b. Yahya (d. 848) is a collection of legal through their isnads, claim to have been transmitted from earlier hadiths, as is the Zaydi Shi'ite Majmu' al-fiqh ascribed to earlier

times. There are four sources that allow us to know more about the history of these hadiths: (1) the isnads of the traditions; (2) their texts (matns); (3) biographical traditions about the transmitters found in the isnads; and (4) the later norm and practice of transmitting traditions (known from This manner of collecting traditions continued and there are many later examples of compilations confined to a certain type of tradition or to traditions on certain topics. From the Most Sunnite Muslim scholars are convinced that it is possible to reconstruct the history of the hadiths on the basis of the four comprehensive collections the traditions are put together in reliable. They usually sketch the origin and development of the hadiths as follows: The Prophet taught his “way” (sunna) to his Companions orally, by writing or by practical demonstration. He encouraged his Companions to diffuse his teaching of the Prophet, and so forth in which traditions on the things and sent teachers and preachers to newly converted particular topics are combined. This type of ordering of the tribes. His Companions were very eager to learn as much as they could subject matter is called musannaf (classified). The oldest they could from their Prophet. They learned his sunna, that comprehensive collections preserved, such as the Musannaf of is, his practice, by doing it with him, they memorized it, or— Abd al-Razzaq (d. 827), the Musannaf of Ibn Abi Shayba (d. if they could write—wrote it down. After the death of the

286

Islam and the Muslim World

Hadith

Prophet, his Companions continued their efforts to memorize it might be possible to discern between them. They differ, however, rize the hadiths and to write them down, and instructed be others whenever they felt that this was needed, and some ticated achieved. In this respect more or less skeptical and sophisticated Companions even attracted circles of students whom they approaches can be distinguished. Some scholars (like

taught regularly.

M. W.

Watt) rely in their methods mainly on the texts of the hadiths, while others (like Juynboll) focus on the isnads, and In this way the hadiths were also transmitted to the yet others (like J. van Ess, H. Motzki, or G. Schoeler) use a following generations. The students of the Companions, the combination of matn and isnad analysis. The latter method older Successors, became teachers themselves and the circles starts from collections in which the traditions are available of students committed to the study of the Qur'an and to the and tries to detect indications in the isnads and the texts as to preservation of traditions grew steadily. There were only few whether the traditions in question were really transmitted or Successors who had collected hadiths from different sources, fabricated. The investigation can be focused either on a single but their students, who flourished in the first half of the tradition, of which variants are available in different collections, devoted themselves to the task of collecting traditions, or on the traditions contained in one and the same traditions more systematically. They also began to arrange collection. In the first case the aim is to find out whether it is them thematically and transmitted their written collections possible to reconstruct the transmission history of a particular to wider circles of students. This is the material out of which hadith. In the second case the issue is scrutinized to determine the early substantial collections of traditions were compiled, to determine whether the history of a whole collection can be reconstructed such as Ibn Ishaq's Sira or Malik's Muwatta', which are constructed, whether the collector may have invented the hadiths preserved through recensions of their pupils. or the isnads or both, or whether he has received them from the informants he names.

This scenario, which has a certain attraction by appearing natural or even inevitable, at least as far as the Prophet and his This source-critical approach produces another scenario Companions are concerned, is almost completely based on of the history of the hadiths. In contrast to the pictures information taken from traditions that go back, according to drafted by Muslim scholars and extreme skeptics, the their isnads, to eyewitnesses of the time of the Prophet, the conclusions of the source-critical scholars are general but Companions, and the Successors. It is rejected outright by a confined to the collections and traditions studied. Their Western school of thought that argues that the precise scenario is therefore fragmentary and provisional. history of the hadiths available in the collections of the ninth century and later cannot be reconstructed anymore. Scholars

According to the source-critical approach there are colbelonging to this school of thought doubt, first of all, the lections, such as Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf or Ibn Hisham's historical value of the isnads, which they consider as generally Sira, which can be shown to have been compiled from earlier fabricated and as arbitrarily attached to the traditions. They sources. That means that the names to which the collectors furthermore argue that the biographical traditions about the ascribe their materials are, at least partially, their real informtransmitters who appear in the isnads are not an independent ants. This does not yet say anything about the quality of their historical source, because the information contained in the textual transmission. These informants or sources of the biographical traditions may be invented to support the isnads. collectors, like Ibn Jurayj or Ibn Ishaq, lived in the first half of If these two sources, isnads and biographical traditions, are the eighth century. It is also obvious that the huge amounts of unreliable, then we are left with the texts alone. On the basis traditions that were transmitted by these informants were of their content and style, only a very global reconstruction of mostly not invented by them or falsely ascribed to some other their history is possible. As models for such a reconstruction, informants, but were really received from the persons named. the developments of the Jewish and Christian religious litera- This is suggested by the great variation between the isnads and culture can be used. The result is "salvation history," the recon- the matns, which are said to derive from the different struction of how the Muslim community at the turn of the informants and by formal peculiarities that suggest a real eighth century reflects through its traditions on its own transmission. In this manner the materials going back, for origins. This school of thought derives its inspiration from example, to Ata b. Rabah (d. 733) or Amr b. Dinar (d. 744), the studies of J. Wansbrough (1977, 1978). According to this some of the key informants of Ibn Jurayj (d. 767), or the approach the hadiths are generally inauthentic in the sense material going back to al-Zuhri (d. 742), a key informant of that they do not reflect the factual history of the first two both Ibn Jurayj and Ibn Ishaq (d. 767), can be recovered. The Islamic centuries. This skepticism of the traditions has its quality of the material transmitted from these informants— roots in the studies of I. Goldziher (1890) and J. Schacht (1950). flourishing in the first quarter of the eighth century and belonging to the Successors, the generation following that of Not all Western scholars hold to the extreme skepticism the Prophet's Companions—can be evaluated on internal grounds that doubts the historical reliability of the Muslim traditions

and by comparing their traditions with variants of altogether. Many Western scholars of Islam assume that them found in other reliable sources and transmitted by compilers there may be both unreliable and reliable traditions and that other than Ibn Jurayj and Ibn Ishaq. In this way

Islam and the Muslim World

287

Hadith

suspicious transmitters can be detected as well. The procedure can, at least in some cases, also be applied to the material deriving from the Successors. That means that through this method it is possible to date large amounts of traditions step by step back until, at least in some cases, the time of the Companions. Cook, Michael. "The Dating of Traditions." In *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

method it is possible to date large amounts of traditions step by step back until, at least in some cases, the time of the Companions. Cook, Michael. "The Dating of Traditions." In *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

for conclusions about the way hadiths were transmitted from generation to generation until they were incorporated in the Islamic Historical Writing. Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin collection in question, for example Abd al-Razzaq's *Musannaf*. Press, 1998.

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but was accompanied by written notes. This indicates that the transmission focused on the content of the traditions, not on the exact wording. In the succeeding generations transmission occurred orally in combination with verbatim copying. Juynboll, G. H. A. *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

plete ones from the time of the Successors onward until the
Juynboll, G. H. A. *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic*
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It can also be said that in early Meccan scholarship
transmission of traditions played a minor role compared to Kohlberg,
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that of Medina, but the situation changed in Mecca in the Arabic
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ences notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that there are
traditions about the Companions and the Prophet that were Motzki,
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known and transmitted in both centers of learning already in
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the second half of the seventh century. It is improbable,
however, that the source-critical approach can lead to an Motzki,
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earlier period, aside from exceptional cases. One of the
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limitations of this method is that it cannot generalize. That
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means that as long as a single hadith or a group of traditions
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288

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Hallaj, al-

Wilks, I. "The Juula and the Expansion of Islam into the
HAJJ See Pilgrimage: Hajj
Forest." In The History of Islam in Africa. Edited by N.
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Abdulkader Tayob

HAJJ SALIM SUWARI, AL- (C. 1300)

Al-Hajj Salim Suwari is a name that appears in a number of
scholarly lineages in West Africa. He is credited with trans- HAJ
UMAR AL-TAL, AL-

mitting a significant Maliki teaching tradition to a region
(1797–1864)

stretching from Ghana and Burkina Faso to Senegal and
Gambia in West Africa. This tradition included jurispru- The last
revolutionary in the jihad tradition of Western

dence, exegesis, and the biography of the Prophet. Historians Sudan,
Shaykh Umar al-Tal was born in Futa Toto, in the

are divided between his provenance in the twelfth and thir-
Senegambia region, where he received his religious training.

teenth centuries and the early fifteenth century. Those who While

in Mecca for pilgrimage in 1826 he was appointed the
support the latter believe that he played a leading role in the caliph

of the Tijaniya brotherhood in the Western Sudan. He
cultivation of extensive trade in gold between West African lived in

Mecca and Cairo, and eventually settled at the court kingdoms and North Africa. According to them, al-Hajj of the Sokoto Caliphate. After almost a decade away from home he Salim Suwari laid the foundation for a Maliki tradition that decided, in the late 1830s, to return to the Senegambia region. fostered trade and accepted the authority of non-Muslim He settled first in Dingirai, a town on the frontiers of the Futa rulers. It is this tradition that played a leading role in relations between Muslims and other religious groups until the Fulani his own following. For the next decade, his focused primarily on Jihad states emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He used his authority to challenge the leaders of the locally powerful Qadiriya Sufi order. like Senegal and other regions in West Africa.

In his efforts to forge a large Muslim state, Umar declared a jihad Following the local hagiographies more closely, S. O. around 1852 or 1853, when he began to widen his military Sanneh believes that al-Hajj Salim Suwari should be situated operations north toward the upper Senegal River through in the twelfth century. Al-Hajj Salim Suwari performed the non-Muslim, Malinke-dominated areas. By then he had pilgrimage seven times, and on returning from the last one, had acquired firearms and was proving to be a formidable force in he began a migration from Diakhe-Masina on the Niger the region. By the mid-1850s he had established the River to Diakhe-Bambukhu further southwest on the Senegal Tukolor Muslim empire, with his capital at Nioro. His River. There he founded a city-state with his many followers, activities in the Senegambia eventually led to a confrontation and established the scholarly tradition that flourished for the with the French, who were seeking to establish absolute control next several generations. Sanneh also believes that al-Hajj over the region. Umar's military operations further east in Salim Suwari and his followers, the Jakhanke, were not until he the Muslim state of Massina were largely successful, was killed in 1864 during a counterattack. His in agriculture (through the extensive use of slaves) and were successors divided up the empire and continued to challenge devoted to travel and study. The Diakhe-Babukhu of al-Hajj the French over the next couple of decades.

Salim Suwari became a model for many similar city-states in the long history of Islam in West Africa. See also Africa, Islam in; Caliphate; Ibadat.

See also Africa, Islam in; Islam and Other Religions;

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HALLAJ, AL-

(858–922)

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The mystic and martyr Husayn ibn

Mansur al-Hallaj was

Press, 1989.

born in

858 in Bayda, Persia. An Arabized Iranian whose

Islam and the Muslim World

289

HAMAS

grandfather was a Zoroastrian, al-Hallaj's father, a cotton-
Heresiography; Kharijites, Khawarij; Mahdi;
wool carder (hallaj) by trade, converted to Islam. The family
al-; Tasawwuf.

See also

Muhasibi,

had emigrated through textile centers in Iran, settling in
Sunni (Hanbali) Wasit, Iraq, where the young Hallaj was

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educated in grammar, the Qur'an, and exegesis. He returned
Louis. *La Passion d'al-Hallaj* (1922). Reprint.

Massignon,

in 873 to Tustar and placed himself in the service of the noted
Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Sufi shaykh Sahl. In 857 in Basra he received the Sufi habit
Mason, Herbert. *al-Hallaj*. Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Curzon
(khirqa) and came under the influence of such noted shayks as
Press, 1995.

Muhasibi and Amr Makki, both of whom were associated
with al-Junayd, head of the Baghdad school of Sufism.

Herbert W. Mason

In the period between 877 and 883 he married and had a
daughter and three sons. The third son, Hamd, left an
eyewitness account of his father's last days in prison and his
public execution. He became involved in the black slave

HAMAS

(Zanj) revolt centered around Basra, which was driven ideologically by Shi'ite opponents of the Sunni Abbasid Caliphate. HAMAS is an acronym drawn from the Arabic initials of the Islamic Resistance Movement (harakat al-muqawamat al-Islamiyyah), but which also bears a literal meaning of "zeal." Though Sunni, he moved in Shi'ite circles and was later accused of having been influenced by Mahdism. He made the first of this three yearlong retreats to Mecca, and uttered his famous statement "I am the Truth" (Ana al-Haqq), which his opponents interpreted as blasphemy but which later support failure of efforts such as the Camp David Accords to achieve the goal of Palestinian statehood.

Himself." This was the most extreme expression of mystical union with God in the history of Islamic mysticism.

In

November of 1987, the Arab League met in Amman, Jordan, and issued a statement identifying the export of Islamic revolution from Iran as the greatest threat to stability in the region. This was the first time the Arab League had not identified Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory as the major threat to regional stability. Feeling betrayed by the his first books and was given the sobriquet "the reader of international community and abandoned by fellow Arabs, hearts" (al-Hallaj al qulub). Between journeys he made his second pilgrimage to Mecca and met two noted shaykhs, the Brotherhood lost faith in the approach to the problem of aging Nuri and the young Shibli. In 904 he visited Jerusalem, Palestinian statelessness taken by that organization during praying in the Holy Sepulcher of Jesus, who in an earlier period he had proclaimed the Mahdi. At this time he also preached the idea of fulfilling the pilgrimage obligation outside Mecca by creating miniature Ka'bas in homes, which Islamist Palestinians came together at a meeting was raised against him as a transgression of sacred law at his trial. He preached openly against the tax scandals and political While the Palestinian Brotherhood's parent

A group of

called to

of HAMAS.

cal corruption linked to the weakened Caliphate, which organization, the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, continued finally resulted in his arrest, in the name of public order, to follow a quietist approach to achieving Palestinian goals, and long imprisonment (913–922). In 922 in Baghdad he HAMAS leaders were persuaded that militarism would be required was charged with heresy, flogged, gibbeted, and his body to achieve security for Palestinians. was burned.

In addition to distinguishing itself from its parent, the Masked as a legal trial for heresy, the death of Hallaj has Muslim Brotherhood, by insisting on the need for armed remained a controversial subject throughout subsequent resistance, HAMAS distinguishes itself from the PLO (Palestine Islamic history, and has become a dramatic theme of many tine Liberation Organization) in rejecting the right of the modern plays in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and English. Zionist entity (as it calls Israel) to exist because Israel denies Palestinians the rights of freedom and independence. Further Among his principal mystical ideas were total union with distinguishing itself from the PLO, HAMAS demands that an God and the Essence of Desire (ishq dhati), speech with God Islamic state be established in place of Israel or a secular (shath), the existence of substitute saints (abdal) for the whole Palestinian state. The basis of this position is the claim that community, the present witness (shahid ani) of the Eternal, Jerusalem and, by extension, all of Palestine, are waqf, that is, properties fraternal union of two souls (ittihad an-nafsayn), and the entrusted to Muslims to administer in perpetuity, outcry for justice (sayha bi l-haqq). for the benefit of society. HAMAS ideologues believe that an

290

Islam and the Muslim World

Harem

Islamic state is necessary to ensure the rights of all citizens, Yasin describes the movement as essentially political, in that Jews and Christians as well as Muslims, since Islamic law its goal is to secure the rights of Palestinians in their homeprotects the rights of religious minorities. Thus, the HAMAS land. Like other political movements, the significance of charter proclaims, “God is the goal, the Prophet is the model, HAMAS is based not so much on the number of its official the Qur an is the constitution, jihad is the path, and death on members as on the popularity of its political agenda. The God’s path is our most sublime aspiration.” popularity of HAMAS among Palestinians is impossible to

measure precisely without general elections. However, elec-
The spiritual leader of HAMAS, Shaykh Ahmad Yasin (b. tions among
students in Palestinian universities indicate that
1936), was leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza and by the
mid-1990s, HAMAS had the second-largest following,
founder of Gaza's Islamic Center. He sought to establish after
FATAH (harakat al-tahrir al-watani al-filastini, the larg-
HAMAS as an alternative to the PLO. HAMAS, therefore, est
organization in the PLO). While the popularity of milidevotes the majority of
its budget to an array of social tant Islamic groups in general was
declining slightly by the
services. These include support for the families of slain, end of the
1990s, that trend was reversed following Israel's
jailed, or exiled activists; health centers; kindergartens and withdrawal
from southern Lebanon in 2000. Without clear
other schools; mosques; and mediation services (a common benefits to
the majority of Palestinians from the 1993 Oslo
form of civil conflict resolution in Arab societies). Its military Accords,
and in the context of stalled negotiations between
activities, which it considers legitimate resistance to Israel's Israel
and the PLO, the claim that militant Islam had defeated
military occupation which is in violation of UN Security Israel in
Lebanon and could do so in Palestinian territories as
Council Resolutions 242 and 338, are conducted by an armed well became
believable to some.

wing called Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, named after a
Palestinian hero killed by the British during its "Mandate"
Because of its military activities and political positions,
occupation of Palestine in 1936. HAMAS is
banned in Israel. Many of its members have been
arrested or deported, and a number of its leaders have been
The ability of HAMAS to provide its services depends assassinated.
HAMAS was designated a terrorist organization
upon its funding, which is both local and international. by the
United States in 1995, and contributing to it was
Internal funding comes from the Islamic charity offering, prohibited
by the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penzakat. Support also comes from
Muslim governments, such as alty Act (Pub. Law 104-132) of April
1996.
those of Saudi Arabia and Iran, from Islamic organizations
throughout the world, as well as remittances from Muslims See also
Arab League; Fundamentalism; Intifada;
living abroad. Lebanon;
Majlis; Martyrdom; Terrorism.

Organizationally, HAMAS is linked to the Muslim Broth-
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erhood. According to the HAMAS charter of August 1988, it is a wing of the Muslim Brotherhood Society in Palestine. Its Ziad. Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad. Bloomington: activities are coordinated by liaisons between Gaza, the West Indiana University Press, 1994.

Bank, Jordan, and HAMAS leaders living abroad. Its leadership structure is informal, with several founders and ideologues. Mithaq harakat al-muqawama al-Islamiyya (Hamas) [Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)], n.p., 18

Shaykh Yasin remains the acknowledged spiritual leader, but August 1988.

specific decisions are taken by a consultative council (majlis al-shura) with a flexible membership. This structure is in Rashad, Ahmad. Hamas: Palestinian Politics with an Islamic accordance with the traditional Sunni Islamic model, and is Hue. Anandale, Va.: United Association for Studies and Research, 1993.

effective in allowing the organization to survive the incarceration and exile of its leaders from time to time. Schiff, Ze ev and Ehud Ya ari. Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising—Israel's Third Front. New York: Simon and HAMAS is most notorious for its use of suicide bombings Schuster, 1989.

in its armed struggle against Israel, targeting both military personnel and civilians. Both suicide and the targeting of Tamara Sonn

civilians are forbidden by Islamic law. Both have been condemned by major Islamic scholars since the attacks against America on 11 September 2001. However, many religious scholars make an exception to the prohibition of suicide in HAREM the case of the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation, provided the victims of the attacks are military personnel. The practice of the harem (Ar., harim), or the seclusion of women, dates back to the pre-Islamic period. The root h-r-m The HAMAS charter describes the organization as the also refers to al-haram al-sharif, the sanctuary of Mecca as the resistance wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, and therefore a reserved space for Muslims. The form harem connotes a part of an international movement. At the same time, Shaykh sacred and inviolable space, which is forbidden to any men,

Islam and the Muslim World

Haron, Abdullah

other than the members of the immediate family. Its institu- subservience of these females became necessary. For this

tion and derivate forms have been common in the Middle East was in the best interest of the masters to institute a Eastern and Mediterranean cultures as an integral part of seclusion and rigid privacy for the females. royal and upper-class families. For outsiders, the “imagined harem” came to represent Culturally, the Mesopotamian, Greek antiquity, and Per-subjugated treatment of women in Islamic sian societies shared in common the practice of the harem. civilization. This harem discourse emerged in the seven- While women were confined to their quarters, men enjoyed century after the Europeans discovered harems filled the privilege of engaging in the public sphere. This segrega- The explicit connection between the “imagined tion also marked a labor division based on sexual difference; the status of women in Muslim society and Islam females were responsible for the management of the house- generally produced and reproduced by the European hold, whereas males served as head of the family and were in the two centuries following the colonization of responsible for public affairs. As the women’s role was limited the Muslim lands. This harem element shifted the medieval to managing the house, their presence in the public sphere discourse on Muslim women, which previously portrayed was also regulated through a manner of dress that rendered them as victimized, yet powerful in charm and deceit. them invisible from public gaze. Historically, followers of Judaism and Christianity also secluded women. For example, Stimulated by the translation from the Arabic of the folk in the early Jewish family, where gender relations varied, Thousand and One Nights, the “imagined harem” women were nonetheless confined to a private sphere in produced narratives of Muslim women whose sexual desire which they performed household duties for the family as well was strong, yet subordinated, oppressed, veiled, and seas religious rites. In the early Christian era, women were cluded. These harem narratives circulated in the eighteenth often secluded within their own residence, guarded by eunuchs, and nineteenth centuries, functioning not only to feed the and required to be veiled when they left the home. These Orientalist imaginary of the harem, but also to serve the practices found their way into the caliphate as the Abbasids superiority of imperialist power over the Muslim world. conquered the lands inhabited by the dominant Christian and Jewish cultures, and so the elite female members of the The harem as a social institution for women in the Muslim Abbasid caliphate were secluded within their own quarters

reason, it

severe

the abased and

teenth

with women.

harem” and

was

Orientalists

story The

world, especially in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia, called “harem.” The institution of harem flourished in Muslim societies during the successive invasions and conquests of not because Muslims discovered that it was incompatible with the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions, Africa, and Islam, but because they lost control over their land and India. The conquest of Persia during the Sassanian times led politics.

to the assimilation of Persian culture, especially in the garrison towns. This conquest and the subsequent expansion of

See also Gender; Marriage; Purdah.

the Muslim territory provided Muslim dynasties with the opportunity to own, inherit, and capture prisoners of wars, including eunuchs, slaves, and minors, as well as the wives of royal families. For example, the Abbasid nobles and leaders Leila. Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a adopted the Persian custom of the ownership of hundreds Debate. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University and thousands of concubines and slaves. Muslim dynasties 1992.

and the notables maintained a harem as a part of their palaces. Fatima. Dreams of Trespass: Tales of A Harem Girlhood. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Com-

The inclusion of the harem fit well with the societal structure adopted from the Irano-Semitic culture in its Islamic form, called the a yan-amir system. In this form of administration, the “notables” (a yan) of the towns and villages and

Etin Anwar

the umara (leaders or commanders) of local or regional garrison courts shared power and authority. Within this web of social relationships, individual social status depended on the male’s ability to settle formal quarrels among the tribes or

factions and to invite sexual jealousy. The patterns of feuding and sex relations with numerous concubines marked masculine honor and worthiness in society. These masculine traits of Muslim involvement in the antiapartheid

belonged exclusively to the notables (the a yan) and the commanders/leaders (the umara). As the masculine honor and died there in 1969, a victim of apartheid’s

within the a yan system depended heavily on the honor of police. He attended a Muslim school in the city and wives, concubines, and female slaves, the total control and the spent two years as a devotee of a shaykh in Mecca.

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HARON,

ABDULLAH (1924–1969)

Abdullah

and a symbol

struggle.

that city

security

as a youth

Hasan

On his return to South Africa he studied under respected After the death of his father, Ali bin Talib, the first imam, Mu awiya local scholars. In 1955 he was appointed to the position of became caliph. According to the Shi ite account, Hasan should imam at a mosque in a Cape Town suburb. He was a keen have succeeded his father. Hasan was an imporsportsman and played rugby and cricket even after he became tant rawi (reciter) and interpreter of the hadith and sunna imam. He concentrated on social issues and established an (sayings and practices) of the Prophet and his Companions, organization devoted to making Islam meaningful to youth in reflecting the role of the imams in having access also to the South Africa. He was the first editor of Muslim News, an divine meanings of revelation. But Hasan was too weak influential weekly among the country's Muslims. politically to challenge Mu awiya for the leadership of the community. After Mu awiya attempted to have him assasinated, As apartheid rule intensified the imam was among a small and many of his followers abandoned him, Hasan came to an group of Muslims that explored ways to challenge the state understanding with Mu awiya, wherein Hasan was sent to live in Medina, from an Islamic basis. But Abdullah Haron also believed in a while Mu awiya promised that leadership would revert to the united front of the oppressed against racial domination. He family of the Prophet upon his death. But Mu awiya grew close to members of the then proscribed Pan-African broke his promise by appointing his son Yazid to succeed him, Congress. On his travels to the Middle East he met exiled imam. In and convinced Ja da, Hasan's wife, to poison the South Africans and spoke out against apartheid to Arab to marry her addition to paying Ja da, Mu awiyya also promised audiences and leaders, including King Faysal of Saudi Arabia. to his son and heir, Yazid. The giving of poisoned In September 1969 he was reported dead in detention, the on the water is the inverse of the denial of water to Husayn eighteenth political detainee to die in police custody in the battlefield of Karbala, where the third imam was martyred by 1960s. During the 1980s, in the last wave of rebellion and the forces of Yazid. Imam Husayn's revolt subsequently resistance to the apartheid state, his memory and image were disgraced Yazid, and created in him the archetypal figure of revived as a symbol of Islam's stand against injustice. He evil in Shi ite stories of injustice.

became better known and more revered as a martyr than when he was alive. This parable structure is also encoded in a hadith quoted by Mohammad Baqer Majlesi, the preeminent mujtahed of See also Africa, Islam in; Modern Thought. the seventeenth century. On Id al-Fitr, according to the hadith, Gabriel descended with a gift of new white clothes for BIBLIOGRAPHY each of the Prophet's grandsons. The Prophet said that the Desai, Barney, and Marney, Cardiff. The Killing of the Imam. grandsons were used to colored clothes. So Gabriel asked London: Quartet Books, 1978. each boy what color he wanted. Hasan chose green, Husayn Donaldson, Dwight M. The Shi'ite Religion. New York: AMS red. While the clothes were being dyed, Gabriel wept. He Press, 1984. explained: Hasan's choice of green meant that he would be martyred by poisoning, and his body would turn green, and Haron, Muhammed. "Imam Abdullah Haron: Life, Ideas Husayn's choice of red meant he would be martyred and his and Impact." Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986. blood would turn the ground red.

Momen, Moojan. An Introduction to Shi'ism: The History Hasan is buried in Medina with a green banner on his and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism. Oxford, U.K.: George mausoleum. Husayn is buried in Karbala with a red banner, Ronald, 1985. the sign of a martyr whose revenge is yet to come.

Shamil Jeppie Sunni accounts of early Islamic history deny that Hasan was poisoned, claiming he died of consumption. Sunni accounts also stress the temporary shift of power to Damascus under Mu'awiya and Yazid, but since revenues came mainly HASAN (624–670) from Iraq, power eventually shifted to Baghdad.

Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib was the grandson of the prophet For Shi'a, Hasan's story is a precursor to Husayn's martyrdom, which Muhammad and the second Shi'ite imam. Born in Medina in is the overarching cosmic and paradigmatic 624, three years after the hijra, he died at age forty-six in story of existential tragedy, of injustice in this world triumphing Medina in 670. In Shi'ite parables he and his brother Husayn, often by force over justice, and of the duty of a true Muslim to the third imam, are figured as two alternative political strate- sacrifice himself, to witness for truth and justice.

gies against injustice in the world and in politics. Hasan embodies the path of patience, which allows the enemy slowly to demonstrate unworthiness and lose any claim to legitimacy. Husayn embodies the path of armed revolt.

Michael M. J. Fischer

Islam and the Muslim World

293

Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar

term refers to a heritage consisting of two distinctive categories of medicine. First, there was what might be termed Islamic folk medicine, which existed among the populace throughout the Muslim world. Folk medicine did not enjoy the blessings of the ruling elite and is still very often dismissed as sheer quackery. Second, there was what might be termed Islamic state-sanctioned medicine. This category was the pride of the Islamic empire and enjoyed lucrative support from the Muslim ruling elite, particularly during the golden age of the Islamic empire (seventh to thirteenth centuries). Rafsanjani was one of the exiled Khomeini's chief agents, opposed to the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, and was arrested on several occasions. He spent three years in prison (1975–1977). Upon the overthrow of the shah in 1979, Rafsanjani was appointed to the Revolutionary Council. His Islamic folk medicine derives its legitimacy from its claim to loyalty to Khomeini, combined with political skills, resulted in his elevation to the leadership of the Iranian parliament. This claim is corroborated by frequent use of Qur'anic verses, prophetic prescriptions, and the wisdom of saints and imams. It should be noted here that exceptionally few passages in the Qur'an related directly to healing and medication. Prophet Muhammad made no claim to be an authority in medicine and most of his relevant speeches correspond with what was

(1989–1997) and declared a plan of economic reform, known as an “adjustment program,” that included unifying exchange rates, privatizing the economy, and canceling subsidies. Rafsanjani kept Iran from direct involvement in hostilities during the Persian Gulf War in 1991. After the war he continued to carve out a middle ground between his more conservative religious colleagues’ calls for Iranian insularity and his own inclination toward oligarchic modernization. He exist, such as al-Tibb al-Nabawi (Prophetic medicine) with Middle Eastern neighbors and the countries of Europe. Rafsanjani was accused by a term prophetic medicine—a genre of medical writings intended as alternatives to the exclusively Greek-based system derived from Galen—do not stand up to any scholarly Rafsanjani was reelected to the presidency in 1993 but stepped down in 1997 and became the leader of the Expediency Council after completing his second term as president. this class of medicine as essentially a Bedouin craft that has no divine revelation and thus cannot be obligatory under religious laws.

See also Iran, Islamic Republic of; Revolution: Revolution in Iran.

Barely literate practitioners dominate Islamic folk medicine, serving primarily illiterate masses. Far from being a weakness, this made it more flexible and hence accommodating to the diverse cultures of the Islamic empire. The result is a craft that varies with cultures while retaining some degree of harmony within each. Many of these diverse cultures did no

HEALING

more than adapt their new medical creed to their original etiology and treatment of disease. It is a hazardous task to attempt to offer a summary of Islamic medicine and healing and to map the contribution of the Four categories are identified in Islamic folk medicine as Islamic empire to human civilization. The Islamic empire major causes of disease: sorcery, the evil eye, jinn, and adverse

covered a wide territory stretching from the western shores of routine conditions (e.g., adverse weather, food problems, Europe to the Indian subcontinent to the former Soviet states accidents, etc.). Holy power represents a primary source of in Asia. The Islamic empire maintained unchallenged authority in medicine for over six centuries. This entry offers medicine for all categories of disease except the last. Holy brief synopses of this history. power is often manifested in combinations of Qur'anic verses and magical formulas in various forms: Qur'anic verses that Islamic scholars have referred to the medicine that existed are worn on the body or drunk; direct recitation from a holy person; within the bounds of the Islamic empire as "Islamic." The person; an object from a holy site and saintly tombs; and so on.

294

Islam and the Muslim World

Healing

Islamic Medicine truth—and it would be futile to even attempt to map out this In general, the contribution of the Islamic empire to modern vast contribution. medicine is often underrated in the West. More often than Almost every field of modern medicine has a founding not, Western scholars have overlooked Islam's true contribution to human civilization. A Eurocentric outlook affects even "prince of physicians," left behind more than a million words the most authoritative scholars in the field. However, more in medical documents. His contribution to science in general, recent scholarship shows that medieval Muslim physicians but medicine in particular, can also be found in his methodology, which insisted on the use of reason alone to solve all Greece, Persia, and India that passed through their hands. In medical problems. reviewing medieval Islamic medicine, one should be wary of creating false impressions. The Islamic empire was more Ibn Haytham (965–1039 C.E.) made great strides in optics, welcoming for non-Muslims than is popularly imagined in earning the nickname "father of optics." He also made a broad the West. In fact, many of its famous doctors were Jews (Musa paradigmatic shift in the pursuit of science, which he centered around the use of inductive reasoning in the search for knowledge. Experimentation—the backbone of modern

Razi / Rhazes, 841–925 C.E.; ibn Sina /Avicenna, 980–1037 science—is what he preached in his approach to medicine. C.E.). Moreover, the term “Islamic medicine” disguises a

fundamental aspect of this class of medicine. Namely, that it Sinan ibn Thabit (died 946 C.E.) earned a good reputation was not based on Islamic teachings. Instead, it simply existed, in both the Arab world and later in the West. He contributed and prospered within that cultural space that the empire significantly to the art of presenting medical teaching books. Moreover, he was instrumental in establishing a regulatory afforded.

system of medical control, examination, and registration of In its technological advancement, and to its credit, the doctors and formulating ethical rules to govern medical Islamic empire did not attempt to reinvent the wheel. Start- practice. ing from where others stopped is now a central tenet of Another figure who made an immense contribution to the modern science. The empire was fortunate that the wealth of art of medical writing is Ali ibn al- Abbas al-Majusi (died Greek philosophy was already at its doorstep. Up to the sixth between 982 and 995 C.E.). He was distinguished by his century, Alexandria and Athens stood as rival centers of influential style of presenting medical facts with clarity, medical learning. Persia was the new flourishing abode for lucidity, and freedom from both magical and astrological scientists following the expulsion of the “heathen philoso- ideas of the past. Al-Majusi had a a wealth of knowledge that phers” from Athens and Alexandria (527–565 C.E.). Khalid ibn spanned several branches of medicine, but is legendary for his Yazid (655–704 C.E.) was unquestionably the first emir who illustrated thesis on the movement of the blood in the laid the foundation for the translation of Greek works into human body. Arabic. Following its fall under Muslim rule in 641, Alexandria proved to be a rich repository of Greek manuscripts. A The Islamic empire inherited a medical system in which century later, caliph al-Mansur reinvigorated Baghdad as a surgery was regarded as an inferior branch of medicine, if it center of knowledge enshrined in the famous Institute of was ever a part of it at all. Abu 'l-Qasim al-Zahrawi (936–1013 Wisdom (Bayt al-Hikma). Scholars were enticed to convert C.E.) elevated surgery to a primary position in medicine.

foreign manuscripts appropriated from the city of Junde- Ample literature attests to his successful clinical treatment of Shappur (in Persia) into Arabic. This city provided a vast bone fractures, bladder lithotomies, hemorrhoids, hernia, wealth of Latin manuscripts in addition to equal numbers of wounds to the

abdomen, tonsillectomies, and many other ailments that other documents of Indian and Chinese origin. The Christians required surgery. The contribution of Islamic medicine was also impressive (died 857 C.E.), who was a personal physician for four caliphs, was in charge of this establishment. Other no less famous centers of sublimation. Many drugs now in use in modern medicine knowledge and translation followed and were abundant across the Islamic empire from the Persian Gulf to the European Atlantic borders. It has often been argued that Islamic medicine was crippled by Islam's attitudes toward dissection. These attitudes Early scholarship tended to portray the contribution of the Islamic empire to world medicine as no more than that of mutilation. It is true that Prophet Muhammad a diligent storekeeper. In other words, that no original his followers to respect the dead, foes and friends contribution was made during the vibrant era of the Islamic avoid mutilation. He also instructed his followers empire (seventh to thirteenth century) when the Christian burial of their dead, a practice that is favored to world was dormant. Nothing could be further from the the Muslim world. It is conceivable that following

Islam and the Muslim World

295

Heresies

such commands would have made dissection or indeed autopsy a compromising practice. One must realize that such organized medical school in Europe. In his visit to prohibition was issued in tandem with other prescriptions merchant, Constantinus was appalled by the poverty accompanying jihad wars and was designed to oppose excessive knowledge in Italy. He decided to go back to sive revenge and humiliation of slain enemies. While few three years to study medicine and bring worththeologians might have opted to extend this prohibition to while knowledge to his new abode. That he did with specthe practice of medicine, the ban has never been a central tacular success and he was later to rank among the most issue in debating the advancement of medicine. The Muslim translators of his time. These medical centers proved philosopher and theologian al-Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.) did

sources of information and were replicated in other exactly the opposite when he hailed anatomy as an important European cities. For many years to come, the same sources of branch of medicine, stating “whoever does not know astron- knowledge were used in the other European schools, which omy and anatomy is deficient in the knowledge of God.” mushroomed in Seville, Montpellier, Paris, Padua, Bologna, Indeed many of the prime pillars of Islamic medicine have left and elsewhere. While many texts of Arab origin continued in writings and narratives as evidence of their practice in the use in these European medical schools throughout the Mid- field of tashrih (dissection or anatomy). To name but a few, dle Ages, names of their Arab authors continued to be filtered the list includes Rhazes, Masawayh, al-Zahrawi, and Avicenna. out through translation or otherwise.

It is important to note that not every religious prohibition was zealously observed, particularly by the powerful. After all, See also Medicine; Miracles; South Asian Culture and the prohibition against alcohol was flouted even in the palaces Islam; Southeast Asian Culture and Islam.

of the emirs. The biggest obstacle against dissection was possibly the Arabian weather. In the absence of modern BIBLIOGRAPHY methods of refrigeration, it would take much more determi- El-Tom, Abdullahi Osman. “Drinking the Koran: The Meannation to handle a cadaver hours if not days after death. It has ing of Koranic Verses in Berti Erasure.” *Africa* 55, no. 4 often been argued that Islamic medicine was no more than a (1985): 414–431.

theoretical exercise that was not translated into practice. Savage-Smith, Emilie. “Attitudes Toward Dissection in Medie- Nothing could be further from the truth as most major val Islam.” *Journal of History of Medicine* 50 (1995): 67–110.

Islamic cities had their medical establishments, which were similar to modern teaching hospitals that combine healing Ullman, Manfred. *Islamic Surveys II: Islamic Medicine*. Edinwith training. D. L. Wright narrates that hospitals were burgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978.

established in the Arab world as early as the seventh century; Wright, D. L. “Medicine in the Golden Ages of Islam—The that in the thirteenth century, al-Mansuri’s hospital in Cairo Islamic Legacy.” *The Journal of Kuwait Medical Association* had four large quadrangles complete with fountains. The 20, no. 1 (1994): 98–103.

same hospital had wards for male and female patients, a library, a lecture hall, and a mosque. Such a hospital could Abdullahi Osman El-Tom

indeed be the envy of modern hospitals in the modern

Muslim world. In 1160 C.E., Baghdad city had some sixty dispensaries and infirmaries.

HERESIES See Heresiography;

Early Islamic and Modern World Medicine

Kharijites,

Khawarij

The eleventh century saw Europe just beginning to awake from its long period of oblivion. It was Europe that was behind the Arabs in every field. The march to regain supremacy in medicine began with the rebuilding of knowledge, most of which was available only in Arabic scripts. In 1085, Toledo of Spain was won back from the Arabs and was soon HERESIOGRAPHY

to house the School of Translation founded by Domenicus

Gundissalinus (1020–1087). Other scholars were also com-

Heresiography is, literally, the writing of and about heresies.

missioned, most notably Gerard of Lombardy (joined 1150), It is,

however, an extremely relative term as one group's

who translated hundreds of Arabic works, including the heresy is

ultimately another's religion. Those who write

masterpieces of Rhazes and Avicenna. about

heresies, known as heresiographers, are for the most

part engaged in the documentation of the errors and incor-

Italy, too, had its center (Salerno), which far exceeded rect beliefs of

other groups, which are often pejoratively

Toledo's establishment. It was the Tunisian-born scholar referred

to as "sects." However, as Jonathan Z. Smith argues,

Constantinus Africanus (1020–1087) who helped to realize "a

'theory of the other' is but another way of phrasing a

the European dream of ascending to supremacy in medical 'theory of

the self'" (p. 47). Heresiography, then, functions in

296

Islam and the Muslim World

Heresiography

two primary ways. First, it lists the perceived heretical doc- which the Prophet proclaims: "The Jews are divided into trines or ideas of others, showing how they have either gone seventy-one sects, the Christians into seventy-two; my comor been led astray; secondly, and most importantly, it allows munity will be divided into seventy-three sects." This tradithe group doing the writing to present what it is not, thereby tion seems to be the proof text for all subsequent attempts to providing the contours of social, ideological, religious and document and delineate the various heretical groups.

political self-definition.

Judaism and Heresy

Definition and Origin

In the

background of much Islamic heresiographical writings

The closest Arabic term for heresiography in Islam is al-milal	is the
monolithic category of “the Jews.” Wasserstrom claims,	
wa al-nihal, literally meaning “religions and sects.” The	for
instance, that Muslim heresies can often be traced back to	
origin of this phrase is unclear and both words, despite	a Jewish
origin. According to Islamic history, the Jews are the	
occurring separately in the Qur’an, do not seem to appear	archetypal
community that has gone astray. As such they are	
together as a technical term before the tenth century.	constantly
held up as an example of what must not happen to	
Shahrastani (d. 1153), one of the most famous medieval	the Muslim
community. Yet because Islam and Judaism had	
heresiographers, argues that milal (sing., milla) refer prima-	been in
contact with one another since the advent of Islam in	
reality to the parameters of a shared social or communal set of	the seventh
century, they were phenomenologically very	
beliefs, whereas its synonym din more closely approximates	similar. As
a result, much time is spent differentiating Islam	
what we would today call “religion.” Other sources, however,	and
Muslim teaching and dogma from that of the Jews.	
do not make such a sharp differentiation between these two	Moreover,
when the Muslim heresiographers look for interterms. In one of its earliest	
usages, that by Abu Bakr al-	nal divisions within Islam they tend to
blame it on a Jew or a	
Khwarizmi (d. c. 977), it is employed to denote religions	Jewish
convert to Islam. In many ways all heresies within	
other than those of ahl al-kitab (i.e., “the people of the Book,”	
Islam begin with the fact that Muhammad produced no male	
meaning followers of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity). The	
heirs, something that was generally blamed on Jewish magi-	
first time the phrase is employed in a title is in the Kitab al-Milal. Moreover,	
it was Jews that were said to be responsible	
milal wa al-nihal of al-Baghdadi (d. 1037). Other Arabic terms	
for the following “heresies”: the Christian decision to worship in Islamic	
heresiographical literature to designate heresies of Jesus, the ghulat (Shi’ite	
extremists), the Shi’ites, the	
sects include zandaqa (“free-thought,” or “atheism”) and ilhad	
Isma’ilis, the Fatimid dynasty, and one of the most divisive	
(“heresy,” or “heterodoxy”).	
theological issues in early Islam, that of the created Qur’an.	
The Muslims were extremely interested in documenting	
A common feature used in the literature associated with	
the religious beliefs and doctrines of other groups. They did	
heresiography is the list of sects and where they have gone	
so, however, not as dispassionate scientists or academics, but	
wrong. Such lists are, according to John Wansbrough, “sometimes as legal	
scholars, whose main job was to delineate and	

matic and based on a variety of propositions: (1) numerical (to establish the beliefs, and thus legal status, of other religious make up the celebrated total of ‘seventy-three sects’); (2) ad groups in order to determine both their taxation rates and rights under Islamic law (shari a). The basis for all their hominem (‘schools’ generated from the names of individuals categories of comparison, then, was not necessarily meant to by means of the nisba suffix [denoting origin or descent]); and be scholarly or anthropological in its own right, but rather it (3) doctrinal (divergent attitudes to specific problems).” Furwas grounded in the traditional sources of Islam (e.g., Qur an, thermore, despite the fact that Islam is generally considered hadith). Yet, both the breadth and depth of the taxonomies to be an orthoprax (“correct practice”) religion as opposed to that the Muslim heresiographers created were impressive. an orthodox (“correct belief”) one, heresiography is primarily According to Gustave von Grunebaum, “in their books on concerned with documenting the incorrect or heretical besects, or comparative religion, the research acumen of the liefs, as opposed to actions, of others. The goal is to show how Muslims shows at its best.” Precisely because so much of the such beliefs are to be differentiated from what is considered milal wa al-nihal literature deals with the collection and to be “normative,” which of course differs according to those subsequent listing of the beliefs of others, many modern doing the writing. Every Muslim group, then, is interested in scholars frequently refer to this genre as a genealogical showing how its belief system is “normative” and how that of precursor to the modern history of religions. its rivals is heretical. A common feature is that heretical belief is always something that deviates from, and is thus subse- Steven Wasserstrom locates the origins of this technical quent to, an original or pure teaching. For this reason heresy genre of literature in the eighth and ninth centuries, when in Islam is often synonymous with the charge of innovations Muslims increasingly encountered other, rival, monotheisms (bid a). in a highly “disputational, polemic, apologetic, and sectarian milieu.” Despite the ambiguity surrounding the origins of Muslim Heresiographers milal wa al-nihal as a technical term, the literature associated One of the most famous of Muslim heresiographers is the with it seems to be predicated on the following hadith, in Andalusian Ibn Hazm (994–1064), an important though

idiosyncratic legalist, philosopher, exegete, and polemicist. certain
 Islamist groups have issued blanket fatwas condemn-
 His al-Fisal fi al-milal wa al-ahwa wa al-nihal (The book of ing all
 Jews and Christians as enemies of Islam; yet other
 opinions on religions, heresies, and sects) offers an elaborate groups
 have employed fatwas to condemn the rulers of Arab
 account of all the religious groups that had ever come into countries
 as infidels. It should be noted, however, that many
 contact with Islam from the seventh century to his own day. who issue
 such controversial fatwas are often accused by those
 In addition to his extremely thorough historiographical in the
 mainstream of having insufficient credentials to do so.
 method, Ibn Hazm was also a zealous theologian who employed a literalist
 (zahiri) reading of the Qur'an and Islamic In recent times,
 heresiography has taken on even greater
 doctrine. His Fisal examines both the histories of various political
 and ideological dimensions, as it is used now as a
 groups, their offshoots, and their present status, thereby means of
 silencing one's perceived enemies. In many Islamic
 showing how they have changed or stayed the same over time. countries
 this is as easy as employing the concept of takfir, or
 For example, his treatment of the Jews is severe, accusing the accusing
 someone, often one's political opponent, of kufr
 rabbis who produced the Talmud of heresy and of intellectual
 ("unbelief"). A famous example of this in the 1990s was the
 skepticism. Interestingly, he accuses the rabbis of the same case of a
 University of Cairo professor by the name of Nasr
 heretical doctrine as the materialists of early Islamic theol- Hamid Abu
 Zayd. An Islamic moderate, he called for an
 ogy. This reveals a common theme in Islamic heresiography:
 understanding of the Qur'an and other early Islamic litera-
 Often one loosely labels a number of one's opponents with ture
 according to literary, contextual, and historical princithe same heretical
 doctrine. ples. In particular, he
 asked the question: What does the
 Qur'an as a document, and not necessarily as the sacred
 Ibn Hazm's goal, then, was not necessarily historical or scripture
 of Muslims, say about a given subject (e.g., human
 theological accuracy. He did not simply study religions for rights)?
 When Egyptian Islamists got wind of his academic
 their own sake; on the contrary, he attempts to demolish the work they
 accused him of heresy and began legal proceedings
 errors of others and, in the process, set Islam up as the most against
 him. An Egyptian high court, to the great surprise of
 perfect of all religions. As such, he is less interested in many,
 agreed and declared him an apostate. As a result Abu
 understanding other religions than in reducing them to Zayd was

ordered to divorce his wife and was effectively
certain dogmas or problems that allow him to compare them forced
out of Egypt. To this day he is a professor in the
with, often artificially, Islam. In short, Ibn Hazm knew what
Netherlands. This case is so interesting and problematic
his conclusions were before he ever set out to establish the because
it raises the nature of the tenuous relationship between premises of comparison.
between what is considered heretical,
the religious establishment, and, at least in theory, the autonomous nature of
the
Another famous heresiographer was the aforementioned court system
in Egypt.
Shahrastani, who wrote the *Kitab al-milal wa al-nihal*, which,
in his own words, proposed to present “the doctrinal opinions
Heresiography is, thus, instrumental in defining not only
of all the world’s people.” Like the work of Ibn Hazm, the
parameters of what is considered to be normative for a
Shahrastani is interested not only in documenting the vari- religion,
but is also employed by the various groups that
ous religious groups both in his day and before, but also
constitute that religion. Heresiography has been used, in one
in examining the various doctrines of the philosophers. way or
another, since the advent of Islam in seventh-century
Shahrastani divides his book into two parts, with the first Arabia.
At that time, it helped to differentiate Islam from rival
dealing with revealed religions that base their obedience on a
monotheisms in the area of the Hijaz. Gradually, however, it
book (e.g., Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians), and the second was
employed as a genre to help establish “normative Islam”
examining the doctrines that are of purely human origins by
showing how various “sects” had gone astray in terms of
(e.g., the Sabians, philosophers, and the pre-Islamic Arabians). their
beliefs. So although one uses heresiography as a way of
showing who is “inside” and who is “outside” one’s group, as a
Function of Heresiography genre it
often tells us more about the “in” group than it does
Heresiography was, and still continues to be, used as a means about
anyone else.
of legitimating the ideology—whether political, religious,
legal, or other—of the group defining what constitutes the See
also *Bid a*; *Hadith*; *Hallaj*, al-; *Historical Writing*;
“real Islam.” In recent years this has coincided with the Islam
and Other Religions; *Kalam*; *Qur an*; *Shari a*.
increased use of the fatwa, a legal ruling that is given by a legal
expert. Such legal experts need not occupy official positions,
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but they are generally recognized for their legal learning and Brann,

Ross. Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and
 acumen. More recently, fatwas have become a convenient
 Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain.
 vehicle employed by various groups, many of whom are
 Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
 marginal, as a way of condemning the beliefs and practices of
 Grunebaum, Gustave E., von. Medieval Islam. Chicago: Univgroups, Islamic or not,
 with differing opinions. For example, versity of Chicago Press, 1969.

298

Islam and the Muslim World

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HIJRI CALENDAR

Aaron Hughes There is no reference in the Qur an to the pre-Islamic
 system

of anwa in which the year is divided into precise periods on
 the basis of the rising and setting of certain stars. According to
 tradition, this system was considered anathema in Islam. The

HIJAB See Veiling most

relevant Qur anic allusion to calendar-related computation is to the stations
 of the moon (manazil al-qamar, 10:5,
 36:39). There are twenty-eight such stations defined on the
 basis of a combination of the pre-Islamic system of anwa with

the lunar stations system.

HIJRA

The official Islamic calendar is lunar, with year one

In 622 C.E. the Meccan prophet Muhammad immigrated to coinciding with the year 622 C.E., the date of Muhammad's Yathrib, later known as Medina (al-nabi), on the invitation of migration (hijra) from Mecca to Medina. This calendar was a group of Arabs from that town. This event is termed hijra. adopted during the reign of the second caliph Umar. The Having sent his adherents ahead, Muhammad secretly followed with Abu Bakr b. Quhafa, leaving Ali b. Abi Talib in official months (ahilla, new moons), and for determining the his (Muhammad's) bed, to deceive the Meccans who sought dates for important religious activities such as fasting and to kill him. On the way they stopped at a cave on Mount pilgrimage. The lunar months alternate between twenty-nine Thaur, where a spider's web, spun across the entrance, fooled and thirty days, and the lunar month retrogrades yearly by the Meccans into not looking within (Q. 9:40). Here, according about eleven days.

Although the beginning of the lunar ing to Sufi tradition, the Prophet taught Abu Bakr the secrets month is determined by sighting the new moon, numerous of silent remembrance, dhikr-e khafi, which earned Abu Bakr methods were developed to compute the exact length of the the title Yar-e ghar, friend of the cave.

lunar months, to determine the days of the lunar year in Hijra has also been interpreted to mean "the breaking of relation to the solar year, and to perform calendar conversion ties," cutting off the era of knowledge from the previous sions between different eras. era of ignorance (jahiliyya). The caliph Umar b. al-Khattab, establishing an Islamic calendar, chose this event as its start- Initially, folk astronomy and nonscientific traditions providing point. Muhammad reached Medina in September 622. provided handy methods for solving problems related to the

The calendar opens with the first month of the Arabic lunar regulation of the lunar calendar and the determination of the year in June 622 and proceeds without intercalation for a 354- times of prayer. Folk astronomical methods, such as the day year in keeping with the lunar months. observation of the lunar crescent and the use of simple arithmetical shadow schemes, were used even after the intro-

Hijra is based on the root h-j-r, the root of the name duction and dissemination of sophisticated scientific meth-

Hagar, the concubine of Abraham; the term Mahagraye was ods. A more mathematical approach to timekeeping developed used by Christian sources to describe the Arab-Muslims, the as Muslims

acquired and developed skills in mathematical
 descendants of Hagar. Muhajirun is the Arabic term given to astronomy.
 Although the computations of astronomers may
 those who emigrated from Mecca with the Prophet. have
 initially been appreciated only by a small group of

Islam and the Muslim World

299

Hijri Calendar

Hijri calendar

The diagram shows approximate dates for 1996.

Year 2

Muharra

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7

1 2

Sa

6

far

Key

Muhar

- l- H i j j a

ram

1 Muharram

5 Id al-Fitr

D hu

2 Festival of Ashura

6 8–13 Dhu-l-Hijja

a da

May

Sa

3 Beginning of Ramadan

7 Id

al-Adha

-Q

Jun

r il

4 Lailat al-Qadr

8 Mawlid al-Nabi

l

far

Ap

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Ju

al

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Ma

Shaww

R a b i

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August

February

SOLAR CALENDAR

DATES FOR 2003

4

- Id

al-Adha (Festival of Sacrifice), 12–15 February 2003

ad a n

Rabi

Sep

- Al-Hijra (New Year's Day),

4 March 2003

Ashura, 13 March 2003

Ram

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te m

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- The prophet Muhammad's Birthday (20 August 570 CE),

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Ja

14 May 2003

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Oc

- Lailat al-Isra Wal Mi raj (The Prophet's Night Journey to

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Jerusalem & Ascension), 21 September 2003

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November Dec

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Sh

I a

- Lailat al-Bara h (Night of Forgiveness), 14 October 2003

J um

- Ramadan

(month of fasting) 27 October–25 November 2003

Rajab

a d a II

- Lailat al-Qadr (Night of Power), 23 November 2003
- Id al-Fitr, 25 November 2003

SOURCE: Breuilly, Elizabeth; O'Brien, Joanne; and Palmer, Martin. Religions of the World. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1997.

The Hijri calendar is normally 344 days, making it eleven days shorter than the Solar calendar.

scientists, their methods eventually supplanted the simple various times of the year. Another problem of timekeeping methods of folk astronomy. The establishment of the office that was addressed in various astronomical treatises is the of a mosque timekeeper (muwaqqit) illustrates the official problem of crescent visibility. The lunar month starts right recognition, by the religious institution, of the authority of after sunset with the sighting of the crescent. The visibility of the exact-scientific methods of astronomers in the fields of this crescent, however, is itself a function of several variables, calendar computation and the determination of times of prayer. including the celestial coordinates of the sun and the moon, the latitude of the place where the crescent is sighted, and the With the rise of the office of the timekeeper in the brightness of the sky. Various methods were devised to thirteenth century, the technical knowledge of the astronomer determine the conditions under which the crescent would be mers became more accessible because the compilation of visible. extensive tables made the results of the exact-mathematical methods more readily usable. The science of timekeeping See also Astronomy. (ilm al-miqat) was thus an area of investigation where religion and science intersected.

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include hundreds of thousands of entries. In contrast to the Islamic Exact Sciences. Edited by David A. King and earlier Greek sources, Islamic astronomical handbooks often Mary Hellen Kennedy. Beirut: American University of started with discussions of calendar computations and con- Beirut, 1983. versions between different eras (for example, Persian, Coptic, King, David. *Astronomy in the Service of Islam*. Aldershot, Syriac, Chinese-Ughur, Jewish, and Hindu calendars). In Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum, 1993. addition to the basic computational techniques, numerous works also provide additional information covering calendar- King, David. *Islamic Mathematical Astronomy*. Aldershot, Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum, 1993. related subjects such as the length of day and night; patterns of weather and wind; dates and descriptions of Christian, Jewish, and Indian festivals; and agricultural practices at

Ahmad S. Dallal

300

Islam and the Muslim World Hinduism and Islam

al-Islam (Paths of Islam) is probably the most popular work HIKMA, BAYT AL- See Education of Shi ite law among later commentators, and represents Muhaqqiq's most lasting influence on subsequent Shi ite tradition. It belongs to the type of work known as abridged (mukhtasar), in which an author presents his interpretation of the shari'a in a highly abbreviated form. This style made the HILLI, ALLAMA AL- (1250–1325) work an excellent basis for later discussions of the law, even though subsequent jurists did not always agree with his Allama al-Hilli was a Twelver Shi ite jurist and theologian conclusions. His other mukhtasar, an even more abbreviated based in Hilla in southern Iraq. Hasan b. Yusuf al-Hilli is legal compendium entitled al-Nafi' (The useful), was also the credited with establishing a set of Twelver theological and subject of commentaries by later generations of scholars. He legal ideas that dominated subsequent Shi ite learning. Bioalso wrote an influential work of the principles of jurisprugraphical sources list around five hundred works attributed to dence (Ma'arij al-ahkam), which one also finds regularly cited him, though some of these are undoubtedly chapters within

in later works. In particular, Ja far al-Muhaqqiq introduced works or short treatises. Those that have survived form an impressive oeuvre encompassing theology, jurisprudence, known with absolute certainty, for the texts are not always and biography (rijal). In his theological works and creed clear and the reports from the Prophet and the imams are not commentaries, he argued, primarily from logic and reason, always reliable. Such doctrinal advances paved the way for the for all the main Twelver doctrines. This extensive use of full elaboration of these concepts by his nephew and pupil, alreason rather than traditional textual sources was to be the

Allama al-Hilli (d. 1325). Other famous pupils include varidominant mode of theological discourse in Twelver Shi ism

ous members of the influential Ibn Tawus family.

from Allama onward. His legal works were the subject of much commentary and in legal theory (usul al-fiqh), he

Hilli, Allama al-; Law; Shi a: Imami (Twelver).

showed extensive originality by incorporating the previously disparaged term ijtihad into Shi ite jurisprudence. His bio-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

graphical work is a comprehensive dictionary of early Shi ite transmitters of the imam's doctrines. He soon outshone his

Norman. "Doubt and Prerogative: The Emergence

teachers, who included such luminaries as Nasir al-Din al-

Shi i Theory of Ijtihad." *Studia Islamica* 70

(1989) 57–78.

Tusi (d.1274) and al-Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d.1277). Hilli also had some relations with political powers, and is credited with

Devin. *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: The Twelver Shiite*

the conversion of the Ilkhanid sultan Khudabanda of Iran to

to the Sunni Legal System. Salt Lake City: Univer-

Twelver Shi ism.

Utah Press, 1998.

See also

Calder,

of an Imami

Stewart,

Responses

sity of

See also Hilli, Muhaqqiq al-; Law; Shi a: Imami

Robert Gleave

(Twelver).

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HINDUISM

AND ISLAM

and Ijtihad." In *Authority and Political Culture in Shi ism*.

Edited by S. A. Arjomand. Albany: State University of

between these two great religious traditions

New York Press, 1988.

in South Asia is

often characterized as one of civilizational or

Calder, Norman. "Doubt and Prerogative: The Emergence

cultural

The relationship

clashes, confrontations, and discontinuities. Popular of an Imami Shi'i Theory of Ijtihad." *Studia Islamica* 70 accounts of South Asia's religious history often juxtapose (1989): 57–78. Hinduism's tolerance of diversity, innate spirituality, and Stewart, Devin. *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: The Twelver Shi'ite rootedness in the Indian soil with Islam's doctrinal rigidity, Responses to the Sunni Legal System*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998. innate militancy, and foreignness. Such essentializations, which gained ascendancy during the era of British imperialism, fail to recognize that, as complex social and cultural Robert Gleave phenomena, religions undergo historical change. A critical assessment of the relationships between Hinduism and Islam accounts for multiple histories involving subtle encounters, exchanges, and conversions, as well as overt confrontation HILLI, MUHAQQIQ AL- (1205–1277) and conflict. A more accurate and multifaceted range of perspectives emerges, reflecting the ways in which Hinduism Muhaqqiq al-Hilli Ja'far b. al-Hasan was a Twelver Shi'ite and Islam interact with each other, and with other social, jurist based in Hilla, southern Iraq. Al-Muhaqqiq's Shari'ah cultural, and political formations in South Asia through time.

Islam and the Muslim World

301

Hinduism and Islam

A Demographic Overview

Today there are an estimated 1.2 billion Muslims, one-third of whom live in South Asia—mainly in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Indeed, there are as many Muslims in South Asia as there are in the Middle East and North Africa combined. The majority of South Asian Muslims come from indigenous ethnic populations. Muslims constitute clear majorities in Pakistan (96%) and Bangladesh (87%), while in India and Sri Lanka they are sizable minorities (12% and 7.6%, respectively). Prior to the 1947 partition an estimated 24 percent of greater India's population was Muslim, the remainder being predominantly Hindu. Today, there are more than 800 million Hindus in South Asia.

The extent of Islam's indigenization in the region is reflected in the languages spoken by its adherents: Numerous Arabic and Persian loanwords are found in local languages, especially those of the Indus and Ganges basins. Furthermore, the primary language of most Muslims is the same as that spoken by local non-Muslim populations, such as Punjabi

or Bengali in the North and Malayalam or Tamil in the South.

Just as Hindu religious ideas and practices are constituted in a variety of traditions and movements, ranging from the brahmanic to the devotional, mystical, intellectual, and reformist, so too Indian Islam finds expression in diverse ways.

Sunni Islam, primarily of the Hanafi legal tradition, has been the official religion for most urban Muslims and landholders. Less than one-fifth of South Asian Muslims adhere to one of Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Sheikh to Kings. In this painting, Mogul two main divisions of Shi'ism, the Ithna shariyya (Twelvers) emperor Jahanagir (1569–1627) makes King James I of England, or the Isma'iliyya (Isma'ilis). Most South Asian Muslims have the Sultan of Turkey, and a Hindu courtier wait while he converses been formally and informally affiliated with Sufi shrines and with a Muslim mystic. Muslim Arab colonies emerged in southern tariqas (brotherhoods). Indeed, it is widely held that Islam India by the ninth century, arising from a history of commerce between the subcontinent and the Near-East. In the north, how was established in South Asia through Sufism, though there is ever, Islamic rule was established by invading armies under little evidence of an organized, deliberate Sufi strategy of Turkish rule in the twelfth century. Relations between Hindus and conversion. Nonetheless, Sufism has participated in the crea- Muslims in India have been frequently difficult and violent, and were exacerbated by colonial rule. Due to shared communities, tion of local expressions of Islam, which embody the greatest intermarriage, and conversion, however, in many areas the two degree of assimilation of Hindu religious ideas and practices. groups share strikingly similar cultures. FREER GALLERY OF ART Since the sixteenth century, several Islamic reform and revival movements have emerged, directed in part against unorthodox practices among Sufis and the Shi'a, and also even claim that at least one Hindu prince converted to Islam against Hindu influence on Muslim belief and practice. Thus, and went to Mecca on the hajj. Muslim trading colonies also assimilation and differentiation are the two alternating proc- flourished in Sri Lanka and on the Coromandel Coast in what is now Tamil Nadu. By the time the Portuguese arrived in through more than one thousand years of shared history. 1498, Islam was firmly implanted in the region, and intertwined with its Hindu cultures. Medieval Hindu-Muslim Encounters

The first contacts between Hindus and Muslims occurred Islamization in northern India followed a different course. through trade and conquest. Arab Muslim colonies involved Arab Muslim expeditions reached the banks of the Indus by

in the Indian Ocean spice trade appeared on the Malabar Coast of southern India as early as the ninth century, continuing a long history of commerce and migration between India and the Near East. Local Hindu rulers granted Muslims permission to build mosques and intermarry with their subjects. Though these early immigrants were merchants, Muslim legends remember them as holy men and pilgrims, and crossed the northwest frontier, defeated Indian

711, but
mence until
the Turkish
Mahmoud of
towns in the
heartland was
warriors

302

Islam and the Muslim World

Hinduism and Islam

Rajput forces in 1192, and established their capital at Delhi in an all-or-nothing break with Hindu belief and practice, nor the Indo-Gangetic plain. The Delhi Sultanate (1211–1526), usually occur at the end of a sword. Rather, it was a bolstered by Muslim immigrants fleeing Mongol armies in that occurred in different degrees, and it involved a variety of the west, extended Muslim control across northern India to social, cultural, political, and economic factors. Indeed, one Bengal and southward into the Deccan, rendering the region of the most striking aspects of the history of Islam in South a dar al-islam. However, the Delhi Sultans often yielded to situated Asia is that it gained the most converts in areas beyond the traditional centers of political power and absorb them into the imperial order, as did the Mughal brahmanical religious authority. Today, the largest propordynasty that succeeded it (1526–1857). tions of Muslims are to be found in the northwest (now Pakistan and Kashmir) and northeast (now Bangladesh); even In retrospect, Muslim historians recalled the conquests as Kerala (1991: 23.3%) in the south has a higher percentage of heroic wars against pagan infidels (kafirs), and they lauded Muslims than does Uttar Pradesh (1991: 17.3%), where conversions along with the destruction of Hindu temples. Delhi and Agra are located. These accounts obscure the fact that where Muslim attacks were made on Hindu temples, they were aimed at enriching The chief agents for Islamization on the local level were wandering Muslim elites (temples were repositories of gold, jewelry, and

Muslim saints, teachers, and warriors. Isma ili
cash), and undermining the power of local rulers, the tradi- missionaries
in Sind and Rajasthan adopted Nath yogi guise
tional temple patrons. Mosques and shrines were erected in and
formulated their Islamic message in terms of Hindu
their stead. However, most rulers treated subjugated Hindus concepts of
divinity and cosmology. In Bengal, communities
as “protected” peoples (dhimmis), leaving temples untouched, grew up
around saint shrines and mosques built where lands
authorizing and often patronizing new shrines. Nonetheless, had been
newly converted to wet-rice agriculture during the
there were occasions when they followed the advice of men Mughal era.
Through local Sufi centers Islam was often
like Diya al-Din Barani (1285–1357), a court historian, who, introduced
and integrated into the socioreligious landscape,
in counseling rulers to maintain the purity of the “true
establishing points of exchange between the Muslim rulers
religion,” urged them to “use their efforts to insult and and the
populace, thus integrating people and property into
humiliate and to cause grief to and bring ridicule and shame the
infrastructure of the kingdom. Across India shrines are
upon the polytheistic and idolatrous Hindus” (Mujeeb, p. 68). patronized
and even managed commonly by Muslims, Hindus,
Brahmanic Hindus, for their part, regarded Muslim invaders Sikhs,
Buddhists, Jains, and Christians, and some have evolved
as impure mleccas (aliens), or as Turks, Tajiks, and even into major
pilgrimage centers, such as that of Mu in al-Din
Greeks, which suggests that they defined Muslims more by Chishti in
Ajmer. Such places are identified with supermundane
their foreign ethnicity than by their religious identity. beings who
offer their devotees power, healing, fertility, and
Muslim elites sought to comprehend the religions of their occasions to
participate in ecstatic rites. Muslim warrior
subjects intellectually. Al-Biruni (973–c. 1050) gives the ear- saints
have been incorporated as guardian deities into the
liest and most detailed Muslim account of Indian religion, cults of
Hindu hero gods and goddesses, where Muslims as
writing in detail about brahmanic concepts of divinity, cos- well as
Hindus worship them. This is exemplified by Vavar,
mology, reincarnation, ritual practices, and yoga. He ap- the battle
companion of the popular south Indian deity
proached these topics comparatively, drawing parallels with Ayyappa, and
by Muttal Ravutan, guardian of Draupadi
Sufism and Greek philosophy. The Mogul emperor Akbar (r. shrines in
Tamil Nadu.
1556–1605), famous for his interest in comparative religions,
The interpenetration of Hinduism and Islam is further

sponsored Persian translations of Hindu epics, the Bhagavad Gita, and books on Vedanta philosophy. His great-grandson, Dara Shukoh (1615–1659), befriended Hindu holy men, translated the Upanishads and, inspired by Ibn Arabi's pantheism, attempted a synthesis of Sufism with Hinduism throughout India. He was executed for heresy by his brother and rival Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707). As a zealous proponent of the "apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity." The proponent of Sunni revivalism, Aurangzeb reimposed taxes on Hindu subjects and razed temples in major Hindu religious centers. As Akbar and Dara Shukoh became emblematic of Hindu-Muslim conviviality, Mahmud of Ghazni and Aurangzeb are today remembered as symbols of Muslim militancy and intolerance. Indian holy man Guru Nanak (d. 1539) is often characterized as a fusion of Islamic monotheism and Hindu devotionism. Across north India and Pakistan, people sing romantic ballads, or qissa, such as Hir-Ranjha, Sassi-Punnu, Mirza-Sahiban, and Layla-Majnun. These are inevitably tragic tales of romances who converted to Islam. As a rule, conversion was not a means for romantic heroes and heroines destined to remain apart and doomed.

Islam and the Muslim World

303

Hinduism and Islam

to die because of differences in caste, class, and religion. Nonetheless, the songs in which these boundaries are crossed are sung and beloved by people from all walks of life. Through richly symbolic language and imagery qissa are also mystical allegories of the human soul seeking union with God.

Hindustani music is another excellent example of the interplay between Hindu and Muslim culture. One of the greatest innovators of Hindustani classical music is often identified as Tansen (d. 1589), the Great Mogul Emperor Akbar's court musician. The musical modes and the code of

conduct within the musical lineages, or gharanas, draw on Indian and Perso-Arabic styles. The initiation ceremony of the student into the master's school closely mirrors that of the Hindu guru-sishya initiation. Furthermore, although many of these lineages are principally Muslim in terms of personnel, worship of Hindu deities, especially the goddess Saraswati, and the lighting of lamps and garlanding of musicians are all common practices associated with Hinduism. The popularity of explicitly Islamic devotional styles such as kafi, ghazal, and qawwal, and of Muslim singers such as Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and Abida Parveen among all audiences indicates a shared aesthetic culture.

Finally, in many areas conversion, intermarriage, and shared community life have led to common cultural practices. Often customs and observations of lifecycle events, such as births, marriages, and death, are regionally extremely similar. Muhammed Ali Jinnah, left, an advocate for a separate Muslim state, The offering of a child's first haircutting or pilgrimage to state, and Mahatma Gandhi, in Bombay in 1944, outside of Jinnah's home, where the two met to discuss the Hindu-Muslim conflict. Tensions between Indian Muslims and Hindus worsened local shrines. Dress and eating habits are frequently shared. during the struggle for independence from British rule. Despite Muslim social status usually reflects caste distinctions found Ghandi's efforts to support Muslim endeavors, violence worsamong the wider society; and in Malabar, Muslim traders ened between the two groups and over 500,000 people died when the British left in 1947. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS intermarried with Hindu locals to such an extent that they adopted their matrilineal social organization.

Hindu-Muslim Encounters after 1857 on internal revitalization, and still others mobilized to op- pose The Mogul Empire's territory reached its apogee under pose British rule. Hindu revivalist groups such as the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Aurangzeb, encompassing the Deccan plateau and parts of Samaj, Arya the South Indian coast. After his death in 1707, Mogul power Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) advocated different means of promoting rapidly unraveled, paving the way for the British East India promoting Hinduism in modern society. Whereas the Company to transform its commercial power bases into Mahasabha, RSS, and Arya Samaj strove to purify Hinduism political centers. In 1757 at the Battle of Plassy, the British and reestablish an inherently Hindu national identity, the forces took effective control of much of North India, placing Brahmo Samaj

emphasized social reform and education more it under the Raj. Though nominal authority still lay in Mogul hands, this ended following the British defeat of a large-scale organizations addressed the educational, social, and political rebellion of Hindu and Muslim troops in 1857. After this the Muslim population. The Dar al- Ulum power shift, religious movements arose to address the new founded in 1867 to generate a new Indian body sociopolitical milieu, which rewarded modernism, secular- 1875, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan established ism, and progressive scientific thought over traditional values. Muslim University with a westernized secular curriculum, to educate Muslims capable of reviving Islam and Reaction to the impact of foreign rule was channeled exigencies of modernity. The Jama at-e Islami, in many cases through religious movements. Revivalist and Abu l-A la Maududi in 1928, advocated religious reformist groups emerged representing the full range of political independence. Grassroots movements, responses to the new power structures. Some sought to Tablighi Jama at (founded 1926), arose to teach basic incorporate and integrate Western values, others focused principles and practices and to eradicate “Hindu”

304

Islam and the Muslim World

Hinduism and Islam

accretions, such as pilgrimage to saints’s tombs, music, elabo- and central governments and the Supreme Court, the situate weddings, and mourning and death rites. The Muslim tion remains unresolved. In 1992 Hindu radicals tore down League formed in 1906 as a political group working to protect the mosque and placed Rama’s image at the site. The riots minority Muslim interests in an independent India. subsequent to this demolition claimed thousands of lives, and the tension is periodically reactivated with similarly tragic Throughout the independence struggle relations between results. In 2002 a move by Hindu organizations to begin Hindus and Muslims worsened. Many factors contributed to construction of a temple resulted in another round of disturthis: British divide-and-conquer policies, Muslim under- bances, destabilizing interreligious relations. development, the Hinduization of the nationalist movement, and Hindu and Muslim prejudices and fears. Following the Finally, at Partition, Muslim-majority Kashmir gained Indian National Congress’s (INC) formation (1892), Muslim “special

status,” or semiautonomy, under Article 370 of the participation decreased steadily. However, there were mo- Indian
 Constitution. India has promised a referendum on statehood
 ments of cooperation, such as Gandhi’s support for the continual
 or independence, but three wars with Pakistan, border skirmishes, Pakistani support to militants
 Khilafat movement to reestablish the Ottoman caliphate. and freedom
 Gandhi viewed this as a kindred freedom struggle and a Muslim
 advocates, severe government repression of keep
 means of garnering Muslim support. Nevertheless, as the both nations
 movements, and Hindu agitation over Article 370
 independence movement progressed, the Congress leader-
 tensions high. This situation is more alarming now that
 ship consistently failed to address Muslim fears of a Hindu
 are nuclear powers.
 majority nation without safeguards for their sizable (24%)
 minority. The INC rejected power-sharing schemes pro- Real
 fissures do exist between Hindu and Muslim commuposed by the British in the
 Communal Award (1932) and nities testifying to continued Hindu
 resentment of temple
 during the final Cabinet Mission negotiations (1946). After desecration
 by Muslims (real or alleged) and persistent Musthe Muslim League in 1940
 publicly called for the creation of lim fears (both reasonable and
 baseless) of assimilation or
 a separate state for Muslims, many Hindus no longer trusted annihilation
 in Hindu-majority India. This mutual suspicion
 Muslim ambitions for a free and unified India. Hindus sought and
 hostility threaten constantly to overshadow the enora strong center and Muslims
 wanted strong regional govern- mously rich and diverse shared
 traditions of the subcontinent.
 ments and electoral reservations. Unable to find a compro- Yet the
 constitutional secularism of the largest democracy in
 mise, the rapid departure of the British in 1947 resulted in the world,
 the persistence of shared places such as the shrine
 horrific violence—an estimated 500,000 to 1 million died as 8 of Vavar
 in Kerala, and the continuing popularity of common
 million Hindus and Sikhs shifted to India and 7 million cultural
 traditions such as music, literature, and art forms,
 Muslims departed for East and West Pakistan. indicate
 that there is a sound and strong common ground.

Since Partition, India’s non-Hindu population has stead- See also
 Akbar; South Asia, Islam in; South Asian Culily increased, whereas Pakistan’s
 non-Muslim population has ture and Islam.

declined—currently below 5 percent. The secular mandate of
 India’s constitution nominally protects equal rights, and

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several controversial government schemes—particularly res- Ahmad,
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 various minority groups in the civil ment. 1964. Reprint, Delhi:
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service, elected bodies, and universities—ensure at least some Bayly,
 Susan. *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Chris-*
 Muslim presence in India’s civic life. Nonetheless, divisive tians
 in South Indian Society 1700–1900. Cambridge, Mass.:
 politics persist. Three issues in particular frustrate under- Cambridge
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standing between Hindus and Muslims: Muslim personal
 Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. Oxford,
 law, Ayodhya, and Kashmir. U.K.:
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Currently there is a separate personal law for Muslims Gilmartin,
 David, and Lawrence, Bruce, eds. *Beyond Turk and*
 regarding marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Hindu nation- Hindu:
 Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South
 Asia. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

alists and many women’s advocacy groups champion a uniform civil code, which
 would apply the same legal regulations Hiltebeitel, Alf. *Rethinking*
 India’s Oral and Classical Epics:
 to every Indian citizen. Many Muslims cling to their separate Draupadi
 among Rajputs, Muslims and Dalits. Chicago:
 legal code as a small realm of autonomy and the only available
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institutional means of maintaining their cultural identity. Khan,
 Dominique-Sila. *Conversions and Shifting Identities:*
 Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan. New Delhi:
 In the early twentieth century Hindu radicals identified Manohar,
 1997.

the Babri Masjid, a sixteenth mosque in Ayodhya, Uttar Metcalf,
 Barbara, ed. *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of*
 Pradesh, as the god Rama’s birthplace and began agitation for Adab in
 South Asian Islam. Berkeley: University of Califorits “liberation.” In the
 absence of decisive action by the state nia Press, 1984.

Islam and the Muslim World

305

Hisba

Mujeeb, Mohammad. *The Indian Muslims*. London: Allen & despite
 their appearance as theoretical, also provide an in-
 Unwin, 1967. sight into
 medieval Muslim practices (many of which have
 Robinson, Francis. *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia*. been left
 unrecorded elsewhere) since the more literate schol-
 New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000. ars demanded

that such practices be restricted.

Wink, Andre. *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*.

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The

theory was translated into practice by the appointment of local muhtasibs in various parts of the Abbasid

empire. After the Mongol invasions and the reemergence of

Anna Bigelow

Muslim dynasties in Turkey, Iran, and India, the position of

Juan Eduardo Campo

muhtasib and the enforcement of hisba also reappeared. Local

muhtasibs were charged with enforcing hisba in towns and

cities across the Muslim world. One particular emphasis was

HISBA

the role

of the muhtasib in ensuring that market law was

obeyed, and official documents regularly refer to such a

The Arabic term hisba (or in later works ihtisab) is associated figure. In

some parts of the Muslim world, the muhtasib was

with the idea of “reckoning” or “accounting” and has, in

responsible solely for ensuring that traders used the correct

works of Islamic law, come to refer to the activities of state- weights

and measures. In this role of restricting unscrupulous

appointed individuals (usually termed muhtasib) who enforce merchants,

some muhtasibs gained a reputation as protectors

the law of Islam (the shari a) in both the public and private of the

poor. The institution only died out with the introducspheres. The function is

normally conceived of as more tion of more organized police

forces and administrative

preventative than remedial: the muhtasib’s task is to prevent

ministries in the nineteenth century.

transgressions of the law, and thereby avoid the need for

court proceedings. However, he does have the power to bring See also

Ethics and Social Issues; Law; Political

individuals before a judge (qadi) if they fail to take heed of the

Organization.

hisba regulations. Most works of law from the twelfth century

onward contain some discussion of the role of the muhtasib,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

often in the section dealing with the role and functions of the Amedroz,

H. F. “The Hisba Jurisdiction in the Ahkam

qadi. While enforcing hisba (“bringing people to account”) is

Sultaniyya of Mawardi.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

conceived of in these works as the role of an appointed (1916):

290–301.

person, it is recognized that this person is merely performing Sergeant,

R. B. “A Zaidi Manual of Hisbah from the 3rd

the general duty (to which all Muslims are bound) of “pro-

Century (H).” In *Studies in Arabic History and Civilisation*.Edmoting good and

prohibiting evil” (al-amr bil-ma ruf wal-nahy an al-munkar). This is a Qur’anic phrase (e.g., 3:104 and 9:61), and linking it with the doctrine of hisba (which is not

Robert Gleave explicitly mentioned in the Qur’an) gives hisba (and its institutional manifestations) a firm grounding in the Qur’an.

Works that describe the function of hisba in Muslim society are often highly theoretical, and depict what might be termed an “ideal” law-enforcement system for an Islamic community. The term *ta’rikh* is presently used in languages such as Arabic, Turkish, and Persian for “history.” Similar to the connotations of hisba and *ihtisab*, followed by discrete chapters on the various uses of the term in the major European languages it refers,

various activities that a *muhtasib* is supposed to prevent, and on the one hand, to the past itself and, on the other hand, to finally a description of the powers of a *muhtasib* and his writing of history. Narrative texts (chronicles, biographies, relationship with the judicial system. The list of activities in historical dictionaries, etc.), written with the explicit purpose to be considered forbidden, and therefore coming under the purview of the *muhtasib*, have been of particular importance for studying *muhtasib*’s power, are often an interesting indicator of local history of the Islamic lands. Even more than in the religious life in the area where the work was written. The *muhtasib* is recommended to restrict the playing of chess or other games, and archival evidence of history for regions such as the backgammon in various works, and in the Indian sub-continent Arabic-speaking lands is practically nonexistent for the period prior to the fourteenth century. Hence, most of our knowledge of the regions’ past depends on its representation in western parts of the Muslim world, such as *al-Hisba fil-Islam* in Islamic historiography.

by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), mention the visitation of Muslims to tombs of the *shaykhs* in search of intercession, as a practice in contrast to the modern study of historical writing for needing to be restricted by the *muhtasib*. Works of hisba, then, other regions such as the European lands, the study of Islamic

historical writing is to a large degree still characterized by this beginning was of importance: The outwardly isolated predominantly philological concerns. It is only since the character of each single report (khabar) proved to be influential in the 1990s that an interest into the wider societal context of the shaping longer narratives. This early material has production of historical knowledge has taken a significant engendered a major ongoing debate in present-day scholarplace in works such as Tarif Khalidi's Arabic Historical Thought ship about its authenticity as its dating has posed manifold problems. in the Classical Period (1994). Approaches taking up the challenges and possibilities arising out of the linguistic turn in the the hadith scholar Muhammad Ibn Ishaq (d. 761), a biograsecond half of the twentieth century are rare except isolated phy of the Prophet. examples such as Aziz al-Azmeh's *Histoire et Narration* (1986). In the following centuries historiography found two main Historiography, in the sense of reflecting on the writing of forms of expression: chronicles and biographical dictionaries. history itself, was restricted to short references in the intro- The religious scholar al-Tabari (d. 923) composed in Baghdad duction of historical works in the Islamic lands until the the typical example of the former category: the universal fourteenth century. The Persian religious philosopher al- Iji chronicle *History of Prophets and Kings*, which dealt with (d. after 1381/82) composed in Arabic the first reflection on events from the creation of the world until his time. "Univerthe technique and methodology of writing history, the Gift of sal" referred here obviously to Islamic history and what was the Poor Man. This and similar treatises of the following perceived to be its predecessor(s). At the same time, chronicentury were partly translated by Franz Rosenthal in A cles were produced with a more limited geographical focus on History of Muslim Historiography (1968). The famous North towns (e.g., Damascus) and regions (e.g., Syria). The writing African scholar and official Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) developed of history in the form of chronicles is similar to the writings in his *Introduction* a theoretical pattern to classify events of the produced in Latin Europe or Early and Middle Imperial China. past, well beyond mundane considerations of technique and methodology. On the contrary, the second major form of historical writing, biographical dictionary, was in its importance and Similarly, history gained only over time an independent elaboration unique to Islamic historiography. Reflecting preplace in the Muslim canon of disciplines. Philosophical classi- Islamic genealogical interests and Islamic concerns of tracing

fications of sciences such as those by al-Farabi (d. 950) did not the
 reliability of transmitters, the genre experienced an imrefer to history as an
 independent field of knowledge, emulat- portant development from early
 times onward. An early
 ing the tradition of the Hellenistic classifications. However, example
 of this genre, Ibn Sa d's (d. 845) Grand Book of the
 educational classifications included it as a discipline in its own
 Generations, reflects its exclusive theological concern by foright from the
 tenth century onward, although it was rarely cusing on transmitters
 of hadith. This focus changed over the
 taught as such in madrasas. At the same time, introductions to
 centuries, and in the thirteenth century the jurist Ibn Khallikan
 chronicles show that the authors considered themselves, (d.
 1282), for example, included in his dictionary individuals
 among others, as historians (mu arrikh)—a term also often from
 more varied backgrounds. More specialized works started
 encountered in medieval biographical entries. to be
 limited to specific towns or specific professions, such as
 the Generations of Physicians by Ibn Abi Usaybi a (d. 1270).
 Historical Writing in the Central Islamic Lands—
 Premodern Period This
 development was an expression of the gradual change
 Islamic historiography, in the sense of recording history, in the
 social identities of authors of historical works. From
 started with texts written in Arabic, but its early development the
 eleventh century onward important parts of the ulema
 is still largely unknown. The Greek and Persian literary started
 to interact more closely with court circles and rulers.
 traditions of the newly conquered lands were not adopted as Typical
 examples in this regard are Saladin's biographer Ibn
 direct models to build upon. It was rather the oral pre-Islamic Shaddad
 (d. 1234), who was the ruler's judge of the army, and
 Arabic tradition that shaped early Islamic historiography to a Ibn
 al- Adim (d. 1262), the author of a local chronicle of
 certain degree. The focus on genealogy and the authentica- Aleppo,
 who served the ruler of the town as a secretary, judge,
 tion of reports by means of chains of transmitters were and
 wazir. Nevertheless, authors of historical works continremnants of this
 heritage. However, the concrete forms of ued to belong almost
 exclusively to the elusive group of the
 this historiography developed very much within the dynam- ulema.
 Authors, being part of the military elite, continued to
 ics of early Islamic history, that is, through the interplay be rare,
 while authors belonging to the commoners remained
 between the different Near Eastern cultural traditions
 nonexistent.

Early Islamic historical writing was intimately linked to the end of the tenth century Arabic lost its immediate theological concerns. The first writings, which as the exclusive literary language in the Islamic lands, might be labeled as being historical, treated the life of the regionalization of political power also found its expression in the rise of Persian historiography. This development were recorded mainly as hadiths, that is, as reports on the only of linguistic nature. Persian historiography deeds and sayings of the Prophet. For later historiography specific characteristics, such as stronger efforts to

Toward
position

The
prophet Muhammad and

was not

gained

Islam and the Muslim World

307

Historical Writing

offer an explicit unified narrative, a more limited focus on the interplay between oral and written historical traditions linked to courts and, initially, a near-absence of biographies was also a salient feature in sub-Saharan Africa. While graphical works. Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) produced with his historiography written by indigenous authors came into existence Collection of Chronicles a Persian universal history unmatched around 1500, these narratives continued to circulate in its breadth. This chronicle was written for the Mongol ruler and was outstanding as it included the history of all texts simultaneously in a context of oral culture. The first written appeared in those regions that had previously been known people, instead of only those of the Islamic lands. strongly Islamized and Arabized: the Sudan Belt and the East African Swahili coast. Consequently, chronicles such as the Historical Writing Beyond the Central Islamic Lands— East African Kilwa Chronicle, written around 1530, or the Premodern Period West African Ta rikh al-Sudan, written by the Timbuktu Persian historiography spread subsequently also to newly historian al-Sa di in the seventeenth century, were generally composed in Islamized regions like South Asia. There, Muslim Arabic. West African Muslim historiography developed historiography was from its outset in the thirteenth century also the genre of biographical dictionaries, such as almost exclusively written in Persian. Early Indo-Persian Ahmad Baba's (d. 1627) work on the learned men of the historical writings reflected closely the outlook of its Persian Western Sudan. During the nineteenth century, authors models, such as its intimate links with court life. It is only switched increasingly to indigenous languages such as Hausa

during the Mogul period (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) and Fulfulde written first in Arabic and subsequently in Latin that Muslim South Asian historiography developed distinct script. In combination with the developing dominance of characteristics, like the genre of memoirs written by members of the royal family or private persons. European prime means of expression.

The life of Nur al-Din Raniri (d. 1658), a South Asian Historical Writing in the Central Islamic Lands: Ottoman and Modern Periods scholar with a partly Arab genealogy, might serve as an example for the close links between the historiographical During the fifteenth century Ottoman Turkish emerged as a major traditions of the different predominantly Muslim regions. literary language in Anatolia and in parts of the Arabic-speaking Middle East. After moving to the sultanate of Aceh (Northern Sumatra) he Ottoman historiography started in the fourteenth century with rather short appendixes to existing chronicles. historiographical style (e.g., al-Tabari) and drawing simultaneously. It was only in the fifteenth century that independently heavily on the Malay Annals. The Malay Annals are independent historical works in Ottoman Turkish were composed. one of the early examples of Southeast Asian Muslim These works were mainly chronicles written by individuals historiography, written around 1500. Here, an anonymous close to court circles. Other genres (e.g. biographical dictionary author writing in Malay had cautiously aimed at harmonizing aries) did not play a significant role in Ottoman historiography. indigenous traditions and Islam, that is, Raniri's text reflected History of Events, a work by the officially appointed imperial a bundle of different regional historiographical traditions. historian Mustafa Na'ima (d. 1716), enjoyed considerable popularity. This interaction within the Muslim world via members of its popularity. His recourse to Ibn Khaldun's patterns in order to describe literary elites might not be sufficient to legitimize the use of describe the perceived decline of the empire was typical for the single term "Muslim historiography" for such diverse this period's historiography. With the Ottoman period the traditions. Nevertheless, it shows at least that texts shifted importance of narrative historiography for modern day scholars easily from one region to the other and were reworked during ship decreases. The large amounts of surviving archival and this process. documentary material for the central Islamic lands allow

more varied venues to the history of this and the following Central Asia and sub-Saharan Africa are further examples of how texts and genres were transferred and adopted. Muslim troops conquered the western lands of Central Asia Persian, Ottoman, and Arabic historiographies witnessed during the early eighth century. Therefore, the region's significant changes during the late nineteenth century. This historiography was part of the Arabic and later Persian and process culminated for the Arabic context in works such as the History of Islamic Civilization by the Syrian Christian Jurji Zaydan (d. 1914), published in Egypt between 1902 and 1906. Here a distinct shift in form and content becomes visible, traditions and written Muslim works was more accentuated, especially as he drew heavily on European works dealing with For example, the earliest surviving history for the Volga-Ural Arab or Islamic history. Nevertheless, these "modern" area, the Turkic Collection of Chronicles, completed in 1602 by works were still to a large degree embedded in Ali Jalayiri, derived not only from Rashid al-Din's fourteenth-century work with the same name but also to a large degree Contrary to traditional assumptions, which refer the nine from oral folklore sources circulating among the Mus-teenth century developments exclusively to the modernizing lim nomads. impact of the West, recent scholarship such as Crecelius

308

Islam and the Muslim World

Hizb Allah

(2001) has stressed the vivacity of Arabic historiography also Meisami, Julie. *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. Rosenthal, Franz. *A History of Muslim Historiography*. 2d ed. The changes led in the late nineteenth century to a Leiden: Brill, 1968.

reorientation of historiography toward narratives of Ottoman and Arabic national origins. In the early twentieth

Konrad Hirschler

century the Ottoman narrative was Turkified and with the rise of Arab national states the Arabic version started slowly to be supplemented and ultimately replaced respectively by national narratives. This universal trend toward national HISTORY

See Historical Writing; Timelines and identities was also visible in other Muslim regions. The Genealogies in backmatter politician and writer Muhammad Yamin (d. 1962), for example, integrated the Malay Annals into his narrative of an Indonesian national history dating many millennia back.

The dominant second trend during the twentieth century was the professionalization of the writing of history. The general expansion of higher education in the Middle East, (Hezbollah, Hizbullah) from the Arabic hizb allah, especially after World War II, led also to a significant rise in “party of God,” became a popular name for political groups in the late twentieth century, after Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran began to use the Qur’anic phrase when Middle Eastern historians generally took their degree (5:56–59; 58:19–22) to distinguish the righteous from the oppressors.

Focusing on the perennial conflict between the forces of good and evil, and the Qur’an’s apocalyptic vision in which the favorable for dealing with certain topics. the “party of God” will be “victorious” and will go to heaven, whereas the “party of Satan” will ultimately “be the losers,” See also Arabic Literature; Biography and Hagiography; Heresiography; Ibn Khaldun; Tabari, al-

in the postcolonial context of sociopolitical strife. This general usage of “Hizb Allah” dominated in Iran in the late

BIBLIOGRAPHY 1970s, when it was used by those who supported Ayatollah Azmeh, Aziz al-. “Histoire et Narration dans l’Historiographie Khomeini in his opposition to the shah, “the West,” and Arabe.” *Annales ESC* 41 (1986):411–431. Israel,

and in his advocacy of government based on Islam as Choueiri, Youssef M. *Arab History and the Nation State. A Study in Modern Arab Historiography 1820–1980*. London Somewhat earlier, a group of Sunni political Islamists in and New York: Routledge, 1989. Yemen called

themselves Hizb Allah, and later another small Crecelius, Daniel. “al-Jabarti’s *ajaj al-athar fi l-tarajim wa-* Sunni Hizb Allah appeared in Egypt, reputedly under the

l-akhbar and the Arabic Histories of Ottoman Egypt in the leadership
of Yahya Hashim. A faction that broke away from Islamic
Eighteenth Century.” In *The Historiography of Islamic Jihad in Palestine during the 1980s*, led by Ahmad Muhanna,
Egypt (C. 950–1800). Edited by Hugh Kennedy. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001. Allah, like
its parent Islamic Jihad, is military in nature, rejects
Frank, Allen J. *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*
compromise with Israel, and believes the question of Pales-
Among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia. Leiden, Boston: tine is
fundamentally religious in nature. That is, returning
Brill, 1998. Palestine
and, in particular, Jerusalem, to Islamic sovereignty
Freitag, Ulrike. “Writing Arab History: The Search for is
considered a religious duty.
the Nation.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21
However, the term Hizb Allah (Hezbollah/Hizbullah) is
(1994):19–37.
most frequently associated with the Lebanese Shi ite group
Hall, D. G. E. *Historians of South East Asia*. London: Oxford
founded in 1982, following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.
University Press, 1961.
Shi ite leader Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, who had
Humphreys, R. Stephen. *Islamic History. A Framework for* studied
with Khomeini in Najaf during the latter’s exile in
Inquiry. 2d ed. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1995. Iraq, became
an outspoken opponent of Israel, and of “the
Khalidi, Tarif. *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*. West” in
general. At that time, Iran’s Islamic government
Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1994. sent a
contingent of Revolutionary Guards to Lebanon to
Lewis, Bernard, and Holt, Peter M., eds. *Historians of the* assist in
the resistance to Israel, becoming the core of Shi ite
Middle East. London: Oxford University Press, 1962. militancy in
Lebanon. The movement is led by a secretary

Islam and the Muslim World

309

Hojjat al-Islam

general (most recently Hojjat al-Islam Hassan Nasrallah) and structure
of the Shi ite seminary system. At first, scholars like
advised by a council (Jihad Council), including Lebanese Muhammad
Baqir al-Shafti (d.1844) were given the titles
Shi ite scholars and military advisors. Since its inception, mujtahid,
Ayatollah, and Hojjat al-Islam. Later usage of the
however, Fadlallah has been the movement’s spiritual leader term

Hojjat al-Islam was restricted to scholars of a rank lower than Ayatollah. A Hojjat al-Islam, since the Islamic revolution in Iran, is an “aspiring Ayatollah” who has completed his bahth-e kharij (the highest level of formal instruction) and is Hizb Allah expanded its activities to include assistance to teaching, but has not yet gained sufficient prestige to be regarded as Ayatollah. While both Ayatollah and Hojjat almedical facilities (hospitals, pharmacies, rehabilitation cen- Islam were titles of distinction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the titles have become relatively comcluding scouting and sports activities), communications (radio mon in recent years, and this may reflect either a lowering of the qualification threshold, or an improvement in educaing sites destroyed in war). Since 1992 it has operated as a tional techniques in the Shi ite seminaries of Mashhad, Qum, political party as well, competing successfully for the Shi ite and the Atabat. vote in parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, Hizb Allah is most widely known for attacks carried out by its militia for See also Ayatollah (Ar. Ayatullah); Shi a: Imami covert operations, the Organization of the Islamic Jihad. (Twelver).

These attacks have been waged against foreigners in Lebanon, both individuals (assassinations and kidnappings) and groups

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(such as the bombings of U.S. diplomatic and military instal- Mottahedeh, Roy P. The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and lations in 1983 and 1984), as well as Israeli occupation forces Politics in Iran New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985. in southern Lebanon.

In Iran, the popularity of Hezbollahi rhetoric has waned

Robert Gleave

with the rise in popularity of Mohammed Khatami, who was elected president by a wide margin in 1997 on a campaign stressing the need for reform within Iran rather than opposi- HOJJATIYYA SOCIETY

tion to the West. Israel’s withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 2000 after eighteen years of warfare led by Hizb Allah The Hojjatiyya (Hojjatieh) Society is an anti-Baha i group forces, by contrast, greatly enhanced Hizb Allah’s standing in that was established in 1957 by Mahmood-e Halabi, one of

Lebanon and the Arab Middle East.

the well-known preachers and publicists of Mashad, the

See also Political Islam. religious

center of Khorasan province in Iran. (Bahaism is a religious movement that originated in Iran in the nineteenth century.) After the resignation of Reza Shah (1941), who

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opposed political activity by clerics, Halabi began to criticize

Jaber, Hala. Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance. New York: the

history and doctrine of Bahaism. When Halabi moved to

Columbia University Press, 1997.

Tehran, after Mohammad Reza Shah's coup d'état against

Kramer, Martin S. Hezbollah's Vision of the West. Washington, the

national government of Mohammad Mosaddegh at 1953,

D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1989. he found

significant support from the conservative clergy,

Saad-Ghorayeb, Amal. Hizbu llah: Politics and Religion. Lon- and the

leading ulema approved of the Hojjatiyya Society's

don: Pluto Press, 2002. activities.

Hojjatiyya opposed any radical or revolutionary

activity, and consequently there were no prohibitions on its

Tamara Sonn social and cultural approach.

After Iran's Islamic revolution in 1978–1979, the Ayatollah Ruhollah

Khomeini, who opposed Hojjatiyya's thesis as

HOJJAT AL-ISLAM

criticizing and crushing Bahaism as the main agenda of the

Islamic Revolution, put some limitation on the activity of this

Hojjat al-Islam literally means "Proof of Islam." Hojjat al-

group. Nevertheless Hojjatiyya was successful in closing the

Islam began as an honorific title given to high-ranking schol-

Baha i's public meetings and preventing the dissemination of the

ars (ulema) in both Sunni and Shi'ite Islam. Hence al-Ghazali movement's ideas. In 1983, Halabi stopped the educa-

(d. 1111) was given the title Hojjat al-Islam, to signify his skill tional

activities of the Hojjatiyya Society, following Khomeini's

in arguing for the truths of Islam. It appears to have remained request

that he do so. Hojjatiyya members have since been

a general term of respect for a scholar. In the nineteenth active in

Iran's judiciary, security system, and in offices

century, the title began to reflect the more hierarchical

responsible for staffing Iran's governmental institutions.

Iran.

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Majid Mohammadi

HOLY CITIES

The Prophet of Islam is reported to have said that a Muslim should not embark on a pilgrimage or pious visit to any mosque other than the Holy Sanctuary of Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

This statement in a sense maps out the sacred geography of the Islamic landscape. Muslims revere the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem primarily because of the powerful spiritual symbolism associated with these sanctuaries.

Different religious traditions define sacred space according to different criteria, alluding to the multiplicity of ways in which holiness is conceptualized. Some traditions hold that sacred space is discovered through the manifestation of the divine, while others argue that holiness is created through a process of cultural labor. In the Islamic tradition, the origins of pilgrims at a time surround the Ka ba in the Haram al-Sharif or "Noble Sanctuary." Because of the Ka ba and this and the performance of rituals of worship play an integral part journey by millions of Muslims commemorating Abraham, in the sanctification of space. As such, the concept of the holy and Isma il, Mecca is the holiest city in Islam. © AFP/CORBIS is more closely linked to the process of cultural labor, whereby space is sanctified due to its function in divine communion and not because of the perceived manifestation of the divine progeny of Isma il, flourished in the region but deviated from in a certain place. Therefore, the cities of Mecca, Medina, and the pure monotheism of their noble ancestors, and at the time Jerusalem are embraced as holy and regarded as sacred of the birth of the prophet Muhammad, Mecca was a center of centers because of their intimate association with fundamenidol-worship. tal Islamic ritual practices.

In order to grasp the significance of these holy cities to the Muhammad began preaching his message he was Muslim imagination their religious symbolism needs to be persecuted by his fellow Meccans and was forced to emphasized alongside their histories. Foremost among the asylum in the nearby city of Medina. With the rise of three centers is Mecca, followed by Medina, and finally

At the end

thousands

annual

Hagar,

When

severely

seek

Islam,

the Prophet was finally able to conquer Mecca. He entered Jerusalem. The city in 630 C.E., purging it of all its idols and reestablishing the Ka ba as a symbol of pure monotheism Mecca once again. Mecca thus became a center of Muslim pilgrim- age The city of Mecca has been venerated as a holy center since (hajj). Even today, Muslims from all over the world time immemorial. In the pre-Islamic period it served as a congregated in the city annually to perform the hajj, which is one of the center of pilgrimage for the pagan Arabs and was home to five fundamental pillars of Islam. their most important idol deities. Muslims, however, view Mecca as the center of monotheism and the city where the Prophet did not choose to remain in Mecca, and The Ka ba, the first house for the exclusive worship of the one true settled in Medina instead. Thus, Mecca never became a city of any God—Allah—was established. The prophet Abraham is reported to have built the Ka ba in this barren valley by divine Muslim world was always located elsewhere. The only time command. Abraham had long before left his son, Isma il, with the city was of political importance was during the brief period his mother, Hagar, in this place, also by divine command. after the death of the caliph Mu awiya. He was succeeded Returning many years later, Abraham and his son undertook by his son Yazid in 680 C.E., but his rule was contested the construction of the Ka ba. The Arabs, who are the by Abdallah ibn Zubayr, who was proclaimed

Islam and the Muslim World

311

Holy Cities

caliph in Mecca. Ibn Zubayr managed to gain ascendancy The second ritual performed in the Mosque is the sai , which over most of Arabia and certain parts of Iraq, but was finally literally means to strive. The pilgrim reenacts the crushed and killed by the Ummayyad general al-Hajjaj in 692 C.E. frantic search for water undertaken by Hagar, an African freed slave, who ran between the two hills of Saffa and Marwa. Abraham had When the Abbasids ousted their Ummayyad cousins, they left her there, alone with her son, without any provisions. chose to continue ruling from Baghdad. Mecca was well She ran between the two hills until God finally patronized by the Abbasid caliphs, and they distributed vast rewarded her quest with the blessed well of Zamzam, which sums of money to its inhabitants during their visits on suddenly

gushed forth from the ground. The pilgrim therepilgrimage. The appearance of
 the Qarmitiyya, a militant sect fore recalls the anguish of this noble
 woman, and is also
 opposed to the Abbasids, made some impact on the history of reminded of
 the mercy of Allah.
 Mecca in this era. Over a fifty-year period, the sect made
 constant raids on pilgrim caravans, and in 930 C.E. they raided Another
 sacred space linked to the pilgrimage is found on
 Mecca, massacring its inhabitants. They even carried away the
 outskirts of Mecca, not too far from the holy Mosque.
 the Black Stone, the cornerstone that marks the beginning of This is the
 campsite of Mina. Not only do the pilgrims spend
 the ritual of circumambulation around the Ka ba. It was, most of the
 five days of pilgrimage camped at Mina, but they
 however, returned some twenty years later, and a relatively also
 perform the ritual pelting of Satan there. This ritual is
 calm state of affairs ensued thereafter, with pilgrimage taking associated
 with Satan's attempt to dissuade Abraham from
 precedence over politics in Mecca once again. obeying
 Allah's command, and Abraham is reported to have
 chased the Evil One away by pelting him with pebbles on
 The city's recent history also bears witness to some three
 occasions. The pilgrim therefore reenacts this event
 dramatic political events. In 1979 a group of Saudi militants through the
 ritual pelting, thereby striving to fight his or her
 stormed the sacred sanctuary that houses the Ka ba and own
 spiritual weakness rejecting temptation. Mina only comes
 occupied it for sixteen days, killing many civilians and soldiers to life
 once a year, during the pilgrimage, and is virtually
 in the process. Apart from these infrequent events, however, uninhabited
 for the remainder of the year.
 Mecca has always been of preeminent importance to Muslims
 because of the Ka ba and the hajj. It is solely because of the Moving
 on from Mina, the pilgrim follows the path to the
 rituals of hajj performed in the city and its environs that plains of
 Arafat, about 9 kilometers away from central Mecca.
 Mecca is haloed in sanctity. Arafat also
 only comes to life during the pilgrimage, and is the
 site where the prophet Muhammad delivered the famous last
 When viewed in terms of sacred geography, the city can sermon.
 Standing on the plains of Arafat and supplicating
 best be conceived of as a patchwork of sacred spaces. At the Allah is
 the pinnacle of the hajj. The pilgrim who does not
 very center is the Ka ba, which is for Muslims a veritable manage to
 make his way to Arafat on the specified time and
 gateway opening into the realm of the transcendent. Muslims
 day invalidates his or her pilgrimage and has to perform it

the world over face in the direction of the Ka ba during the over again. This ritual, unlike most of the others, is not performance of the five daily prayers, and the Ka ba is related to Abraham and is more directly associated with the undoubtedly the most potent symbol of Islamic identity, due prophet Muhammad, who is reported to have said that the to its intimate association with the obligatory act of prayer. essence of pilgrimage is the supplication at Arafat.

The history of the Ka ba is even detailed in the Qur an, and it is described as the first house established for the sole purpose Between Mina and Arafat is Muzdallifa, an area intimately linked to of worshipping God (3:96). Although the Qur an describes the pilgrimage rituals as well. The pilgrim must pass Mecca as being “full of blessing” (3:96) and as an “asylum of through Muzdallifa on the way back to Mina after completing security” (5:97), it goes on to emphasize the functional the supplication at Arafat and perform the obligatory prayers characteristic of the Ka ba far more cogently. It was built for there, as was instructed by the prophet Muhammad. no other purpose but the establishment of prayer (14:37). Like any world capital, Mecca is continuously being trans- The immediate vicinity of the Ka ba was also regarded as a formed and upgraded. The pilgrimage sites have been develope sanctuaries, and as such the Ka ba and its surroundings make oped to facilitate the millions that visit there, and the city up the holy Mosque of Mecca, which is commonly known as itself will surely grow and expand in the future. However, Mecca will al-Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary). Two very important rituals of hajj are performed in this Mosque. The first is pilgrimage. the circumambulation of the Ka ba. This ritual is associated with Abraham and Isma il’s building of the house. As they laid Medina the foundations, the two prophets supplicated Allah, implor- Unlike Mecca, a visit to Medina is not an obligatory part of ing for mercy and asking that their sacrifice be accepted. In the pilgrimage, but the Prophet had personally sanctioned journeying similar vein, the pilgrim reenacts the process and supplicates to his mosque in Medina for the purpose of ziyara, or pious Allah as he or she completes the cycles known as tawwaf. visit. During the early Islamic era, Medina, called

failed to convince people there of his beliefs and was severely persecuted before he resettled in nearby Medina, where he gained more followers. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Yathrib in pre-Islamic times, had been the political capital of the Byzantine Romans and the Persians that threatened the nascent Islamic empire. Mecca was and still is by far the more important in terms of sacred geography, however. The oasis town of Yathrib, which lies about 500 kilometers away from Mecca, was renamed in honour of the Prophet, and is more properly referred to as al-Madina al-Munawwarra, or With the outbreak of civil war during the reign of the Illuminated City. Ali (the last of the four caliphs) the city slowly began to lose political importance. Ali left Medina in October 656 C.E. to quell insurrections in Iraq and never returned. The city of failing to convince the Meccans of his mission. The city was for a brief period the center of events, but with the far more diverse than Mecca, with a population comprised of of Mu awiya as caliph in 661 C.E., Damascus Jews, Muslims, and idolaters. The Prophet attempted to political capital of the Muslim world. Apart from unite the various factions into a single polity and his efforts instances of upheaval, not much else occurred in were recorded in a pact known as Sahifa al-Madina, or the that was of major political significance from here on. constitution of Medina. In the interim, the conflict between the nascent Muslim community of Medina and the Meccan Medina may have become completely marginalized pagans continued. The Prophet undertook over seventy political sphere, it gained considerable fame as a center expeditions against the Meccans from his new power base in intellectual life. The scholars of Medina played an Medina before finally conquering Mecca. The Prophet did role in the early development of Islamic jurisprudence and in the collection of hadith (prophetic traditions).

It was from here that he turned his attention to spreading the important formative period, the legal school of Medina message of Islam to frontiers beyond the Arabian Peninsula. famous through the work of one of its most By the time of his death in 632 C.E., Islam stood poised to outstanding scholars, Malik ibn Anas, who died in 795 C.E.

Islam and the Muslim World

Holy Cities

However, it is neither the intellectual nor the early political status of Medina that is ultimately of primary importance that outline the virtues of the city, but many of these are to the Muslim community. Medina is venerated because it is apocryphal and therefore not worthy of mention. Such as the city of the Prophet of Islam and the first Islamic polity. It counts do, however, lend an added aura and appeal to the holy is in Medina that Islam took root and was strengthened. The status of the city, even if they are not really of great importance. city is also the site of a few important mosques that are intimately associated with the history of the ritual prayers. Jerusalem This is perhaps the main reason why the Prophet encouraged Although Jerusalem's status as the third holy city of Islam is Muslims to visit Medina. Its sacred sites not only capture the extremely well established in the primary Islamic sources, early history of the prayer ritual, but also strengthen the Muslims do not claim exclusive spiritual rights to the holy city. believer's resolve and commitment to these very practices. Jerusalem is dear to all three of the Abrahamic faiths, and has been severely battled over by Muslims, Christians, and Jews through The first mosque built in Medina was the mosque of the centuries.

Quba. This mosque lies on what was then the outskirts of the The Jews have always venerated the city as the site of the city, and it is where the Prophet paused for a few days before holy temple, but the pagan Romans had already obliterated entering the city. Here he laid the foundations of the Quba all remaining vestiges of Jewish life in Jerusalem about five Mosque. The mosque at Quba remained dear to the Prophet, centuries before the city came under Muslim rule, in 638 C.E. and long after he had settled in Medina he would still make When the Roman emperor Constantine embraced Christ his way there on Saturdays to spend time in prayer and anity, the city was covered in Christian monuments. Although reflection. Muslims visiting Medina today still emulate this there was no chance of the Jews rebuilding their temple, practice, and follow the path to the mosque of Quba in the Constantine did allow them into the city once a year, on early hours on Saturday mornings, where they remain until payment of a fee, so that they could mourn the destruction of noon, as was the habit of the Prophet. the temple.

Nonetheless, the most important mosque in Medina is

In 614 C.E. the Persians captured Jerusalem, massacring still the Prophet's Mosque, also referred to as the Haram althousands of Christians in the process. Fourteen years later, Madina (the Sanctuary of Medina). The Prophet's own living the Roman emperor Heraclius was able to drive the invaders quarters were attached to the mosque, and when he died he out and recover the land and the city. He, in turn, wreaked a was buried in one of his apartments. The Prophet's gravesite terrible vengeance upon the Jews, who were accused of is thus attached to his mosque even today. While orthodox colluding with the Persian invaders. At the dawn of Islam, Islamic doctrine frowns upon the veneration of gravesites, therefore, the Jewish presence in Jerusalem had once again Muslims the world over come to the mosque to visit the been viciously purged by the Christians.

grave. This practice is tolerated as long as it is done under the pretext of visiting the mosque, for the Prophet is reported to The Islamic Empire underwent massive expansion after the demise have said that prayer in his mosque is rewarded more greatly of the Prophet. In the reign of the third caliph, Umar ibn than prayer elsewhere, except for prayer in the haram of al-Khattab, the Byzantines conceded Jerusalem to Islam. In Mecca, which carries the highest reward. In Medina, as in 638 C.E., the caliph himself accepted the capitulation of the city Mecca, it is once again the act of prayer that lends sanctity to from its Christian patriarch, Sophronius. In an this important space.

unprecedented display of tolerance, Umar granted the Christians protection of their religious sites and vouched for their safety. He The final mosque that enjoys special status is the Qiblatyn midday even refused the patriarch's offer to perform the prayer in a Christian shrine, recognizing the signifi- cance of Mosque, which literally means the mosque of two directions. Unlike the first two, this mosque is more of historical than the prayer in the appropriation and sanctification of ritual significance. There is no special reward mentioned for space. He explained his reasons for refusing, saying that he praying in it, nor did the Prophet set a precedent of visiting it did not want to create a pretense for future generations that may seek on a regular basis. However, it is important because of the justification for the confiscation of this Christian shrine and momentous event that occurred in it. For a period of sixteen months after the Prophet's migration to Medina, the obligatory prayers were performed facing in the direction of Jerusa- Umar immediately set about identifying the sites that were of lem. While praying in the Qiblatyn Mosque, the Prophet was

religious significance to Muslims. Jerusalem is mentioned by divine directive to change orientation and face the direction mentioned in the Qur'an as the city to which the Prophet had

Kaaba in Mecca while praying (2:142). Even today, Muslims travel in a night journey and in which he had assembled the world over pray facing Mecca, and in memory of God's with all the previous prophets, leading them in prayer. Umar's command to the Prophet, Muslims still frequent this mosque therefore sought out this area and marked it out as a sanctuary when visiting Medina. It was here that the al-Aqsa mosque was built. The

314

Islam and the Muslim World Holy Cities

Al Aqsa Mosque and Temple Mount in Jerusalem. After he conquered Jerusalem in 638, the third caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, built Al Aqsa.

The caliph chose a site the Qu'ran describes the Prophet Muhammad having traveled to in a night journey in order to gather all the previous prophets and lead them in prayer. © DAVE G. HOUSER/CORBIS

Prophet is then reported to have ascended to the heavens, rule the Jewish community once again thrived in the city, where the five daily prayers were obligated upon him and his finding safe asylum from persecution there. followers by Allah. His ascension was from a large rock, which was discovered under a dung heap, indicating that the It is important to note that no Jewish place of worship is area of the sanctuary was of no significance to the other made mention of from the time of the Arab conquest in religious communities at that time. Umar ordered the area to Jerusalem. Mention of the Wailing Wall as a place where be cleaned and performed the prayers there. Building of the pious Jews came to lament the loss of the temple only structure known as the Dome of the Rock commenced round appeared around the time of Saladin's reconquest. This wall about 688 C.E. on the order of Abd al-Malik ibn al-Marwan, was identified as the Western wall of the Al-Aqsa compound, and the fifth caliph after Mu'awiya. and Jews from thereon frequented the place to pray.

Jerusalem became known to Muslims as Bayt al-Maqdis or This act of devotion was tolerated by the Muslim rulers of simply al-Quds (the Holy City). It was thereafter patronized Jerusalem, with the gravest of consequences in recent times, and maintained as a sacred site by all the Muslim caliphs from after the establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in 1948 the Abbasids right through to the Ottomans, who finally lost occupied Palestine. What was

initially a gesture of tolerance came to be the city to British mandate in the early twentieth century. held by some faithful Jews as an absolute right, not merely The city remained under Muslim rule for thirteen centuries, of access but ultimately of possession. Today the strife between with the exception of the brief interruption effected by the Jews and Muslims over the site of the al-Aqsa complex Crusades. In this long period, the greatest calamity to have befallen Islam was the loss of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in 1099 C.E. The city was finally reconquered by Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin) ninety years later, in 1187 C.E. In the international status, with equal access for all three faiths, thousands of Muslims and Jews were slaughtered in the groups, has up until now been unsuccessful. What Jerusalem needs name of Christ. Saladin displayed remarkable tolerance not today is the tolerance and foresight of a modern-day Umar only to the Jews, but to the Christians as well, and under his or Saladin; a leader with the temperament to show

Islam and the Muslim World

315

Homosexuality

equal respect to all three faiths and uphold the sanctity of Jerusalem to the benefit of all.

HOMOSEXUALITY

Holy cities or sites are inextricably linked with the trans- Both erotic attraction and sexual behavior between members of the scendent and will always dominate the religious imagination, same sex have always been recognized phenomena in Islamic in spite of the tremendous toll sometimes exacted through societies, but attitudes toward them have been conflict and contestation. It is only in these sacred spaces that complex, severe religious and legal sanctions against the latter human mortality is ultimately transcended, enabling the coexisting with accommodating and at times indeed celebratory believer to stand in the presence of the divine. As long as expressions of the former. Muslim practice and faith prevail, there will always be people who lay claim to the sanctity of the three spiritual capitals of Religious discourse has mostly focused on sexual acts, the Islamic world: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. which are unambiguously condemned. The Qur'an refers explicitly to male-male sexual relations only in the context of See also Caliphate; Dome of the Rock; Ibadat; Mi'raj; the story

of Lot, but labels the Sodomites's actions (universally understood in the later tradition as anal intercourse) an "abomination." (Female-female relations are not addressed.)

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Armstrong, Karen. *A History of Jerusalem*. London: Har- (hadith) reinforce the interdiction on male-male sodomy, perCollins, 1996. although there are no reports of his ever adjudicating an actual case of such an offense; he is also quoted as condemn- Chidester, David. "The Poetics and Politics of Sacred Space: Towards a Critical Phenomenology of Religion." In From ing cross-gender behavior for both sexes, but it is unclear to the Sacred to the Divine: A New Phenomenological Approach. what extent this is to be understood as involving sexual relations. Edited by Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, (1994): 211–231. sodomy between males, are said to have had both partners Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane*. Translated by executed, by a variety of means. While taking such precedents W. R. Inge. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959. into account, medieval jurists were unable to achieve a consensus Farouk-Alli, Aslam. "A Qur'anic Perspective and Analysis of the Concept of Sacred Space in Islam." In Journal for the punishment for sodomy, but others opted only for a relatively mild Study of Religion, 15, no. 1 (2002): 63–78. mild discretionary punishment. There was general agreement, however, that other homosexual acts (including any Goitein, S. D. "The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock." In Journal of the American Oriental between females) were lesser offenses, subject only to discretionary punishment. Society (JAOS), 70 (1950): 104–108. tionary punishment. Goitein, S. D. *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966. tive expression of male homoerotic sentiment in literature Hilali, T., and Khan, M., tr. *Interpretation of the Meanings of* was accepted, and assiduously cultivated, from the late eighth the Noble Qur'an in the English Language. Riyadh: Dar-uscentury until modern times. First in Arabic, but later also in Salam, 1995. Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, love poetry (by men) about boys Peters, F. E. Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy more than

competed with that about women, it overwhelmed
 Places. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
 it. Anecdotal literature reinforces this impression of general
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 hostile Western caricatures of Islamic societies in
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 medieval and early modern times simply exaggerate). As in
 Shariati, Ali. Hajj: Reflection on its Rituals. Translated by Laleh other
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 asymmetrical relationship, between an adult male
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 lover) and an adolescent boy (the beloved), clearly
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 paralleling the power differential between men and women in
 Watt, W. M. and Winder, R. B. "Al Madina." In The
 heterosexual relationships; rather than a single category of
 Encyclopaedia of Islam. Edited by E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis,
 "homosexuals," there were two, or rather three: "active"
 and C. Pellat. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. male-male
 lovers, "passive" adolescent beloveds, and a third,
 Watt. W. M., et al. "Makka." In The Encyclopaedia of Islam.
 pathological and despised, category of adult males who sought
 Edited by E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis, and C. Pellat. Leiden: out the
 passive role. Female-female relationships (never a
 E. J. Brill, 1978. subject for
 literary celebration) were less role-dominated, at
 least in earlier times; by the late Middle Ages a "butch-
 Aslam Farouk-Alli femme" paradigm seems to have asserted itself for
 them as well.

316

Islam and the Muslim World Hospitality and Islam

With the impact of Western colonialism in the late early Qajar
 periods onward. Starting in the mid-1950s, buildnineteenth century, these
 patterns (specifically, accepted "ac- ings serving similar religious
 purposes have been named after
 tive" homoeroticism, subject to the same strictures on behav- other
 imams and Shi ite saints. For instance, in 1996 there
 ior as obtained with regard to extramarital heterosexual were 1358
 hosayniyya, 148 tekkiyeh, 34 fatimiyya, 32 mahdiyya,
 relations) began to change in most Islamic societies. The and 57
 zainabiyya in the Khorasan province. Scores of such
 Western construction of the "homosexual"—often, however,

buildings built during the last few decades of the twentieth century in the city of Mashhad bear such names as sajjadiyya, logical adult “passive”—has imposed itself with increasing force. Legal sanctions on homosexuality in various Islamic askariyya, mahdiyya, fatimiyya, nargisiyya, and zaynabiyya. countries today vary considerably, as does their degree of dependence on traditional pronouncements of Islamic law. Apparently, the religious influence of the Safavid era Societal attitudes have become more negative, and increasingly dominated by the new, imported paradigm of what Deccan during the reign of the Shi'ite Qutb-shahi dynasty, “homosexuality” is (for both males and females); but recent and Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astarabadi (d. 1625), an emiliberalizing shifts in attitude in the West are also having their present religious and political figure, is known to have built effect, and the entire subject is currently a nexus of consideration in and around the city of Hyderabad, instigating a tradition that later spread to

the north and other parts of India. The magnificent imambara of Asaf ad-Dawlah See also Eunuchs; Gender. at Lucknow is perhaps the most impressive of this kind of structures ever built.

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See also Rawza-Khani; Ta'ziya (Ta'ziye).

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Generous hospitality extended to family, friends, and strangers is one of the best-known features of Muslim societies, among Males in Moslem Societies. New York: Harrington whether pastoral, rural, or urban. This tradition of hospitality Park Press, 1992.

goes back to ancient times in the Middle East, an arid region where trade early became more important than in other Everett K. Rowson regions and where the need for travelers to rely on the

kindness of strangers was correspondingly greater. In Arabia, the pre-Islamic chieftain Hatim al-Ta'i represents the ideal generous host, and has remained a symbol of exuberant hospitality to this day.

Hosayniyya is a rather recent name for public buildings in Iran, For Muslims, the ideal of hospitality derives first from the Iraq and Lebanon that are used by the Shi'a for mourning Qur'an itself, which requires that hospitality or charity be offered to ceremonies, especially during the months of Muharam and travelers: "It is righteous to believe in God; [and] to spend of Safar (the first two months in the Muslim calendar) wherein your substance, out of love for Him. For your kin, the martyrdom of Imam Husayn b. Ali, grandson of the for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask," (2:177; Prophet, is mourned. Their counterparts in India and Paki- 2:215; 4:36; 8:41; 9:60; 17:26; 30:38; 59:7) and to the poor (5:89; stan are called imambara or azakhana, and in some places, 22:28, 36; 58:4; 74:44; 76:8–9; 90:14–18, 93:10; 107:3). ashurkhana, dargah, and alawi. Although mourning ceremonies also mentions rules relating to the hospitality of relatives and friends (24:61), and portrays the Prophet Abradate can be set for the emergence of the name hosayniyya ham as offering hospitality to the visiting angels by slaughter before the last part of eighteenth century. Until that time ing a calf (11:69–70; 51:24–27). Refusing to offer hospitality is reproved (18:77), as is treating guests insultingly or threathouses, in streets, and open spaces. Apparently, from the ening them (11:77; 15:68). Indeed, such behavior is considsecond half of the Safavid era the tekkeyyeh and khaneqa (also ered a great shame. khanakha), buildings that originally served as establishments of the dervishes, were gradually transformed into hosayniyyas, The prophet Muhammad's own well-attested hospitality often assuming this name from the latter part of the Zand and included reluctance to ask guests who had stayed too long to

Islam and the Muslim World

317

Hukuma al-islamiyya, al-

leave, even though he was the head of state at Medina (33:53), and Middle East and in the West. In the nineteenth cenand he let multitudes of envoys, guests, and the poor there tury, concepts such as political rights, public liberties, enjoy hospitality in the mosque, which was also the courtyard constitutionalism and related issues, found their way into the

of his house. More directly, in many extra-Qur'anic traditions the Prophet insisted that generosity be shown to guests, Rifa al-Tahtawi (1807–1871) and the Persian diplomat-travelers, and strangers. As a result, Muslim law recognized that Miza Malkom Khan (1833–1908). In the Ottoman Empire, offering guests three days' hospitality as the Prophet's way significant reforms were initiated with the hatt-i serif (1839; (sunna). noble rescript of Sultan Abdulmejid) and the hatt-i humayun (1856; imperial rescript, reaffirming the hatt-i serif) guaranteeing security of life, honor, and property, and a fair and public trial for individuals, and civil equality for all Ottoman subjects.

HUKUMA AL-ISLAMIYYA, AL- The United Nation's Charter of Human Rights of 10 December (ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT) 1948 was signed by the Muslim countries. In 1990 the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC, founded in 1973), While continuing to refer to classical doctrines of the caliphate, which is composed of all the Muslim countries, subcontemporary Sunni concepts of the Islamic state, or Islamic admitted the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam, in an order (al-nizam al-islami), have moved well beyond classical attempt to identify specific Islamic features of human rights in precedents to include elements of what is today considered to combination with elements of international law. The Cairo constitute "good governance": the rule of law, participation, Declaration has not been ratified; nevertheless it is referred to as a accountability, and the independence of the judiciary, with-meaningful contribution to the discourse on human rights out abandoning certain specifically Islamic notions such as and Islam. Although the signatories emphasized in the OIC "Sovereignty lies with God, who has defined the fundamental preamble their "commitment to the UN Charter and moral and legal code regulating all human activity" (shari'a). fundamental human rights," the document of 1990 reveals Government and society derive their legitimacy from "applying differences and even conflicts with international human rights ing" the shari'a. In their capacity as God's representatives or theory, since the latter does not accept that religious concepts trustees on earth (sing. khalifa), men and women are equal are of overriding importance. (though within specific domains, their rights and duties are Article 24 of the Cairo Declaration subordinates all rights

not identical). The ruler (caliph, imam, or president) derives authority from God's law, without clarifying his authority from the community of believers, who elect him and are bound to obey him as long as he stays within the limits of questioning the area of conflict between civil and Islamic law. Consultation (shura) in all public affairs is political rights, enacted in the constitution and international obligatory, albeit not necessarily binding on the ruler. He is accountable before God and the community (though the ruler is also accountable according to shari'a. The sensitive points lay in the area of instruments of sanction, including his removal from office, equality, particularly gender equality, as well as in the fields of art and remain ill defined). Some authors further include universal science. Some examples may illustrate the dilemma: Under suffrage, majority rule, and the separation of powers as basic elements of Islamic government in the modern age, and shari'a, all human beings, men and women, Muslims and non-Muslims, are equal in terms of dignity, but not in terms of rights. For instance, Muslim women and non-Muslims are not equal with Muslim men regarding family law and the law of inheritance. Although non-Muslim citizens See also Political Islam.

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enjoy the same rights and obligations as Muslim citizens, they are excluded from certain positions. Freedom of expression

Krämer, Gudrun. "Visions of an Islamic Republic. Good Governance According to the Islamists." In *The Islamic* has to comply with the principles of shari a, that is, it must

World and the West. Edited by Kai Hafez. Leiden: Brill, 2000. conform to the prevailing interpretation of Islam. Furthermore, the right of religious freedom is extremely limited for

Gudrun Krämer Muslims, since apostasy entails numerous civil law sanctions—

such as the loss of the entitlement to inherit or the loss of the right to remain married to a Muslim partner—and even carries the possibility of a death sentence. It should be

HUMAN RIGHTS mentioned

that numerous human rights organizations and activists in the Muslim world (for example, in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria) have called for a revision of the Cairo Declaration (regarding human rights) and Islam, or rather their compatibility or incompatibility in order to bring it into line with the fundamental principles of the UN Declaration.

Humor

The actual situation in Muslim countries reflects the individual responsibility before God, and in this sense procomplex social and political balance of power, inclusive of the provides a moral and ethical basis for a society, but this does not monopoly of definition and interpretation, rather than the imply any specific form of political system.

relation between Islam and human rights. This explains the Some modernists even go further in arguing the secularexisting gap between ideals and practice. Still, contemporary ists' thesis. Like the secularists, they hold that Islam does not interpretations and applications of the shari a, especially impose political or legal prescriptions, and add that Islam under prevailing culturally or socially rooted inequalities and does not resolve the problems concerning the few and definiunder authoritarian regimes, serve as a "legal" basis for tive legal regulations specified in the Qur an and in the violations of human rights. In these cases Islam is used to tradition. For Islam to do so, they argue, would call into legitimize undemocratic measures. Pakistan provides one of question the Qur an's authenticity as the eternally valid word the most striking examples because tribal (also patriarchal) of God. In order to avoid this, modernists such as the Syrian traditions and customs, a gradual Islamization of the legal Muhammad Shahrur argue that although the Qur an is the system, and a lack of adequate state protection there have last revelation and thus the last truth, this does not mean that resulted in the violation of several fundamental principles of there is only one interpretation. To the contrary, the Qur an human rights, such as freedom of religion, protection of is open for different approaches and readings. Shahrur's ideas minorities, and women's rights or gender equality. Muslim elicit a great many positive responses within the Arab world.

Shi ite communities and members of the Ahmadiyya, who are He is but one example of a scholar who pleads for an considered to be heretical, and non-Muslim (Christians) interpretation of Islam supportive of human rights. He, and minorities suffer severe persecutions and violence. Discrimi- scholars like him, challenge the prevailing Western perspecnatory practices against women, including honor killings, tive on Islam, while revealing that it is not Islam as such that is abuse, rape, institutionalized gender bias, among others, are (or is not) compatible with human rights, but rather that widespread and rarely prosecuted. certain

interpretations of Islam are at the root of the issue.

The case of the Egyptian scholar Abu Zayd provides but See also Ethics and Social Issues; Gender; Law; Organione example of how the limits set by the principles of shari a zation of the Islamic Conference; Secularism, Islamic;

are defended by orthodoxy. Abu Zayd was accused of apostasy Shari a. in 1993 because of his writings. After having taken his case to Egypt's final court of appeal, he was condemned to divorce in BIBLIOGRAPHY

1996. Further, despite concepts in legal thought providing An-Nai im, Abdullahi Ahmed. Toward an Islamic Reformation: Civil, for the protection of minorities in Muslim societies, the Human Rights, and International Law. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse actual situation contrasts sharply with existing theoretical University Press, 1990.

ideals. Non-Muslim critics and intellectuals focus on the Ashmawi, Muhammad Sa'id al-. "Shari'a: The Codification of apparent contradiction between the United Nation's Decla- of Islamic Law." In Liberal Islam. A Sourcebook. Edited by Charles Kurzman. New York and Oxford, U.K.: Oxford one hand, civil and political rights are accorded to any citizen University Press, 1998.

in Muslim countries by the constitution and the UN Charter Mayer, Ann. Islam and Human Rights: Traditions and Politics. but, on the other hand, the necessity of conformity with the Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991.

norms and prescriptions of shari'a are religiously legitimized. However, this discourse rarely includes the intense and di-

Ursula Günther

verse debates that are going on simultaneously within the Muslim world regarding the limits and possibilities of the adoption of human rights within the Islamic context.

HUMOR

The contemporary voices are complex and diverse, but an There is no classical Muslim definition of humor, but profesinquiry into two positions should be ample to give an idea of sor Franz Rosenthal offers one that attempts to be universally the wide range of interpretations and readings with regard to inclusive. In his Humor in Early Islam, Rosenthal suggests that human rights within the Muslim world. Secular positions, the hallmark of humor is a "certain freedom from convensuch as that of the Egyptian scholar Ali Abd al-Raziq tional motions" that, in ordinary circumstances, constrain us (1888–1966), argue that the Qur'an does not prescribe any all. Thus any "deviation" from what is expected may cause

particular form of government, and therefore a system wherein laughter even if it happens to be partially tragic. religion and politics are separated is not necessarily un-Islamic. Many scholars and intellectuals are in favor of Abd al-Raziq's model, for example, the Egyptian jurist Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi and the Syrian sociologist Burhan Ghaliyun. Proponents of this position state that Islam implies "deviations from ordinary reality," to use one of Rosenthal's

Humor in

Humor is a

other

Islam and the Muslim World

319

Humor

phrases. While in early Islam there was a tendency to lean much and laugh little." At the same time numerous scholars toward seriousness because of the need to maintain hilm in early Islam and continuing on into the Middle Ages found laughter (dignified and civil behavior, propriety), there was considerable divergence from this austere stance. In the first century literary enterprise. The most notable reference work listing collections of Islam, for example, there were several schools of humor- of humor stories comes from Ibn Nadim's Kitab al-fihrist, ists, storytellers, and professional entertainers. These schools a bibliographic work from the tenth century. trained individuals in the art of devising as well as relating humorous anecdotes (nawadir, sing. nadira), along with teach- Among the works of notable Muslim scholars and mystics, who have ing the skills of vocal and instrumental music. While there who have either mentioned amusing anecdotes in their otherwas religious objection to these arts, the justification for wise serious scholarly (adab) works, or have devoted entire works to the humor in early Islam was also based on religious arguments. subject of humor, al-Jahiz's (d. 868) Kitab al- bukhalah The Qur'an does not forbid laughter as it is God "who grants laughter and tears" (53:43). In fact, there are many instances including Uyun al-akhbar by Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889), al-Iqd al-farid of humor in Muslim scripture, providing testimony to Islam's al-farid by Ibn Abd Rabbih (860-940), al-Basir wa l-dhakha ir by "lighter side." by al-Tawhidi (d. 1010). In al-Jahiz's style of writing, serious subjects are presented together with jokes and amusing stories, and he Second only to the Qur'an are the traditions of the quotes the Qur'an in associating laughter with

prophet Muhammad, who is said to have made frequent use of humor. There are numerous reports, found in authentic hadith collections, of the Prophet either smiling or laughing, or causing others to laugh. A isha, the wife of Muhammad, scholars, such as al-Husri al-Qayrawani (d. 1022) in reportedly said that the Prophet often smiled. She noted, al-Jawahir fi al-Mulah wal-Nawadir, followed alhowever, that he never laughed in a loud manner or exposed Jahiz in inserting amusing stories in their adab works. Simihis uvula. The following anecdote, found in Sunan Abu larly, many Shi ite scholars, such as Baha al-Din al- Amili (d. Dawud, illustrates the Prophet's humor: Ni mat Allah al-Jaza iri (d. 1701), argued for and made use of anecdotal humor in their writings, often citing hadith examples specific to Shi ism.

A man broke his fast during Ramadan. The Messenger of God commanded him to emancipate a slave or fast ample evidence that numerous collections of for two months, or feed sixty poor men. He said: "I anecdotes (nawadir) existed in early centuries of Islam. cannot provide." The Apostle said: "Sit down." There- collections have survived, but many disappeared during after, a huge basket of dates was brought to the Mesthe Middle Ages due to criticism of witticism from orthodox senger of God. He said: "Take this and give it as sadaqa circles. It is therefore to be noted that jocularity and laughter [charity]." He said: "O Messenger of God, there is no one poorer than I." The Messenger of God thereupon a literary issue but also a moral and a religious one laughed so that his canine teeth became visible and authors. Despite religious stiffness, howsaid: "Eat it yourself." (Hasan 1984., hadith 2386) ever, a rich heritage of Arab and Islamic humor exists today

by way of folklore. Contemporary Islamic and Sufi studies have also helped revive the humorous in conjunction with The eleventh-century Muslim author al-Husri refers to the prophet Muhammad's liking of humor, saying he possessed a rather pleasant personality and was not averse to a

decent joke. He even reports that the Prophet played practical jokes. For instance, he reports that the Prophet told an in early Islam there were not only the profeselderly woman that old women will not enter Paradise, maskhara) whose causing her great distress. The Prophet then cited the Qur an,

life,
 carried out
 Other
 his Jam
 made use of
 1621) and
 There is
 such
 Some
 was not just
 for many Muslim
 Humor Characters in Islamic
 Literature
 In his 1927
 reports that
 sing.
 job was to

keep the ruler entertained, but even some cities had which promises that she will enter Paradise as a young their known jesters and entertainers. One such personage was woman. Other companions of the Prophet are also reported Ghadiri of Medina, who earned his living by telling amusing stories to to have approved of humor. For example, Ibn al-Jawzi refers his rich patrons and who was later taken over by to Imam Ali as having said: "Whoever possesses a humorous Ash ab. The figure of Ash ab, called "the greedy," was clearly element is cured of vanity and self-pride." known for his comic poetry and humorous remarks in a variety of circumstances, and his jokes remained popular well Classical Attitudes Toward Humor into the Abbasid period. In one of the many Ash ab anecdotes, the greedy one is told: reproach for laughter and joking (al-hazl) within a religious context. A widely circulated hadith in support of this stance is "If you would transmit traditions [ahadith, sayings of taken from Sahih al-Bukhari, which quotes the Prophet as the Prophet] and give up your jokes, it would be more saying: "By God, if you knew what I know you would weep becoming of you." Ash ab replied: "Indeed, I have

320

Islam and the Muslim World

Humor

heard traditions and transmitted them." Asked to tell a way of bringing insults on himself. A description of Abu Dulama's tradition, he said: "I was told by Nafi on the authority Dulama's style of entertainment is found in al-Husri's Jam alof Ibn Umar that the Messenger of God said: 'A man jawahir: in whom there are found two qualities belongs to God's chosen friends.'" When asked what the two qualities were, Ash ab replied: "Nafi had forgotten Let it be known to you, Abu Dulama one, and I have forgotten the other." (Rosenthal 1956, p. 117) You neither belong to a noble people, nor do you have any nobility in you. Another personage who came to be famous in many When you put on the turban, you appear like a monkey, Islamic societies and who has survived till the present is Juha, also variously called Joha, Hoca, Zha, and many other names. And when you put off the turban, you look like a swine. Juha is seen as a strange character who combines wit and

simplicity in his actions. He appears to be foolish and yet his combined in yourself both ugliness and foolishness contains a deeper wisdom. Juha has a reputation for escaping trouble, and his silly actions are a sign of foresight. For instance, when Juha was appointed governor by Timur, the emperor, he wrote his accounts to be submitted to the emperor on thin pieces of bread. This seemingly foolish act is, in fact, quite wise, because he knew that Timur, when angered by his previous governor, had forced that unfortunate man to eat his account books. There were other characters, such as Abu Nuwas and Bahlul, who had similar reputations. (Ali, 1998, p. 57)

Contemporary Humor

By the eleventh century Juha was accepted as a historical humorous literature may properly be shelved under entity, but his precise name and lineage were still a matter of much confusion. In the late Middle Ages, Juha appears in the use of humor has always been essential in conveying the spiritual Turkish writings as Nasreddin Hoca (in Arabic, Nasr al-Din wisdom of the sages. Idries Shah, for example, has related Khwaja, the name signifies “a learned man”). The name of many stories featuring the character of Mulla Nasrudin. In his work Hoca seems to have replaced Juha in popular folklore, and in Shah argues on the Sufi use of humor, Special Illumination, that humor endures because it has the power to teach while two different names. Among Persian speaking peoples, he it amuses: fulfill

became known as Mulla Nasr al-Din (or Nasrudin). In the Jokes are structures, and in their Sufic usage they may fulfill seventeenth century, Turkish folklore absorbed vast number many different functions. Just as we may get the humor of anecdotes from earlier centuries in the name of Hoca, even nutrient out of a joke, we can also get several though these stories existed in some form before the development of the latter figure. standard meaning of a joke. Different people will see different contents of it; and pointing out some of its This jester is still known by various names. As Nasrudin or possible usages will not, if we are used to this method,

Nasreddin, he has over twelve hundred stories attached to his name. . . .The joke, like the non-humorous name. In Egypt they know him as Juha, in Turkey and Persian-speaking countries he is widely known as either Hoca illustration and action. (Shah 1977, p. 11)

or Nasreddin; in other regions, including Indonesia, his jokes are told in the name of Abu Nuwas. He thus represents a vast Humor is also a medium for expressing social and political number of characters that have been developed over the criticism. Often it can present a subject which is otherwise centuries by professional humorists and other religious and prohibited by political or religious authorities. In her article adab writers, and can be found in some form in every Muslim “Humor: The Two-Edged Sword,” Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid culture. He has gained considerable popularity in many non-Marsot offers one example of political humor from Egypt. Muslim countries.

Humor and wit are also found in poetry, which is a When Nasser died, the question of where to bury him developed art form in Islamic civilization and finds expression during a cabinet meeting. One minister said, in Arabic, Persian, and other Islamic languages, such as Urdu. bury him in the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.” The poetic humorists especially flourished during the Abbasid Another objected, saying, “You can’t bury a period. They were called shu ara al-mujjan, and included with a common soldier.” A third suggested that court poets such as Abu Dulama, who used to entertain by buried in one of the tombs of the Mamluk

Islam and the Muslim World

321

Husayn

sultans. “No! No!” was the objection. “You can’t bury existential tragedy, of injustice in this world triumphing over the Rais with a slave.” Finally running out of burial duty a true Muslim has to sacrifice oneself, to sites, someone suggested Jerusalem. Whereupon, the and justice as Husayn did, and to shock rest of the cabinet rose in horror and said, “Never! The returning to the cause of Islamic social justice, a last time they buried someone there, he came back come again to political importance in the after three days!” (p. 263)

rhetoric of Iran’s Islamic Revolution of 1977 through 1979,

but also in Iraq in the aftermath of the overthrow of Saddam
 During the Gulf War in the early 1990s, many Palestini- Husayn in 2003.
 ans came up with their own jokes to escape the otherwise
 The Importance of the Difference between Sunni and
 horrible experiences of the war and its aftermath. One such
 Shi a Interpretations
 joke is related by Sharif Kanaana in his article “Palestinian
 What is at issue in the different understandings of Sunni and
 Humor during the Gulf War”:

Shi a is not mere history, but the abstractions from history
 that compose the mythos or symbolic structure of religious
 Shortly after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Saddam’s belief. The
 account of early Islam by Western historians, as
 little daughter had a birthday. Saddam asked her, well as the Sunni
 account, is a story of alliances among
 “What would you like me to get you for your birth- Bedouin tribes
 that controlled the trade between the three
 day?” She replied, “Get me Qatar.” (Kanaana great
 agrarian empires of Byzantium, the Sassanians, and
 1995, p. 70) Abyssinia. The

second caliph, Umar, was the architect of
 expanding the polity that Muhammad had initiated. He
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Bakr to succeed Muhammad, then Umar
 Ali, Abdul. “Humour Literature: An Arab-Islamic Legacy.” became the
 second caliph. Conquest proceeded quickly across
 Hamdard Islamicus 21 (1998): 47–59. the Fertile
 Crescent, Egypt, and Iran. The state was based on
 Hasan, Ahmed, trans. Sunan Abu Dawud. Lahore: Sh. M. the separation
 of the Arab military garrisons from the con-
 Ashraf, 1984. quered

populations. Umar’s governor in Syria, Mu awiya,
 commanded from Damascus, but elsewhere garrison towns
 Kanaana, Sharif. “Palestinian Humor During the Gulf War.”
 were established: Kufa near Ctesiphon, Basra on the Gulf,
 Journal of Folklore Research 32, no. 1 (1995): 65–75.
 Fustat at the head of the Nile delta. A register of Muslims was
 Margoliouth, D. S. “Wit and Humour in Arabic Literature.”
 established so that these garrisons could be paid from the
 In Arabic Literature and Thought. Edited by Mohamed
 booty of war and revenue from lands conquered. As expan-
 Taher. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1997.
 sion slowed, this system caused problems under the third
 Marsot, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid. “Humor: The Two-Edged caliph,
 Uthman, who reacted by relying increasingly on his
 Sword.” In Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East. Edited
 own clansmen, the Umayyads. This provoked further comby Donna Lee Bowen and

Evelyn A. Early. Bloomington

plaints. In an attempt at symbolic unity, Uthman imposed a
and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993.

standardized Qur'an; this also led to resentment. Ali became
Marzolph, Ulrich. "Timur's Humorous Antagonist, Nasreddin

a center of opposition to these policies. Uthman was

Hoca." *Oriente Moderno* 15, no. 76 (1996–1997): 485–498.

assassinated in 656, and Ali was proclaimed the fourth caliph

Pellat, Ch. "Seriousness and Humour in Early Islam." *Islamic* in an
attempt to stabilize the state by using his religious

Studies 2 (1963): 353–362.

position as imam to strengthen the secular position of amir al-

Rosenthal, Franz. *Humor in Early Islam*. Leiden: E. J. mu minin. But

it did not work: he was assassinated, Mu'awiya

Brill, 1956. became caliph,

and he appointed his son, Yazid, to succeed.

Shah, Idries. *Special Illumination: The Sufi Use of Humour*. The Hejaz

refused to recognize Yazid, and Kufa invited

London: The Octagon Press, 1977. Husayn to lead a

revolt. It failed, ending with Husayn's death

at Karbala.

Irfan A. Omar

This history can be followed in the Shi'ite version but with

quite different nuances, emphases, and meanings: Leadership

should have passed from Muhammad to Ali, his cousin and

HUSAYN (603–661) son-in-law,

whom the Prophet had adopted as a boy even

before Muhammad's first marriage. According to Sunnis

Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, grandson of the prophet succession was

elective, and Abu Bakr, the father-in-law of

Muhammad, the third Shi'ite imam, was born according to Muhammad's

youngest wife, was legitimately elected. But

Sunnis on 6 Ramadan, according to Shi'a, on 3 Sha'ban. He according to

Shi'a this was an usurpation, not just of Muhammad's martyrdom at Karbala at noon

on Friday the tenth (Ashura) Muhammad's designation but of the special access

to the infallible

of Muharram at the age of fifty-eight in the year 680 C.E. For

interpretation of the Qur'an that passes via the lineage of the

Shi'a, Husayn's martyrdom is the paradigmatic story of twelve imams

from Ali to Hasan and Husayn. Ali withdrew

322

Islam and the Muslim World

Husayn

into quiet teaching, and also compiled an authoritative edition of Muhammad.

Sunnis focus their symbolic structure on Muhammad's interpretation of the Qur'an (having been

one of the recorders of Muhammad, while Shi'a, also honoring the details of

Muhammad's

Muhammad's recitations of revelation), allowing the first life, focus attention on Ali, Husayn, the Five Pure Souls of three caliphs to show by their actions and legal decisions how the Family of the Prophet, and the twelve imams. Key imperfect and unfit they were to lead. The story of Ali's calendrical events differ: For Shi'a, Husayn's birthday is not martyrdom while praying in Kufa on the 19 Ramadan 661 C.E. the 6 Ramadan, nor Ali's 22 Ramadan, as they are for Sunnis, provides Shi'a with a prologue to the central martyrdom of and all such happy events are in other months the better to Husayn: Ali's foreknowledge of his death, his generosity focus on the martyrdom of Ali during Ramadan. Sunnis deny toward his assassin, his courage in battle, his knowledge of that Hasan was poisoned: He died of consumption; Sunnis Islamic law, his humility as an officeholder, and his wisdom as say that Abu Bakr, not Ali, was the first man (after Muhama judge. These are celebrated by Shi'a. Hasan, Ali's eldest mad's wife Khadija) to accept the call to Islam.

son, who was too weak to wrest the leadership from Mu'awiya, was poisoned, and Mu'awiya declared his own son, Yazid, his Such systematic differences help signal the Shi'ite drama successor. of faith:

Believers are witnesses (shuhada) through their acts of worship (ibada) to the metaphysical reality that is hidden Husayn's Martyrdom at Karbala (gha'ib).

Shuhada means both martyrs and witnesses. Husayn, Husayn, Ali's second son, refused to swear allegiance. It is knowing he would die, went to Karbala to witness the truth, alleged by Shi'a that Yazid sent assassins to mingle with knowing that his death would make him an enduring, immortal pilgrim at the hajj. To avoid bloodshed during the hajj, tal witness, whose example would be a guide for others.

Husayn cut short his pilgrimage. Foreseeing his martyrdom, Gha'ib refers to a series of inner truths: a God who is not he released his followers from any obligation to follow, and visible, a twelfth imam who is in occultation, a personal inner with his family and seventy-two men, he went toward Kufa. faith, and the special light (nur) that created Muhammad, Ali, Yazid had co-opted the Kufans. Husayn's forces, who were Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn, the Five Pure Souls of the trapped in the desert at Karbala, were denied access to water Family of the Prophet (33:33), and whose direct connection (to the Euphrates), and on the tenth of Muharram all but two with the divine passes down through the line of the imams. of Husayn's men were slain, his body was desecrated, and the The nur doctrine parallels the divine royal farr of Persian epic

women were taken prisoner. According to a Shi'ite legend tradition. There is a story that Bibi Shahbanu, the daughter of Husayn's head was taken to Damascus, where the caliph the last Sassanian king, married Husayn so there is a connection between Yazid beat it with sticks in a vain attempt to keep it from Persian royalty and the imams. The narrative reciting the Qur'an. The details of the battle of Karbala form a trine says that all 124,000 prophets as well as the imams were the key imagery of passion plays (ta'zieh, shabih) and created from a ray of divine light, often making for a divine birth, as was preached (rawzehs). the case with Husayn. Fatima emerged from a stream pregnant, the pregnancy lasted only six months, and The details heighten the significance of Yazid's tyranny her womb glowed with incandescent light. and desecration of the sacred and proper order of life and Islam. Not only had Yazid usurped the caliphate and was There are thus three parts to the notion of the Karbala paradigm as using that office tyrannically, but he had attempted to de-encoding for the Shi'a story of Husayn: (1) a story crate the hajj, had desecrated the time of communal prayer expandable to be all-inclusive of history, cosmology, (Friday noon), and had destroyed one by one the elements of and life's problems; (2) a background contrast (of Sunni conceptions, civilized life symbolized most powerfully by the denial of but also other religions) against which the story water. Three sons of Husayn were slain: the infant Ali is given heightened perceptual value; and (3) ritual or physical Asghar, the five-year-old Ja'far, and the twenty-five-year-old drama to embody the story and maintain high levels of Ali Akbar. Destruction of family, community, government, emotional investment: rawzeh, shabih, ta'zieh, data, and matam. and humanity are all themes of the Karbala story, retold and relived in rawzehs (a form of preaching that uses the Karbala Husayn is an intercessor at Judgment Day, and with story to frame the topic of the sermon), taziyehs or shabihs various interpretive sophistication, one is induced by the (passion plays), dasteh or matam (lines of men chanting, pietistic and didactic exercise of the rawzeh to weep for Husayn in an beating their chests, and flagellating their foreheads and act of repentance so that he may intercede and backs with knives), and the carrying in processions of naqls judge one's sins more lightly and with compassion. Some (large wooden structures representing Husayn's bier that rawzeh-khwans (preachers) elicit tears for the injustice of the requires scores of men to carry; called ta'ziah in India and world and the misfortunes that befell Husayn and Shi'a;

Trinidad, there in the shape of the Taj Mahal). others stress
Husayn as an example of bravery and courage in
the fight for freedom rather than as a victim. Ayatollah
The Karbala Paradigm Ruhollah
Khomeini at the time of the Iranian revolution
For Sunnis, the tenth of Muharram is merely a day of stressed that
one should not cry for Husayn, but one should
voluntary fasting that has to do, not with Husayn, but with march with the
same determination that he showed to fight

Islam and the Muslim World

323

Husayn

Muharram is a Muslim festival commemorating the death of the martyr Imam
Husayn, Muhammad's grandson and the third Shi'ite imam
(pictured here with Nawab of Nurshidabad in prayer). Sunni and Shi'ite
Muslims conflict in their versions of Husayn's story. THE ART ARCHIVE/
BRITISH LIBRARY

for justice against all odds. Since martyrs are said to go to Husayn
and his children suffered a greater thirst and were denied
heaven, one need not mourn their deaths as one does the
water. God substituted a ram for Isma'il, but Husayn
deaths of ordinary people. During the Iranian revolution was in
fact slain.
young men wore white shrouds to symbolize their willingness
to die, and wall graffiti proclaimed that those who died did In
politically charged times—as in the years before the
the work of Husayn, those who fought did the work of
1977–1979 Islamic revolution in Iran—the Karbala paradigm
Zaynab (she kept the survivors of Karbala together and could
be a vehicle for political mobilization. The shah was
maintained the message of Husayn until the fourth imam had
identified with the caliph Yazid (who sent his army to defeat
recovered and could assume leadership), and those who did Husayn)
and injustice, while Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini,
not fight did the work of Yazid. who
would lead the revolution, was identified with Husayn
and with the forces of justice. Preachers could speak against
The dramatic performances of the events of the first ten Yazid and
be understood to be attacking the shah. In the
days of Muharram at Karbala (the passion plays, shabih, Persian
Gulf and the Subcontinent (Lucknow, Karachi), the
ta ziyeh, and rawzehs) are occasions when the story can be
processions of Ashura, the tenth of Muharram—when the
expanded to stories of the earlier prophets who had fore- bier of
Husayn (ta ziyehs in India, nagls in Iran) is carried

knowledge of the martyrdom of Husayn and were told that through
the streets along with chanting ("Husayn! Husayn!")
their own sufferings were minor in comparison. Thus, Adam, and
breast-beating groups of men (dasteh) sometimes also
when first put on Earth, wandered across the future site of the
beating their backs with chains and slashing their foreheads
battle of Karbala and cut his toe, a prefiguration, God told with
knives—in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often
him, of the more serious blood that would be shed there by caused
riots between Sunnis and Shi'a. Under Khomeini,
Husayn. The infant Isma'il suffered thirst but found water;
conflict with Saudi Arabia was stirred up by invoking the hajj

324

Islam and the Muslim World

Husayn, Taha

in the Husayn story, and using the hajj as a site for organizing his attempts
failed and he joined the Arab Revolt in 1936.
and spreading the message of the revolution; in the war with When the
British tried to arrest him, he fled to Baghdad,
Iraq, Iran utilized slogans about Karbala and a series of where he
participated in an unsuccessful anti-British revolt.
military operations were code-named Karbala. Al-Husayni
fled to Germany and cooperated with the Nazis
until 1945. He rejected the 1947 UN partition resolution,
In less politically charged times, as well, the emotional and the
Palestinians, despite Arab military help, were unable
work of the passion plays, processions, and rawzehs is one of to stop the
establishment of Israel. Some 726,000 Palestinians
instilling stoicism and determination to fight for justice even fled or
were expelled by Israel during the 1948 war. The
against the overwhelming odds of a corrupt world. After the Mufti spent
the rest of his life as a religious leader in the
ousting of Saddam Husayn from power in Iraq in 2003, on the Islamic
world, where he had been popular since the 1930s.
fortieth day after the tenth (Asura) of Muharram, hundreds
of thousands of Shi'a joyfully joined processions to Karbala (a

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practice forbidden under Saddam Husayn) with many dastehs
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of chanting men, head slashing and flagellation with chains.
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Philip. *The Mufti of Jerusalem: al-Hajj Amin al-*
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(1889–1973)
- Michael M. J. Fischer Taha Husayn was a prominent Egyptian writer and
educational reformer. Born in a village in upper Egypt, Husayn was
left blind after an illness at age two. In 1902, he began studies
at al-Azhar in Cairo and was quickly at odds with its tradi-
HUSAYNI, HAJJ AMIN AL- tional
curriculum and teaching methods. Switching to the
(1895–1974) newly
opened Cairo University, he became the first student
to receive a doctorate there in 1914. He completed a second
Amin al-Husayni was both the religious and preeminent
doctorate at the Sorbonne (Paris, France) in 1919. As a
political leader of the Palestinians during British rule in
professor of Arabic literature at Cairo University, he quickly
Palestine (1917–1948). Born in Jerusalem to a patrician
emerged as one of the most prolific and controversial literary
family, he studied briefly at al-Azhar University.
figures in the Arab world. His book *Fi l-shi'r al-jahili* (On pre-
The British appointed him mufti (jurist who gives legal Islamic
poetry), published in 1926, incurred the condemnations, or fatawa) of
Jerusalem in 1921, and President of tion of religious conservatives for
casting doubt on the
the Supreme Muslim Council in 1922. Fearing Zionism's
authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry and, by extension, possibly
consequence on his people, he helped galvanize the Palestini- of the
Qur'an and other early religious texts. His most
ans and the Arab and Islamic world against the Zionist systematic
work of social commentary is *Mustaqbal al-thaqafa*
program in Palestine. To emphasize the centrality of Jerusa- fi Misr (The
future of culture in Egypt), in which he argues

lem to Muslims, he renovated in the 1920s the Dome of the Rock, with Muslim funds, and organized two Islamic conferences in Jerusalem in 1928 and 1931. Egyptians should therefore see themselves, and be seen by others, as part of Europe. Essential to this new identity is the The 1929 disturbance (Western [Wailing] Wall riots) secularizing of national life in Egypt. His three-volume catapulted him to political power. He cooperated with the autobiography, begun in 1929 as al-Ayyam (The days), is British and attempted to change their pro-Zionist policy. But considered a milestone in modern Arab literature.

Islam and the Muslim World

325

Husayn, Taha

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326

Islam and the Muslim World

I

IBADAT

rewarded and performance will be punished. These qualifications may vary among the law schools with regard to their precise connotation.

The sacred law of Islam (the shari a) distinguishes two kinds of practices: ibadat (practices concerning the relations between God and human beings, or devotional practices) and Together with the testimony of faith (shahada), the ibadat constitute the five pillars of Islam (arkan al-Islam) According mu amalal (social ethics, i.e., the part of the law that guides to Islam, humans have been created to serve God. Both the the relations between humans). The ibadat include the salat individual and the community are under the obligation to (prayer), zakat (alms giving), sawm Ramadan (fasting during follow the stipulations of the revealed law. According to the

the holy month of Ramadan), and the hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places near to this holy city, namely sources of the revelation: the ayat al-shari'a in the Qur'an and Arafat, Muzdalifa, and Mina).

in the sunna, the Prophetic tradition. There is no difference of opinion among scholars with regard to the obligatory and Some aspects of the ibadat can be qualified as ritual and clear (bayan) nature of these duties. This status explains why other aspects fit less easily in this category. For example, zakat someone who denies them their obligatory character places regulations pertain to goods or wealth that are to be handed him- or herself outside religion. That person expresses kufr, over to certain categories of persons who are entitled to it (in unbelief.

particular, the needy). This takes place in a nonritual context on the one hand, and a ritualized context, that of giving zakat Status

(zakat al-fitr) on the Day of the Breaking of the Fast, on

According to religious views, the ibadat are constant and do the other. not

allow for varying interpretations based on spatial and temporal circumstances. In reality, however, some changes in According to the shari'a, the ibadat are all the individual the way the ibadat have been performed and interpreted by duties that each mentally competent, mature, and healthy the believers have taken place. There can be no doubt that its Muslim (male and female) is obligated to perform. The religious status explains why the ibadat changed far less than formulation of the niyya, the intention to perform these the mu'amalat. They are the "symbolic capital" (the term was rituals before performing them, is of crucial importance for coined by Pierre Bourdieu) of the ulema, who have been able their validity, or, as the Prophetic tradition has it: "The works to retain their position until the present day. Nowadays that are (only) rendered valid by their intentions."

position is being challenged by emerging religious authorities, such as liberal intellectuals like Mohamed Arkoun, and

In the fiqh (jurisprudence), actions are qualified as follows. also

Islamist leaders who enjoined no traditional religious Fard or wajib indicates that an act is obligatory in such a way education, such as the late Sayyid Qutb.

that omission will be punished and the performance will be rewarded. The qualification sunna or mustahabb indicates New media and political situations also allow further that an act is recommended but that omission will not be possibilities to acquire authority. For example, "Cyber muftis,"

punished. Mubah or ja iz means that it is indifferent, and who
give fatwas via the Internet, and often have unclear
makruh, reprehensible, that is, omission will be rewarded.
backgrounds, draw new audiences. In 1960 Tunisian presi-
Finally, forbidden (haram) indicates that omission will be dent
Habib Bourguiba argued in various addresses to his

Ibadat

After Friday prayers during the fasting month of Ramadan in Kuala Lumpur,
Malaysia, Muslims descend a staircase underneath five clocks
showing the daily prayer times at the National Mosque. © AFP/CORBIS

population that under the circumstances in which the nation the rules
of the fiqh, but also by cultural and political tradifound itself, namely that
of the recently recovered freedom tions, local circumstances, the
norms and values of the befrom French colonial rule, it should be permitted not
to fast liever's own community and other religious communities,
during Ramadan. According to him, Tunisia could be consid- politics,
and society at large. A discussion about whispering or
ered to be in an economic jihad, with regard to its struggle for reading
aloud particular recitations during the salat among
a better economic position. Fasting, he stated, would bring the Gayo
(Indonesia) had a background in local debate
about too considerable a loss of productivity. It soon ap- between
traditionalists and reformists about conceptions of
peared, however, that the most important Tunisian ulema did community
and faithfulness to the normative example of the
not endorse the proposal and that the population did not give prophet
Muhammad. This shows that the opposition beup the fast.

tween universal versus local meaning, or great
and little

traditions, does not hold in the case of the salat. Other
The aforesaid high status of ritual obligations does not researchers
made it clear that connected oppositions, namely
always correlate with a high rate of performance. Empirical between
orthodox (male) versus heterodox (female), did not
research by Bruno Etienne and Mohamed Tozy showed that hold in
the case of gender roles, either.

only 10 percent of the men in the Moroccan city of Casablanca
attended the obligatory Friday prayer and that only one out of Ritual in
Pre-Islamic Arabia

every thousand persons performed the daily salats in a mosque. The
rituals that became the ibadat as we know them today
were not unknown in sixth-century Arabia. Rituals such as
Although often discussed as if they are isolated phenom- fasting were
known (see Q. 19: 26–27). Certain fasting
ena, the ibadat are in practice embedded in and closely practices

and purity regulations were also observed by Meccan interwoven with a complex system of informal and formal monotheists. Hence, the religious scholars make a distinction religious behaviors. These behaviors are not only guided by the meaning of a term such as sawm (fasting) in daily

328

Islam and the Muslim World

Ibadat

use and its meaning in the shari a. In daily use, sawm means abstention, for example, from food or drink. In the terminology recommended that believers distinguish themselves from the followers of other religions and not assimilate refraining from food and drink from dawn to sunset. regard to dress and prayer rituals (for example, whether or not to pray while wearing shoes). These traditions were an expression of The hajj was also practiced in the pre-Islamic period the desire to establish an Islamic religious (“time of ignorance”), but in a form different from the Islamic identity, and they have continued to influence Muslim attitudes and behavior until today and are the cause of numerous discussions. For example, the present-day custom among Prophet belonged, refrained from performing the standing at Muslims of Surinamese origin to make a ball of flour Arafat and the running between the hills al-Safa and al-Marwa for religiopolitical reasons. Instead, the importance of for it was said to have been taken over from the the Ka ba as a central sanctuary was enhanced. It is also Another example is the question of whether Muslims known that tribes had different talbiyas, and ihram practices. allowed to attend Christmas celebrations, a matter that is hotly debated in many places.

In pre-Islamic times, the rituals were embedded in a cycle that was determined both by the solar and lunar calendars. not only did such behavior serve to mark off Islam The umra was a spring ritual in the month of Rajab in which animals were sacrificed, the hajj fell in the autumn, celebrating the harvest. The eleven days separating the lunar from the divide between Sunni and Shi ite Islam about the solar year were compensated for by the so-called intercalation,

between

Religious

Traditions

with

Dutch

out of the

shunned,

Hindus.

are

But

from other

ritual

acceptability of the purification ritual of passing the hand over the the nasi . The nasi was abolished by the Prophet after the boots, which even found its way to medieval creeds. conquest of Mecca, as is attested in the Qur an (9:37). From The issue here was whether it was permissible to wipe the boots that moment onward calendrical feasts and rituals were no instead of the feet themselves when travelling. Shi ites did not allow this, while Sunni Muslims did. longer tied to the seasons.

Emerging Rituals

Other ritual changes introduced by the Prophet aimed at New customs were not always looked upon favorably by the dissociating rituals from sunset and sundown, for example, ulema. In many cases they were qualified as innovations the running of the pilgrims between Arafat and Muzdalifa (bid as). The celebrations of the birthday of the Prophet (the and prayer during sunrise. Ritual restrictions observed by the mawlid al-nabi) and of the middle night of Sha ban are two Hums were also abolished in order to symbolize the unity of famous cases in point. Complete inventories of such bid as mankind in Islam. Hence the Qur an states that there is no sin came into existence in the Middle Ages. Many ulema applied (2:158) in performing the sa y (pacing back and forth seven the same sort of rules to these bid as as to other actions, hence times) between Safa and Marwa, something that the Hums they might vary from laudable to forbidden. Rispler Chaim had refrained from doing. Through the example of the argues that the purpose of such inventories was not to Prophet during the farewell-pilgrimage, the umra was joined prohibit such new ritual forms, but rather to bring them to the hajj and so both rituals became united. They can still be under control and steer them in such a way that their performed separately, however. Moreover, the rituals of performance would not infringe on morality and good manrunning around the Ka ba and running between the Safa and ners (for example, by mixing men and women).

Marwa were united with the rituals in Arafat, particularly one of the hajj's central rituals of "standing." This ritual takes Muslim are exhorted not to devote themselves to rituals to long hours where, ideally, the pilgrims stand in prayer. A the detriment of the body. Hence, women may abstain from preferred place for this ritual is near or on the Hill of Mercy. fasting, and the ill and sick do not have to perform the salat or fast. Islam advises believers to take care of the body and soul Thus, prayer, giving zakat (2:215, 9:6), fasting (2:179), and in a harmonious way. Islam incorporated and transformed the hajj (3:91) became individual Islamic duties. Friday after- existing

rules of purity in its religious system. The overall noon became the day of communal prayer, accompanied by a term for these rules is tahara, which means purity. A wellsermon (khutba). This day and time were chosen since a known tradition says “Purity is half the faith.” All ibadat are market was held in Medina in the morning and many people in one way or the other related to notions of purity. For gathered there. After the death of the Prophet in 632 C.E. the example, giving alms is associated with purifying goods as rituals further developed both with regard to actual practice well as oneself (see 9:103, “Take alms from their wealth, and the norms and values held by the community. In this wherewith thou mayst purify them and mayst make them process the religious identity of Islam as a separate religion grow, and pray for them”). The salat should also be perplayed a great part. formed in a ritually clean state (5:6.).

Islam and the Muslim World

329

Ibadat

Prayer (Salat)

The following passages from the Qur an form the foundation of the five daily prayer times.

So give glory to God when you reach evening and when you rise in the morning. Yes, to Him is praise in the heavens and on earth and in the afternoon and when the day begins to decline. (30:17–18)...celebrate the praises of your Lord before the rising sun, and before its setting. Yes, celebrate them for part of the night and at the sides of the day, so that you may have spiritual joy. (20:130)

The five prayers should take place in the following order:

- Fajr: break of day
- Zuhr: midday
- Asr: during the afternoon
- Maghrib: evening
- Isha: night

These are a few of the words and positions of prayer, which is always said in Arabic. Movements one through five constitute one rak ah. Each of the prayer times consists of two to four rak ahs. Movements six and seven complete the prayer.

1

2

3

Through wudu , the ritual
O God, glory and praise are

God is most great.
God is most

washing, Muslims prepare
for You, and blessed is Your
for prayer in mind, body
name, and exalted is Your
and spirit.
majesty; there is no god
but You.

5

7

Peace and mercy

be on you.

and His blessings.

O Lord, make me and my children
steadfast in prayer. Our Lord,
accept the prayer. Our Lord, forgive
me and my parents and the believers
on the day of judgment.

The prayer order and traditions, diagrammed.

For this reason books on fiqh usually begin with a discussion of purity rules. A key term in this respect is that of the *fitra*, a concept that can be rendered as the natural disposition of purity. According to many Muslim scholars, the *salat* performed by an uncircumcised man is void, nor can he serve as an imam during prayer. However, that purity is not of a

Islam and the Muslim World

Sudanese Muslims in ceremonial clothing on the first day of Ramadan, a thirty-day period that requires Muslims to fast during daylight hours.

HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

medical-material nature, but has a religious symbolic side, it
and is rejected by movements that consider it to be

appears, from the possibility of using sand or dust instead of veneration of a human being, something that should be water for the ablution when the latter cannot be found reserved exclusively for God and hence as shirk (the act of (tayammum, mentioned in 5:6). The ground on which the associating with God).

salat is performed (hence the use of prayer rugs) should also be pure. Dress should be modest. Private parts should be The first Friday night in Rajab, which is especially celebrated. In addition to the body, Islamic devotional life celebrated in Turkish Islam, is a holy night, called laylat salat alstructures time (rites of passage, feasts, festivals, pilgrimages) ragha ib. On 27 Rajab, the Laylat al-Mi raj, or night of and place and space (the home, mosque, masjid). These ascension, is celebrated. The ascension of the Prophet via aspects will be discussed below.

Jerusalem (al-isra wal-mi raj) is one of the great symbols of Islam in which the believer ascends toward God. It is at this

The Ritual Calendar

occasion that the number of daily salats was fixed at five.

The ritual cycle is connected to the lunar year, which opens Elements of the ritual celebration may include recitation of with the feast of Ashura on 10 Muharram. For Shi ite surat al-isra (17), followed by commentaries, singing, and the Muslims this marks the day on which the martyrdom of the recitation of religious poems of sorts.

grandson of the Prophet, al-Husayn, at Karbala in 680 C.E., is commemorated by emotional and at times violent mourn-

The celebration of the fifteenth middle night of Sha ban, ing rituals. According to Sunni fiqh Ashura had been a fasting also called laylat al-bara a, is another bid a. Its popularity can day before the prescription of the Ramadan fast, and it has be explained by its age-old associations with the divine remained a voluntary fasting day until the present. In Morocco decision of who will die the next year, which is believed to be it is a festival on which the dead are honored, and during made on that night .

which the participants give alms, eat dried fruit, and buy toys for their children. It is accompanied by reverie and carnival-

The month of Ramadan is marked by the fast, and on the like rituals such as masquerades, processions, and theater.

21, 23, 25, 27, and 29 of that month Laylat al-qadr (97) is

On 12 Rabi I, the third month, the birthday of the celebrated.

Ramadan is the holy month par excellence. Even

Prophet is celebrated. This festival grew out of the Fatimid those who otherwise hardly practice Islam participate in the

Shi ite ritual practice (eleventh century C.E.), commemorat- Ramadan

fasting. According to popular beliefs, the devils ing the birthdays of the members of the the Prophet's (shayatin) and jinn are powerless, while in contrast God is immediate family, the Prophet, and the reigning Fatimid nearer than during other months. This increased religious imam. It was gradually introduced in Sunni circles in succes- awareness culminates in laylat al-qadr, when, as some people sive parts of the Middle East and the Muslim West. Nowa- believe, the gates of heaven are opened. On 1 Shawwal, the days, celebrated nearly everywhere (although exceptions, Day of the Breaking of the Fast (id al-fitr) is celebrated. After such as Saudi Arabia, exist), its status as a feast has neverthe- the salat al- id, people pay visits to relatives, which often less remained controversial. It is considered to be a bid a (see includes visits to the graves (ziyarat al-qubur).

Islam and the Muslim World

331

Ibadat

On 10 Dhu-l-Hijja, the twelfth month of the Islamic year, the phrase "prayer is better than sleep" is inserted. Shi ites id al-adha is celebrated. This ritual marks the end of the year, insert between the fifth and the sixth line the words: "Come but in fact it does not represent the end of the ritual cycle, to the best work." since there is a clear connection between the id and the Ashura rituals. Many believers at times perform voluntary (nafila) salats, for example, during Ramadan, when the salat al-tarawih is Rites of Passage performed in the mosques. In addition to the salat, there exist Other elements of the ibadat fit in the life-cycle rituals or numerous invocations (du as), to be said at different times of the day, rites of passage. This holds true for birth rituals, circumci- motives and for different reasons. There are also many why Muslims may fast outside Ramadan. The fiqh whispering the adhan and iqama in the newborn's ear. This books detail these different types of fasting. includes the recitation of the shahada or Confession of Faith, Place and as discussed below. This ritual is recommended according to Space the Shafi ite madhhab. The aqiqa, the sacrifice of a sheep or Prayers and other rituals can and may be performed at any place, in goat, takes place on the seventh day, through which joy and agreement with the injunction that it is laudable to pray thanks for the child are expressed. It is usually accompanied

together with others. The Friday prayers (salat al-jum'a) by a naming ceremony (tasmiya) during which the child are obligatory for men and must be performed in the mosque. receives its name, and shaving the hair of the child as a Moreover, a hierarchy of sacred places exists. Such places sacrifice. The meat of the sacrifice and the weight of the hair may be buildings such as mosques, graves (the visiting of the in silver are sometimes given away as alms. Circumcision (Ar. graves or ziyarat al-qubur), zawiyas—but also geographical khitan, tahara) is a fixed sunna (strongly recommended) areas; mountains, rivers, wells, and cities. Often the relative according to most schools. The Shafi'ites are of the opinion merits of these places, for example, in the works on the fada'il, that it is obligatory. In actual life, virtually all male Muslims or merits, express political notions as well. are circumcised.

The hajj has Mecca (the Ka'ba and the Safa and Marwa, The deceased is purified by a ritual bath (ghusl), and the nowadays all part of the complex of the Masjid al-Haram) and corpse is dressed in a kafan, which resembles in many ways the the holy places near to it (Muzdalifa, Mina, Arafat) as its clothing of the pilgrim, the hajji. The salat al-janaza is direct objects. Mecca, whose haram was founded, according performed. The deceased is buried with the face in the to Muslim tradition, by the prophet Ibrahim, and Medina, direction of the qibla. Marriage, another life cycle ritual, is not the haram of which was founded by the Prophet himself, reckoned among the ibadat, but among the mu'amalat, and became the most holy cities in Islam. On the haram where the will therefore not be considered here. Masjid al-Aqsa was built, Caliph Abd al-Malik erected the Dome of the Rock at the end of the seventh century.

Daily Rituals

The days of the believers are marked by the rhythm of five Rituals, among which is a tawaf, performed in the obligatory salats: the morning salat (salat al-subh or fajr) opposite direction as the tawaf in Mecca, were instituted in consisting of two rak'as, to be performed between first dawn order to divert the pilgrims from Mecca, which at the time to sunrise; the noon prayer (zuhr) to be performed after the was in the hands of an opponent, Abdallah b. al-Zubayr sun has reached its highest point until the mid-afternoon, (624–692 C.E.). It was in this period that Jerusalem became consisting of four rak'as; the asr (from mid-afternoon to an established object of pilgrimage. Many other places through sunset) consisting of four rak'as; the prayer after sunset out would follow. Nowadays, ziyaras, visits to the tombs of

(maghrib) consisting of three rak'as; and the isha (after the male and female saints (Ar. wali, pl. awliya; 10:63), and to sacred complete darkness). It is sunna to perform the call to prayer places, are quite common in many parts of the world both in (adhan). In places where Muslims live as minorities (about Sunni and Shi'ite Islam. 30%) the public performance of the call to prayer has always been a very important symbol call to prayer has always been a Also very important is the birthday festival (urs or mawsim) of the very important symbol for the public presence of Islam. In saint, when huge celebrations may take place. The Western Europe, the adhan is especially publicly performed believers veneration of saints serves the psychological needs of many to be close to their objects of veneration, from which is the following: "God is great [4 times, only the Malikites they hope to receive baraka (blessing), cure from pronounce it twice], I testify that there is no god but God [2 illnesses, help in misfortune, intercession with God, and so on. The times], I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of God [2 connection with notions of kinship and descent from times]. Come to Prayer, Come to salvation, God is most the Prophet is symbolized in the notion of nobility (sharaf). Because Great, there is no God besides God." This formula is the of large-scale globalization and diasporic processes, one same for all schools of law; although they differ with regard to nowadays witnesses the creation of many new "Muslim repetition of some lines. In the adhan before the salat al-subh spaces."

332

Islam and the Muslim World

Ibn al- Arabi

See also Devotional Life; Law; Shari'a. and Sufism.

His more complete name is Muhammad ibn 'Ali

ibn Muhammad ibn al- Arabi al-Ta'i al-Hatimi.

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He was born in the Moorish kingdom of Murcia, where Abu Zahra, Nadia. *The Pure and the Powerful: Studies in his father was a government official. After his family moved to Contemporary Muslim Society. Reading, U.K.: Ithaca Press, 1997. Seville, a visionary experience shook him out of adolescent concerns. He famously recounts how his father took him, his Antoun, Richard T. "The Social Significance of Ramadân beard not yet sprouted, to visit the great philosopher Averroes, in an Arab Village." *The Muslim World* 58 (1968):*

who was awed by the God-given understanding he saw in the 36–42, 95–104.

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 commentaries before modern times, offers an epitome of Ibn
 Gerard Wiegers al- Arabi’s methodology and goals. In twenty-seven
 chapters
 it discusses twenty-seven wisdoms, each designated by one of
 the fundamental attributes of reality, such as holiness, realness, light,
 unity, and mercy. Each wisdom is embodied in a
 IBN AL- ARABI (1165–1240) divine
 word (kalima) that takes human form, the first of which
 is Adam and the last Muhammad. Adam incarnates the
 Ibn al- Arabi was a prolific, influential, and controversial wisdom of
 the name Allah, which comprehends the meaning
 scholar whose writings, based on close readings of the Qur an, of all the
 divine names. It was Allah—not the Creator or the
 combined the perspectives of jurisprudence, philosophy, kalam,
 Compassionate—who created Adam in his own image, and it

Islam and the Muslim World

333

Ibn Battuta

was Allah who “taught him all the names” (Q. 2:30). Human
 returned to North Africa through India and the Middle East

perfection is then to realize every divine attribute as one's during
the time of the Black Death. He arrived back in
own, in keeping with the prophetic saying, "Assume the Morroco
in November 1349. After a short stay he visited
character traits of God." The children of Adam represent the Moorish
Spain and later traveled to Mali. He ended his
infinitely diverse synthetic images of God that arise because travels in
December 1353.

of the differing proportions in which the divine names become manifest in each
individual. The twenty-six perfect After completing his long
journey Ibn Battuta spent two
human beings to whom the remaining chapters are devoted years
dictating the story of his travels to his secretary, Ibn
realized the full divine image while simultaneously displaying Juzayy, who
was appointed to him by the sultan of Morocco.
the characteristics of one specific divine attribute. Each The result
was a masterly contribution to the genre known as
chapter builds on references in the Qur'an and the hadith to rihla, and
Ibn Battuta gave this kind of travel narrative a new
illustrate the applicability of the revealed passages to the dimension.
Less than a century earlier Marco Polo had made
prophet in question and to human beings in general. a journey
to Asia with a resulting narrative of lesser scope
and detail.

The *Fusus* has attracted much attention partly because its
often obscure contents allowed scholars to demonstrate their Ibn
Battuta's account of his journeys is a narrative of
mastery of the science of tawhid. Its sometimes provocative travels
through three continents, 120,000 kilometers (80,000
interpretations of Qur'anic verses, rare in Ibn Arabi's other miles) of
known and unknown cultures, and included, among
writings, aroused the ire of a great number of critics and other
observations, ceremonies at the courts of sultans, the
produced an extensive secondary literature of attack and burning of
widows in India, and African cannibals. Ibn
defense. Battuta's

travels represent the longest journey overland before the invention of the
steam engine.

See also *Falsafa*; *Kalam*; *Tasawwuf*; *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

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William C. Chittick

IBN HANBAL (780–855)

Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Hanbal was a renowned traditionist, theologian, and jurist who was born in Baghdad where he

IBN BATTUTA (1304–1368) spent

most of his life studying and teaching. As a young man,

he traveled widely in connection with his studies, most

Ibn Battuta (sometimes Batuta or Battutah), whose full name especially

in the cities of Kufa and Basra in Iraq and Mecca

was Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Muham- and Medina

in Arabia. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca five

mad ibn Ibrahim Shams al-Din al-Lawati al-Tanji, was a times. Ibn

Hanbal had inherited a modest estate and was able

Moorish traveller who was born 25 February 1304. He died in to spend

most of his time in study. He was not, in any formal

Morocco in 1368 or 1369. sense, a

teacher or part of a school, but as his reputation for

knowledge grew, he was widely consulted as an expert on all

Although some details of Ibn Battuta's itinerary are lost or matters of

law and religion. As a scholar, Ibn Hanbal was one

uncertain, it is known that he left Tangier on 13 June 1325, of the

foremost members of a group called the traditionists,

and traveled across North Africa to Egypt and Syria to or ahl

al-hadith. The traditionists believed that as a source of

Mecca. He toured the Middle East and the Near East, sailed religious

knowledge, the sunna, or practice of the Prophet

along the East African coast, returned to Mecca, and then and the

early community of Muslims, was second only to the

traveled through Asia Minor, stopping in Constantinople, Qur an and

that the sunna could be ascertained through a

capital of the Byzantine Empire. Ibn Battuta journeyed through study of

traditions, or hadith.

the territories of The Golden Horde (the steppes of Central

Asia) and across the Himalayas to India, where he stayed for After

the death of the Prophet, the members of the early

eight years. Afterward he traveled to the Maldives, Sri Lanka, community

transmitted knowledge of the sunna orally and in

Bengal, Assam, Sumatra, sailing all the way to China. He anecdotal

form, but as time went on, and the first few

Ibn Khaldun

generations of Muslims died off, remembering and recording traditions. The rationalists, on the other hand, preferred to the sunna became an important scholarly task. Hadith collections provide the documentation of the sunna. Each hadith finding a solution in a tradition. The rationalists quoted consists of a text (matn) preceded by a chain of its oral opinions of their teachers and colleagues as authoritative; transmitters (isnad), beginning with the most recent. The traditionists thought they thereby placed human reason above the divine guidance found usually a relative of the Prophet, one of his close associates, his Companions, or someone who knew his close associates, his Companions, or someone who knew sunna. Although the practical results of the rationalist jurists one or more of his Companions. Ibn Hanbal's collection, his very different from those of the traditionist jurists, Musnad, is among the most esteemed of the Sunni hadith collections. methodological differences between the two groups were collections. fiercely debated.

By Ibn Hanbal's day, there were thousands of hadiths in circulation, some patently false, others less obviously so. The tradition, personal piety, and moral fortitude had made him a famous scholar, and his tomb in Baghdad was visited until it was destroyed by flood in the fourteenth century. This required knowledge about the reliability of the hadith, the subject matter of each matn. Ibn Hanbal's knowledge of traditions was prodigious, and traditionists traveled to Baghdad from other parts of the Muslim world specifically to study with him. His Musnad contains between twenty-seven and twenty-eight thousand traditions, whereas the standard collections of Sunni illustrate. The Hanbalite legal school (or rite) of hadith, the "Six Books" contain fewer than half that number. Sunni Islam evolved on the basis of the interpretation of these responses. At his death, Ibn Hanbal was widely mourned. His erudition, some patently false, others less obviously so. The tradition, personal piety, and moral fortitude had made him a famous scholar, and his tomb in Baghdad was visited until it was destroyed by flood in the fourteenth century. This required knowledge about the reliability of the hadith, the subject matter of each matn. Ibn Hanbal's knowledge of traditions was prodigious, and traditionists traveled to Baghdad from other parts of the Muslim world specifically to study with him. His Musnad contains between twenty-seven and twenty-eight thousand traditions, whereas the standard collections of Sunni illustrate. The Hanbalite legal school (or rite) of hadith, the "Six Books" contain fewer than half that number. Sunni Islam evolved on the basis of the interpretation of these responses.

by successive generations of Hanbalite scholars. His son Abdallah was also responsible for collecting, editing, rather than according to subject matter. and commenting upon his father's Musnad. The Musnad is Ibn Hanbal's best-known work. Most of his other works have Ibn Hanbal's activity was not limited to teaching and not survived intact although they are often quoted by later answering questions about hadith. In theology, the traditionists scholars, and very little if anything by him is available in were ranged against the "rationalists," and here, too, Ibn English. For a translation of a creedal statement attributed to Hanbal was preeminent among the traditionists. They avoided Ibn Hanbal, see Cragg and Speight; for several versions of his rational speculation and held that belief in the divine nature responses on topics related to marriage and divorce, see of the text of the Qur'an and obedience to its tenets as Sectorsky. practiced by the Prophet were the goals of the true believer. See also Ahl al-Hadith; Hadith; Kalam; Law; Mu tazilites, The rationalists speculated about the nature of God, His Mu tazila.

qualities, and His relationship to the created world. The group of rationalists who engaged in this kind of speculative BIBLIOGRAPHY

theology during Ibn Hanbal's lifetime were the Mu tazilites. Cragg, Kenneth, and Speight, Marston, eds. *Islam from Within*. A particular point of disagreement between the traditionists Anthology of a Religion. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub and the Mu tazilites was on the nature of the Qur'an. The lishing Company, 1980.

Mu tazilites held that God had created it in time; the Melchert, Christopher. *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of* traditionists held that it was the uncreated word of God. In Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997. 833, shortly before his death, the caliph Ma mun adopted a Sectorsky, Susan A. *Chapters on Marriage and Divorce: Responses* policy of demanding that prominent religious figures pub of Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rahwayh. Austin: University of Texas licly embrace the doctrine of the created Qur'an. Ibn Hanbal Press, 1993.

refused to do this, and was imprisoned and tortured. Although the next two caliphs continued Ma mun's policy, Ibn Hanbal Susan A. Sectorsky was released from prison after two years. However, he did not resume teaching publicly until 847 when a new caliph finally abandoned the Mu tazilite doctrine and reinstated traditionist Sunnism. IBN KHALDUN

(1332–1406)

In jurisprudence too, the traditionists—again with Ibn Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abu Bakr Hanbal preeminent among them—were ranged against the b. al-Hasan, better known as Ibn Khaldun, was rationalists. The traditionists wished all juridical problems to be solved by reference to the sunna as expressed through and controversial in his time, his Muqaddima

Islam and the Muslim World

335

Ibn Maja

(Introduction), has become one of the best-known and important works on medieval historiography for modern scholars. Ibn Khaldun was also actively involved in the politics of Khaldun returned to Tunis to work as a scholar and the period and traveled extensively across Spain, North Africa, and the Middle East. He died in Cairo on 16 March 1406. His ideas, however, were considered threatening by his peers and he was forced to flee to Cairo in 1382. In Cairo, Ibn Khaldun continued to teach and write, and Ibn Khaldun came from an influential family that had appointed judge. In 1400 he accompanied the originally settled in Andalusia at the beginning of the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Shortly before the beginning of the Reconquista his ancestors migrated to Tunis, where they became important administrators in local governments. His father, however, worked primarily as a jurist and a dismissed from his judgeship upon his return. Over the remaining six years of his life he was appointed and Khaldun was able to attain an education from some of the most famous North African scholars of the age. In the midfourteenth century the western Berber Marinid tribe invaded Tunis and established a short-lived dynasty. The Marinids Muqaddima, and to a lesser extent his other imported a large number of legal scholars and theologians

were both respected and reviled by later scholars. In
 into Tunis and for a short period Ibn Khaldun, at this time in the
 Muqaddima, Ibn Khaldun sets forth a clear exposition of
 his mid-teens, was able to learn from a wide array of scholars his theory
 of social and historical development and decline.
 in a variety of fields. The Marinid occupation of Tunis was, He
 describes the various Islamic sciences, their development,
 however, short and by the time Ibn Khaldun was seventeen and the
 process of professionalization that scholars had to
 endure to become certified by their contemporaries as qualimost of the great
 scholars had already left Tunis for Fez,
 fied academics. This process of professional certification,
 Morocco.

according to Ibn Khaldun, which had become so extensive by
 The Marinid occupation of Tunis left its mark on the the medieval
 period that it prevented scholars of in-depth
 young scholar. He came to see the period as a model for the knowledge
 in any one field, was one of the factors that led
 historical development and decline of Islamic societies. He Muslim
 societies to decline. His theories about the decline of
 argued that Islamic societies followed a specific path of Muslim
 society would influence late-nineteenth and twentiethdevelopment and decline
 whereby desert tribes invade a given century Muslim scholars who
 embraced Ibn Khaldun's theosociety and infuse it with a sense of vitality and
 what he called ries as evidence of the need for renewal of Islamic culture
 and
 asabiyya (group solidarity). Asabiyya becomes the foundation thought.
 for all social relations and provides the fundamental motives
 See also Asabiyya; Falsafa.

for cultural, intellectual, and economic development. Over
 time, however, the sense of group solidarity breaks down,
 followed by a slow period of decline until a new group asserts

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- itself into society and brings with it a new sense of asabiyya. Baali,
 Fuad. *Social Institutions: Ibn Khaldun's Social Thought*.
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- The withdrawal of the Marinids back into Morocco left an Brett,
 Michael. *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*. Brookintellectual and political
 vacuum in Tunis, and by 1353 Ibn field, Vt.: Ashgate Variorium,
 1999.
- Khaldun decided to migrate west to Fez. In Fez, Ibn Khaldun Rosenthal,
 Franz, trans. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to*
 rose quickly into the inner circle of the Marinid sultan Ibn History.
 Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Abi Amr. By 1357 he fell out of favor with the sultan and was
 thrown in prison until Ibn Abi Amr's death in 1358. Ibn

R. Kevin Jaques

Khaldun appears to have attempted to remain involved in the changing political situation, but by 1359 he decided to retire from politics and accepted a position as a judge. By 1362 his position became so untenable that he was forced to flee to IBN MAJA (824–887)

Granada.

Ibn Maja, Abu Abdallah Muhammad b. Yazid, was from Qazwin in Persia and lived from circa 824 until 887 C.E. He is involved himself in the politics of Spain and North Africa. By the compiler of the last of the “Six Books” of authoritative late forties, however, he had tired of politics and decided to compile (sahih) Sunni hadith collections. Ibn Maja’s Kitab al-Sunan returned to scholarship once again. He wrote a number of Sunan containing 4,341 reports that he collected during his peregrinations through the Hejaz, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, including many of his ideas on history and sociology. He wrote his Sunan conducted in search of hadiths. About three thousand of these

336

Islam and the Muslim World

Ibn Sina

hadiths are contained in the other five standard collections. continuing influence in Jewish and Christian Europe long Initially Ibn Maja’s collection was criticized for containing a after he was forgotten in the Islamic world. number of weak (sc. defective) (da if) and discredited reports, which prevented it from being accepted by the large majority See also Falsafa; Law.

of scholars as a reliable compilation. Although Abu Da ud and al-Tirmidhi, editors of two other authoritative hadith compilations, also recorded weak hadiths, they identified them as BIBLIOGRAPHY Leaman, Oliver. Averroes and his Philosophy. Richmond, U.K.: such, whereas Ibn Maja did not. For these reasons, some of Curzon, 1997.

the traditionists preferred the Sunan work of al-Darimi (d. Nasr, Seyyed, and Leaman, Oliver, eds. History of Islamic 869), another well-known hadith scholar, over that of Ibn Philosophy. London: Routledge, 1996.

Maja. However, by about the early twelfth century C.E., Ibn Maja’s standing as a traditionist (muhaddith) had improved

Oliver Leaman

considerably and his Sunan ultimately became recognized as one of the Six Books, although it is still regarded as the weakest one.

IBN SINA (980–1037)

See also Hadith.

Ibn Sina (Avicenna), was a poet, music theorist, astronomer,

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and

politician, but he was best known as a philosopher and as

Rauf, Muhammad Abdul. "Hadith Literature: The Develop- a medical
doctor.

ment of the Science of Hadith." In The Cambridge History of
Arabic Literature. Vol. 1: Arabic Literature to the End of the From his
autobiography we learn that he was born in an

Umayyad Period. Edited by A. F. L. Beeston, et al. Cam- Isma ili
family in Afshana, in the Persian region of Bukhara.

bridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983. By the age of

ten, he had completed the study of language and
literature and memorized the Qur an. He studied Greek logic

Asma Afsaruddin and mathematics under his father's friend al-Natili, a
teacher

and a prominent advocate of Isma ili Shi ism. However, he
soon felt that his education and skills exceeded his teacher's
and he no longer needed him. By the age of sixteen, he had

IBN RUSHD (1126–1198) covered

the various sciences and became a teacher and practitioner of medicine. Because
of his fame as a doctor, he was

Ibn Rushd, whose Latin name was Averroes, was the most called upon
to treat the prince Nuh Ibn Mansur, who then

outstanding philosopher in the Islamic world working within gave him
access to the princely library, which was rich in rare

the Peripatetic (Greek) tradition. He was particularly inter- books. By
eighteen, he was confident that he had mastered

ested in the work of Aristotle and wrote a large number of the sciences

except for metaphysics. He read Aristotle's metaphysics

commentaries of differing length on his works. Ibn Rushd came across

many times without understanding it until he years

was not only a philosopher but also a judge, legal thinker, constant

physician, and politician, like so many of the other philoso- and died. He
writing and practicing medicine in Isfahan, but owing to

phers in the Islamic world. His work is marked by its commit-
travel, insufficient sleep, and hard work, he fell sick

ment to what he took to be pure Aristotelianism and his
was buried in Hamadhan.
relative antipathy to Neoplatonism. He defended the acceptability of philosophy
in the Islamic world, arguing that it Ibn Sina wrote over 250 works,
including books, odes, and

does not contradict religion but complements it. Ibn Rushd essays. The
most important of his philosophical books are

held that philosophy represents the system of demonstrative Healing and
Remarks and Admonitions. Each has four parts, the

or rational argumentation, while religion presents the con- first three

being logic, physics, and metaphysics. The first
 clusions of philosophy to a wider audience in a form that work closes
 with a part on mathematics, the second with one
 enables the latter to understand how to act. on Sufism.
 His most important medical work is the Canon of
 Medicine, which served as a significant reference in Europe
 This thesis came to be characterized as the “double-truth” from the
 eleventh to the seventeenth century.
 thesis, which held that philosophy and religion are both true
 despite contradicting each other. Nevertheless, Ibn Rushd Ibn
 Sina’s philosophy centers primarily on the divine and
 did not hold such a thesis, whatever views were attributed to human
 natures and their relationship to each other and the
 him outside of the Islamic world after his death. During his rest of the
 universe. The human soul individuates its body
 lifetime, Ibn Rushd suffered at the hands of rulers who were and gives it
 motion and life. Thus the body is dependent for
 occasionally unsympathetic to philosophy, and after his death its survival
 on its soul, but the soul’s existence is independent
 his style of philosophy soon fell out of fashion in the Arabic- of the body.
 In life the soul uses its body for gaining sensory
 speaking Islamic world. It is the commentaries that led to his knowledge.
 This knowledge, when abstracted, becomes pure

Islam and the Muslim World

337

Ibn Taymiyya

universals that can be imprinted on the theoretical intellect, Ibn
 Taymiyya accused of deviating from the pure Islam of
 the highest and noblest part of the rational soul—the latter Muhammad
 and the Qur an by adopting non-Islamic systems
 being the highest part of the human soul and the only part of belief,
 in particular the logic and philosophy of the anthat survives death. Such
 imprinting actualizes the theoretical cient Greeks.
 intellect, rendering it eternal, because these universals are
 eternal and because known and the knower are one. With Ibn
 Taymiyya’s life can be divided into three distinct
 eternity, the soul attains its highest pleasure or happiness. periods,
 each representing a significant phase in his development as a thinker and
 reformer. The first phase goes from his
 Ibn Sina was an intellectual giant whose philosophy com- birth until
 1304, during which time he received his training as
 bined Greek and Islamic thought but was unique in many a scholar
 and was involved in defending Damascus from
 respects. His ideas left a strong impact on future Eastern and incursions
 by the Mongol Ilkhans of Persia. The second
 Western thought. period

lasts from 1304 until 1312, during which time he was in Egypt. This period is marked by his growing controversy with Sufi mysticism as well as his involvement with the political turmoil related to Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. al-Qalawun's consolidation of power. Ibn Taymiyya spent many years on Avicenna. Healing: Metaphysics X. In Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook. Edited by Ralph Lerner and Mhusin his religious pronouncements and his support for al-Nasir Muhammad. The third phase begins with his return to Damascus in 1312 and lasts until his death in 1328. This is the period of Gohlman, William E., ed., trans. The Life of Ibn Sina: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974. prolific and the maturing of his ideas and the time of his most significant writings. Although these years were relatively free of controversy, toward the end of his life he came into Shams, Inati. Ibn Sina and Mysticism: Remarks and Admonitions, Part Four. London: Kegan Paul, 1996. doctrinal and legal issues. Ibn Taymiyya died in prison in Damascus shortly after being denied contact with all but his closest family members and being forbidden to write any more letters, essays, or legal rulings.

The core of Ibn Taymiyya's thought revolves around a set of IBN TAYMIYYA (1263–1328) of principles from which he develops an elaborate worldview. These principles can be summarized as follows: an absolute distinction Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn Taymiyya was born in Harran in northern Syria in 1263 C.E. and died at the age of sixty-five in a complete and self-sufficient system, and a necessity to constantly Damascus in 1328. A prolific writer on all subjects related to return to and understand the Qur'an and the sunna in the Qur'an, hadith, sunna, theology, law, and mysticism, he light of the traditional teachings of the earliest was a dynamic and controversial figure during his lifetime, generations of Muslims (al-salaf al-salih). and he remains to this day an influential figure in Islamic thought and practice. A loyal associate of the Hanbali theologian Ibn Taymiyya has been described as a "dogmatic historical and legal school of thought, he put his beliefs into a Hanbali form," for he developed a theology

based on the concept of a practice as a religious, political, and social reformer. Respond- necessarily preserved true religion. This religion as embodying to various crises of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth tied in the Qur'an and the sunna of prophet Muhammad was centuries in the Middle East, such as the Mongol invasions, transmitted intact by the salaf al-salih. The canonical collection the destruction of the Abbasid caliphate, and the eventual rise of authenticated hadiths contain this transmitted wisdom of the Mamluk dynasty of Egypt and Syria, Ibn Taymiyya's methodology, and thus, for Ibn Taymiyya, forms the basis for all sought the revival of Islamic society based on a model of what interpretation and practice in Islam. His methodological approach he believed was the pristine community of Muslims at the time of the Prophet and his companions at Medina. But his gaining knowledge of the beliefs and practices that are pleasefforts to revive Islamic society were not only aimed at pleasing to Allah. These are (1) the Qur'an, (2) the sunna of the Prophet, (3) the statements and actions of the companions of the Prophet, (4) the opinions of the followers (al-sahaba), (5) the opinions of the followers (al-he believed the inner reform had to occur first before any outward reform would be possible. This perspective on his which for him is the only divinely ordained religious law part brought him into conflict with many speculative theologians (mutakallimun), philosophers, and Sufi mystics, whom a comprehensive notion of revelation. Any methodology or

338

Islam and the Muslim World Identity, Muslim

belief system outside revelation is not deemed to be an

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acceptable means of attaining truth. Hallaq,

Wael B. Ibn Taymiyya against the Greek Logicians. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

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(madhahib), Ibn Taymiyya maintains that theoretically the Makari, Victor. Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics: The Social Factor.

Chico, Calif.: The Scholar's Press, 1983.

four imams of the recognized Sunni schools of law agreed on

the principles (usul) of Islam, but pragmatically they differed Memon,

Muhammad Umar. Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle against

concerning particular rulings (furu'). Thus he upholds the Popular

Religion: With an Annotated Translation of his Kitab
iqtida as-sirat al-mustaqim mukhalafat ashab al-jahim.

legitimacy of the four schools yet argues that scholars must
The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1976.

continue exerting independent judgment (ijtihad) in an effort
to come ever closer to the theoretically pure Islam. He argued Michel,
Thomas. A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianthat blind following
(taqlid) of one scholar or school of ity. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan
Books, 1984.

thought was tolerated for the layperson, but scholars were
under an obligation to seek out and follow the truth even if it
James Pavlin

is found to lie outside their particular affiliation to a school of
thought. This stance brought him into conflicts with other
jurists, even with his fellow Hanbalis.

IDENTITY, MUSLIM

But more than his political and legal opinions, Ibn
Taymiyya's theology remains the most salient feature of his In
Islamic societies, religion, rather than language and ethreligious thought.
Devoted to a defense of a monotheism that nicity, has typically defined
political, social, and personal

does not compromise the nature and attributes of Allah as identity.

Obviously, Muslims have always been aware of
derived from the Qur an and the sunna, he set himself against
linguistic, ethnic, and territorial divisions, but, through much
the great traditions of speculative theology (kalam), philoso- of Islamic
history, these have seemed relatively unimportant
phy, and mysticism that had evolved in Islamic civilization. to them.

Their formative past and spiritual ancestry were to
Following closely the creeds established by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal be found
in the line of prophets and believers chronicled in

and other hadith scholars of the ninth century, Ibn Taymiyya the
Qur an, prominently including the prophet Muhammad
developed a very sophisticated and subtle theology that he and his
companions, rather than, depending upon where they
promoted quite vigorously. His theology begins with the lived,
among the related but spiritually foreign peoples of,
notion of God as the eternal, omniscient, and omnipotent say,
pharaonic Egypt, or polytheistic Babylonia.

creator who brought the universe into existence out of nothingness (ex nihilo)
as a willful act. He rejects any form of Although the situation has
become more complex during

pantheistic thought that compromises this belief. Thus he the past
two centuries, Muslims have traditionally been

devotes much of his writings to refutations of mystical phi- integrated
by their common identity as followers of Muhamlosophies, such as that of Ibn
al- Arabi (d. 1242). However, he mad and the Qur an, and, secondarily, by

their allegiance to
 does not want to compromise the idea of a personal God with dynastic
 rulers (caliphs and sultans). At least in theory (but
 whom a believer can establish an intimate spiritual relation. very often
 in fact), Muslims of entirely distinct tongues and
 Therefore, he also rejects the sterile descriptions of Allah put
 genealogies have recognized one another as brothers, yet
 forth by philosophers and speculative theologians, who stripped reject as
 aliens compatriots who, while sharing both dialect
 him of many of his essential names and attributes. His main and
 ancestry, differ in religious affiliation. In recent years,
 targets of refutation are the Mu tazilites, the Ash arites, and certain
 unfortunate consequences of these attitudes—generally philosophers such as Ibn
 Sina (d. 1043). These theological ally reciprocated with at least
 equal fervor by the nondebates often brought the charge of anthropomorphism
 Muslims involved—have been strikingly illustrated in the
 against Ibn Taymiyya because he insisted on affirming attrib- Balkans
 and elsewhere.
 utes to Allah such as that he has a hand and a face, that he loves
 and hates, and that he ascends and descends while remaining Before
 residents of the region adopted such nineteenth-century risen above the throne over the
 heavens. Ibn Taymiyya’s and early twentieth-century terms as
 Middle East and Near
 defense is that these descriptions appear in the Qur’an and East, no
 equivalent vocabulary, and, hence, no unifying conauthentic hadiths and have
 been maintained by the companion-cept of shared geographical identity,
 seems to have existed in
 ions of the Prophet. He also argues that these attributes the area.
 Until modern times, the Turkish language had no
 cannot be comprehended by human intellect but must be word for
 Turkey; the word used today to designate the nation accepted as a matter of
 faith without questioning (bi la kayf) state originated in Europe. Arabic
 still lacks a word for
 the manner in which these attributes exist in Allah. Arabia. On
 the other hand, such distinctions as that between
 the dar al-islam (the “abode of Islam” or “of submission [to
 See also Fundamentalism; Law; Reform: Arab Middle God]”)
 and the counterpoised dar al-harb (“the abode of
 East and North Africa; Traditionalism. strife”
 or “of war”) were readily available and far more salient.

Islam and the Muslim World

339

Identity, Muslim

It must be understood that religion in the areas dominated came, with
 the passage of time, to signify a religious community Islam has commonly included
 rather more than a mere nity, especially the Islamic community.

Opposed to the common system of belief and worship, distinct from and possibly
 community of Muslims, according to a popular tradition rather
 subordinated to national and political allegiances. Those of dubious
 ascribed to the prophet Muhammad, was the com-
 Muslim background often retain a shared communal identity community of
 unbelievers—undifferentiated because their difference even in instances where
 Islamic faith and practice have been differences, like those among believers,
 were unimportant: “Unbelief
 abandoned. is one
 milla,” the Prophet is reported to have said. Nonetheless, by the time of the
 Ottomans in the fourteenth century,
 Initially, the fact that the Qur’an had been revealed in the term
 millet also signified non-Muslim communities, le-
 Arabic, while obviously useful to its first hearers, was not gally
 recognized to be plural and varied.
 enough to forge a unique identity. After all, its entire original
 audience, both believers and unbelievers, were Arabic-speakers. From
 at least the fifteenth century, Muslim rulers (par-
 With the spread of Islam westward to Iberia and eastward to ticularly
 among the Ottomans) managed religious diversity in
 India, however, the Qur’an’s Arabic character (emphasized in their
 domains through a system based on the millets. A quite
 the book itself at 12:2; 13:37; 16:103; 20:113; 26:195; 39:28; complex
 structure of semiautonomous communities whose
 41:3; 42:7; 43:3; 46:12) marked the Arabs as a favored nation religious
 leaders had formal relations with their Muslim
 whose ethnic identity was intimately connected with the overlords
 promoted peaceful coexistence and minority representation most of them shared as
 Muslims. Arabic came to be sentation at court. In the nineteenth
 century, however, under
 the principal language of a vast civilization that, although it the
 influence of European nationalism and with grave impliincluded considerable
 numbers of non-Muslims who enjoyed cations for traditional
 arrangements, millet came to mean
 the status of protected dhimmis, had been formed and shaped
 “nation” as well as “religious community.”

by Arab-Islamic sensibilities. In this were sown the seeds of
 later Arabic nationalism. The

Ottoman Empire and Its Immediate Aftermath

In its classic Ottoman form, the millet system dates from the
 From the start, there also existed a sense of distinct Islamic reign of
 Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481), and endured until the
 peoplehood that went beyond ethnicity. It was compounded
 nineteenth century. By the end of Mehmed’s reign, Orthodox
 of both genuine reality and idealistic aspiration. “Let there be
 Christian, Armenian Christian, Jewish, and Muslim millets
 from among you,” says the Qur’an, “an umma summoning to

had been organized. Each was headed by its own highestgood and forbidding evil” (3:104; compare 3:110, also 2:143).

ranking religious dignitary (respectively, the Orthodox patri-

The term umma is used several times in the Qur an to refer to arch, the chief rabbi, the Armenian patriarch, and, for Musordinary ethnic groupings, both past and present. In certain

lims, the Shaykh al-Islam). Once chosen by their respective passages, however, it plainly characterizes the body of Muscommunities, these officials were confirmed into office (or,

lim believers as a new kind of supertribe, transcending family, occasionally, rejected) by the Ottoman government. Millets

clan, and ethnic affiliation. “This your umma is one umma,”

decided on issues related to religious doctrine and practice says the Qur an (21:92).

and questions of personal status (e.g., marriage, divorce, and

Even in the days of the Prophet and his immediate inheritance).

successors, however, old tribal and other affiliations proved

However, Ottoman sultans understood themselves, first

resilient, as appears in early tensions between the muhajirun—

and foremost, as Muslim emperors ruling an Islamic empire.

the “emigrants” who, like Muhammad himself, had sought

Subsequent Ottoman monarchs accordingly sought to tranrefuge in Medina—and

the ansar or “helpers” who took them

scend their dynasty’s origin as a line of successful war lords

in. Long-standing tribal rivalries continued to be a factor in

and border skirmishers—so frankly expressed in the title

the early days of the Arab conquests. And even as Arabian

sultan itself, which is derived from the Arabic word sulta,

tribal divisions decreased in importance, other ethnic rivalries—

meaning “power”—and to claim religious sanction for their

such as those between Arabs and non-Arabs (particularly

Persians)—came to the fore in such movements as the so- rule.

This is evident in the treaty of Kucuk-Kaynarca (1774),

called shu ubiyya. Moreover, the question of precisely what in which,

for the first time, the sultanate asserted extraterritoconstituted a believer,

and what caused one to forfeit that rial religious jurisdiction over

non-Ottoman Muslims. A few

status, was a matter of significant controversy in the first years

later, the story appeared that the last Abassid caliph had

period of Islamic thought.

transferred the caliphate—the right to universal Islamic rule

as legal heir of the prophet Muhammad—to Selim I upon the

The survival and even flourishing of non-Muslims within Ottoman

conquest of Egypt in 1517. While the claim had

areas of Islamic rule also helped adherents of Islam to refine

relatively little practical impact beyond the effective borders

and sharpen their own sense of identity. Central to this was of Ottoman

political power, it reinforced the sultan's claim to the Qur'anic Arabic term *milla* (Turkish *millet*). In the Qur'an, authority based on the religious identity and self-understanding of the word *milla* is essentially equivalent to religion, and it is of the majority of his subjects.

340

Islam and the Muslim World Identity, Muslim

Vocal claims to Islamic authority, however, carried no weight of eastern and central Europe was fully available to them. weight with the sultan's non-Muslim subjects, and, indeed, Thus, when in 1875 the Ottoman treasury declared insolvent, it tended to alienate them. Thus, as the empire weakened, nationalist revolts broke out among the Christians of the Balkans, leading to bloody ethnic and religious confrontations. Responding, the European powers pressured the Ottoman government to grant autonomy to Christians. And, in fact, the empire's Christian minorities, who had a natural kinship to the short-lived legislative assembly established by the Constitution of 1876 included deputies from all the peoples of the Christian West and were understandably more susceptible to the influence of Western powers. These new nationalist ideas were introduced to the empire. Ottoman lands, nationalist sentiments arose among the European man leadership to grant autonomy to Christians. And, in fact, the empire's Christian minorities, who had a natural kinship to the short-lived legislative assembly established by the Constitution of 1876 included deputies from all the peoples of the Christian West and were understandably more susceptible to the influence of Western powers. These new nationalist ideas were introduced to the empire. populations lacking any prior experience of secularism, or of a separation between religion and politics. Minority nationalisms A disastrous war with Russia nearly ended the Ottoman state in 1877, and the difficult negotiations that ensued therefore came to be expressed religiously, within the context of the already existing millet system. continued until 1882. Ultimately, the Ottomans surrendered large territories to Russia, the Balkan states, and other powers. In partial reaction, the Ottoman government attempted to ers. These territorial losses, which cost the sultan many of his establish "Ottomanism" as the legal basis of the empire as Christian subjects and precipitated a substantial migration of Muslims reflected, for example, in the law of nationality and citizenship promulgated in 1869 and the Constitution of 1876. The Ottoman lands, left the empire overwhelmingly Muslim. Seen by many Muslims as an episode in the battle between the Ottomanism, had already appeared in Turkish by 1841. Thinkers dar al-Islam and the dar al-harb, the crisis inflamed religious

connected with the Young Ottoman movement (formed in 1865) were promoting the “fatherland” (vatan; Arabic watan) insistent Muslim nationalism—before which the ambivalent and the Ottoman “nation.” Ottomanism, however, was someand never very popular “Ottomanism” quickly gave way.

what ambivalent with regard to the weight to be placed upon Islamic faith as component in individual, societal, and political identity. The new constitution also included a formal concentrated government investments and reforms in the declaration that the “high Islamic caliphate” belonged to the predominantly Muslim parts of the empire. He emphasized Ottoman ruling house, thus staking a claim to universal Islam as a basis of internal social and political stability and Muslim authority. And the writings of Namik Kemal, the solidarity, further stressing his authority not merely as sultan but also Young Ottomans’s intellectual leader, show interest neither as caliph in a bid to simultaneously neutralize opposition in the history of Anatolia prior to the arrival of the Muslim from the varied Muslim ethnicities within his Turks nor in the history of the Turks before their conversion. dominions and to mobilize support, when needed, among In fact, he seldom uses the word Turk at all. Instead, he Muslims beyond his borders. Although he affirmed the prinemphasizes the term Ottoman, which, although it sometimes ciple of legal equality for minority religions, he felt that designates all of the sultan’s subjects, of whatever religion, Muslims were the only truly loyal Ottoman subjects. For this often denotes only the sultan’s Muslim subjects. reason, pan-Islamists like Afghani regarded Abdulhamid as a Ottomanism was, in fact, incoherent, torn between par- symbol of Islamic solidarity and cohesion.

ticularistic loyalty to the multiethnic, multi-faith empire as it By the opening of the twentieth century, however, nationwas and a dream of Muslim unity similar to that which alistic movements in and about the Ottoman empire had motivated the famous pan-Islamic activist, Jamal al-Din destroyed more than the idea of political unity among Mus-Afghani (d. 1897). Of course, despite his own public piety, lims, Christians, and others. With the imperial regime in Afghani himself seems to have been a natural-law deist and Istanbul looking increasingly helpless both domestically and rationalist, and to have valued Islam primarily as a civilization in foreign affairs, separate nationalist movements arose even rather than as a religious faith. Clearly indicating that he among Muslims—which severely undermined Abdulhamid

recognized its power as a political force, however, he insisted on orthodox Islam for the masses. II's appeal to Islamic solidarity. As various non-Turkic peoples sought to dissolve their ties to the sultanate and to forge Ottomanist ambivalence did not escape the non-Muslim their own destiny, Ottoman intellectuals became aware of the minorities. Understanding that they were not, and could not pre-Islamic history of the Turks. Partially on that basis, they be, incorporated into the empire as full equals, sharing a created a distinctively Turkish nationalism. At the same time, common culture, they realized that they could not truly be centralizing, industrialized European nation-states—foreign Ottoman patriots in the same sense that English, Spanish, or to the reality in which they found themselves—became the French patriots were loyal to a country and a unified nation- ideal among the Ottoman elite. Consequently, when the state. In contrast, the separatist ethnic nationalism that had Young Turk revolution occurred in 1908, it was strongly proalready arisen in the polyglot empires and small principalities Turkic, devoted to a centralizing and secularizing vision.

Islam and the Muslim World

341

Identity, Muslim

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's famous and more lastingly sig- beyond Egypt, the history and legacy of the pharaohs clearly nificant political involvement began in terms of Ottomanism, fascinated him. They also served the complexly pan-Islamic and, early on, he tended to speak in pan-Islamic terms. His purposes of Afghani, who praised the glories of pagan Egypt conversion to Turkish nationalism was accelerated by the (as well as the ancient polytheistic Hindus) in polemics disastrous 1912–1913 Balkan War, but, although he is associ- composed, unlike those of Kemal and the Young Ottomans, ated with secularism, there is no evidence that he ever sought in Arabic. to attack Islam. Atatürk's notable successes garnered immense prestige for the secular nationalism he came to es- For their part, the khedives encouraged and even sponpouse, which has assured its dominant role in Turkey into the sored this new patriotism, since the cultivation of a distinctive twenty-first century. Egyptian identity and personality so obviously furthered their own separatist ambitions, and the “National” or “Patri- Among the Arabs otic Party” (al-hizb al-watani) was founded in 1879. It cannot The Young Ottoman thinker Namik Kemal argued that be maintained that the new Egyptian patriotism was wholly separatist movements would not arise among the empire's

secular—for most of its advocates, Islam was an essential part of Egyptian identity—but it grounded a movement that even non-Muslim Egyptians felt they could join. Thus, even prior to British occupation in 1882, the Christian journalist Selim Naqqash coined the slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians,” which was then popularized by the Jewish pamphleteer Abu Naddara with the empire. And, in fact, Afghani’s great Egyptian and put into practical action by the Muslim soldier Urabi disciple, Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) opposed local patriot-Pasha. But the Syrian intellectuals and others who had taken refuge in the relatively open society of Egypt were often marginalized as “intruders” (dukhala) by prominent Egyptian patriots. one’s fundamental identity as a member of the Islamic umma.

Kemal was wrong. Arab nationalism—the idea that Arabic speakers form a single nation with legitimate aspirations to the idea of political Arabism to Khedivial Egypt. Prominent among these separate statehood—seems to have been born among these were Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (d. 1902), among these Christian Arab elite of Lebanon, perhaps under the influence who was perhaps the first to demand an Arab state headed by an Arab of their European fellow believers. They, of course, felt no an Arab caliph independent of Ottoman Turkish rule, and Muhammad religious loyalty to the sultan, but deeply prized the language Rashid Rida (d. 1935). On the whole, however, Egypt proved and culture they shared with their Muslim fellow-Arabs. In Egypt proved resistant to pan-Arabism, although that ideology played a substantial role during the presidency of Jamal Abd “The Patriotic School” (al-madrassa al-wataniyya); by 1870, Abd al-Nasser (under whom, for a time during and after his abortive the motto “love of country is part of the faith” appeared on abortive merger with Syria, the venerable name Egypt was officially the masthead of the magazine he edited. The watan of which he spoke, however, was not the Ottoman empire. His Abd “country” was Syria, an Arabic-speaking land. al-Hamid II’s imperial pan-Islamism thus proved entirely unsuccessful. And, eventually, with the abolition of

Graduates of newly founded schools in Syria and Iraq the sultanate in
 1922 and of the caliphate in 1924, the last
 were likewise infected with nationalism and political con- effective,
 legitimate political symbol of collective pan-Islamic identity
 sciousness, but their pride, too, was in Arabic language and
 disappeared. Former Ottoman Muslims found them- selves
 Arabic history. They called first for decentralization, then
 residing in a disunited variety of nation-states, much as
 independence. The Arab revolt of 1916 resulted in the their
 descendants do today.
 eventual creation of at least nominally independent states in
 Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Jordan after the interwar British The Mogul
 Empire
 and French mandates ended. These were constructed essen- Founded in
 1526 and lasting until the mid-eighteenth century, the Mogul empire ultimately dominated the
 had been invoked previ- ture, the Mogul empire ultimately dominated the
 entire
 ously by the Young Turks. Indian
 subcontinent excepting the south. Yet the existence of
 a vast, subjugated population of Hindus had always posed a
 Local patriotism did appear in Egypt, somewhat later than problem for
 India's Muslim rulers, and continued to do so
 in Turkey, largely under the influence of Shaykh Rifa a Rafi under the
 Moguls.
 al-Tahtawi (d. 1873). In numerous odes and poems, al-
 Tahtawi, also fond of the formula "love of country is part of Acutely
 aware of the problem, Akbar (r. 1556–1605),
 the faith," praised Egypt, the Egyptian army and its soldiers, arguably
 the greatest of the Mogul emperors, chose a radical
 and the then-ruling dynasty of the Khedives. While his works method of
 dealing with it. He integrated Hindus into all
 evince little or no interest in other Muslims or Arab speakers levels of
 imperial administration, married Rajput princesses,

342

Islam and the Muslim World Identity, Muslim

and abolished the jizya tax on non-Muslims. Worse, in the that both
 Islam and Hinduism were comprehensive social
 eyes of many devout Muslims, he began to experiment with orders that
 could not be merged into a single nationality,
 an eclectic blend of Islamic and Hindu concepts. Akbar's concluded
 that the religious, political, and cultural interests
 actions, in their view, represented a serious threat not only to of Muslims
 could be safeguarded fully only in a separate
 the Islamic identity of Muslim India but to Islam itself. Muslim
 state. Interestingly, the Deobandi ulema overwhelmingly opposed Jinnah and his

proposed separate state, pre-

The most significant opposition to Akbar's syncretistic sumably because his vision for Pakistan—and that of the liberalism emerged out of the Naqshbandi Sufi brotherhood. poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)—was insuffi-

This helped to foster a religious revival among Indian Musciently grounded in strict observance of the shari a. Nonethelims in the face not only of the emperor's heresies and the

less, Pakistan came into existence on 14 August 1947, following resurgence of local Hinduism, but, as time passed, in opposithe independence and partition of British India, and is now

tion to Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French incursions

the world's second most populous Muslim nation. Uniquely

into India. Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624), an Indian Sufi who

among Islamic countries, it was expressly established in the

powerfully influenced the development of the Naqshbandi

name of Islam. More than a hundred million adherents of

order, is often considered by Muslim admirers to have saved

Islam continue to live in India, however, making it roughly

Indian Islam.

equal to Pakistan (and thus one of the largest of all nations) in

Certainly Sirhindi represented a challenge to Mogul au- terms of Muslim population.

thority. Accordingly, a subsequent emperor, Awrangzib (r.

1658–1707), banned portions of his writing. But as Iran

Naqshbandi-inspired Islamic opposition grew, and amid Iran, the

ancient Persia, resembled Egypt in possessing a long

spreading Hindu and Sikh restiveness that many Muslims and

distinguished history and relatively clearly demarked

attributed to Mogul laxity, Awrangzib also found himself borders. Its

people spoke a distinct language that was deeply

obliged to dismiss non-Muslims from government service rooted in

antiquity. Perhaps most importantly, it was distinand to replace them with

Muslims. Furthermore, under guished from the Sunni Ottomans to

the west and the Sunni

pressure from the orthodox ulema, he ordered the restoration Uzbeks and

Moguls to the east by the Shi ite form of Islam

of the jizya tax and reimposed shari a (Islamic law). that it had

adopted after the founding of the Safavid dynasty

in 1501. When the Shi ite Safavids assumed power, Iran was

But Naqshbandi revivalism was by no means limited to the mostly Sunni,

but descendants of Ali enjoyed prestige and

Indian subcontinent. As early as 1603, Naqshbandi emissaries privileged

status among ordinary people. The Safavids themhad entered the Arabic lands,

and, soon thereafter, texts of the selves were originally Turkic speaking,

possibly even of

order were being translated from Persian into Arabic. The Kurdish

extraction, so Persian nationalism as such was not important Naqshbandi figure Shah Waliullah of Delhi (d. 1765), in fact, sometimes composed his works in Arabic, to them as a basis for fostering unity within their domain and between themselves and their subjects. A naprobably in an effort to address a much wider Islamic public. tional transition from Sunni to Shi ism suggested itself to them, therefore, as both desirable and reasonably easy, and, Mogul power had virtually disappeared by the midthus, within the first century of Safavid rule, an orthodox eighteenth century, and the British deposed the last emperor form of Twelver Shi ism was established as the state religion. in 1858. Many Muslims, however, feared that their loss of political power would also result in Islamic cultural and In the sixteenth century Iran was already far along the path religious losses. Accordingly, figures such as Sir Sayyid Ahmad to becoming what we would today recognize as a national Khan, while still maintaining loyalty to British rule and state. There has been relatively little tension between Iranian admiration for English culture, insisted on a separate political patriotism and Islamism as foci of national identity, since the identity for Indian Muslims. Similarly, educational movetwo are so closely related. Despite strong interest in Persia's ments such as the Deobandis sought to cultivate and preserve ancient past (as reflected, for example, in Firdawsi's epic tale, Muslim traditions. More dramatically, Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi Shahnameh) and with some fluctuations of emphasis, Islam emerged from circles close to the family of Shah Waliullah to has maintained its primacy in Iranian self-identification. The lead a jihad in northwestern India, seeking to restore Muslim constitutional revolution of 1906 gave a considerable boost to political rule in that region. His followers persisted in the the Iranian national identity and to patriotism, and the attempt for roughly thirty years after his death in batmodernization of the state under the Pahlevis (r. 1921–1979) tle in 1831. went hand in hand with the enhancement of Iranian national The concept of a sovereign Islamic political domain was identity in modern schools. The late shah, like his father kept alive by various figures over the intervening years. In before him, launched a campaign to glorify pre-Islamic Iran. 1906, the All-India Muslim League was established as a Leaders of the Islamic Revolution denounced the effort as a return to counterweight to the Hindu-dominated Indian National Con- paganism and even spoke of destroying the ruins of Persepolis gress. Eventually, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (d. 1948), arguing (as, more recently, the Afghan Taliban obliterated

Ijtihad

the Buddhas of Bamiyan). But an unmistakably Iranian patri- Orthodox churches. In January 1952, anti-British demonotism thrives even amid the explicitly religious rhetoric strators in Suez, angry at the British, killed several Coptic favored by leaders of the Islamic Republic.

Christians—arguably Egypt’s most Egyptian residents—and looted and burned a Coptic church. Meanwhile, many hun-

The Persistence of Islamic Identity dreds of miles away, the Algerian response to the French

Through the ideological turbulence of the past two centuries, slogan of

“Algérie française” was neither “Algérie arabe” nor the fundamental self-understanding of Muslims as Muslims “Algérie algérienne,” but “Algérie musulmane” (“Muslim

Alger remained intact, though sometimes tacit. The first Arab ria”). During the Lebanese civil war, when civil government rebellion against Ottoman Turkish rule came with the rise of lost effective authority over the country, residents reverted to Wahhabiyya in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centutheir essential identities as Maronite Christians, Druze, and

ries, and its attempt to repair, Islamically, what it perceived as Sunni and Shi ite Muslims.

serious defects in Muslim society. Although that irruption was contained and reversed, Wahhabiyya again came to

See also

Abd al-Qadir, Amir; Abduh, Muhammad;

power, this time more lastingly, with the Saudi conquest of Afghani,

Jamal al-Din; Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal; Balthe holy cities of Mecca and Medina in

1925. The discovery kans, Islam in the; Dar al-Harb; Dar al-Islam;

Ethof Arabian petroleum in the 1930s has made advocates of this nicity;

Kemal, Namik; Pan-Islam; Secularization;

brand of militantly Islamic self-identification both wealthy Shaykh

al-Islam; Umma; Wahhabiyya; Young Ottoand influential.

mans; Young Turks.

Resistance to European imperialism has been most effectively captained, in many instances, not by political or mili- BIBLIOGRAPHY

tary officials but by popular religious figures. For example, Dawn, C.

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demand imposition of the shari a. Later, the Young Turks
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themselves flirted with pan-Islamism (at least for propaganda
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Pasha’s 1918 launch of the “Army of
versity Press, 1977.

Islam,” designed to liberate the Muslims of Russia. The
previous year, the grand wazir Mehmed Said Halim Pasha

Daniel C. Peterson

had delivered a classic statement of pan-Islamic belief, declaring that “the
fatherland of a Muslim is wherever the shari a
prevails.” Even the communists, jockeying for power in the
months after the fall of the Ottoman empire, found them-
IJTIHAD

selves constrained to invoke Islamic solidarity rather than
In early Islam ijtiḥad, along with terms such as al-ra y, qiyas,
class struggle.

and zann referred to sound and balanced personal reasoning.

The Muslim masses have continued to see the chief threat
century of Islam, however, prophetic traditions
to them not in foreigners but in infidels. (That the two were
these terms as the primary indicators of the law after
often identical obscures but does not remove the distinction.)
Qur an. The term qiyas remained operative but was

When, for example, on 2 November 1945, Egypt’s political

Keddie,

and

Lewis,

York:

Lewis,

York:

E. J.

Shaw,

the

By the third

replaced

the

severely

curtailed by jurists of all schools. Ijtihad, however, leaders invited protests to mark the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, resulting demonstrations turned into anti-Jewish protests including those who, in all other matters, held strongly opposite views and then into attacks on Catholic, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox views. This was perhaps due to ijtihad's authority residing

344

Islam and the Muslim World

Ikhwan al-Muslimin

in a prophetic tradition, but more likely it was because the actual definition of the term varied from jurist to jurist. Al-

IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN

Shafi'i, for instance, when asked, replied that ijtihad and qiyas

The first modern Islamic mass movement, the Society of the Brothers, are two names for the same process. Ibn Hazm, in contrast,

Muslim Brothers (Jam'iyyat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin), was born

denounced qiyas but not ijtihad: The former, he maintained,

in Ismailia, Egypt, in 1928. Its founder, Hasan al-Banna

referred to baseless speculation, and the latter, to the individ-

(1906–1949), was from a pious Muslim home and inherited

his father's attempts at unraveling the truth by textual corroborations

Salafiyya (reformist) orientation. He was strongly

influenced. All nonetheless used ijtihad to refer to no more than the

affected by both the rigor and devotion of Sufism and the

search for the legal norm (hukm) in Islam's corpus sancta

nationalist spirit of the 1919 anti-British uprising. Upon

without much regard for context.

graduating in 1927, he was appointed to teach primary school

In contrast, postcolonial Islamic thinkers used ijtihad as a tool in the Suez

Canal town of Ismailia, where he called people to

shorthand for intellectual and social reform, and as a break from fervently practice Islam (da'wa).

from taqlid or blind imitation of past legal rulings. The Indian

There al-Banna founded a society which, in its first four

poet/philosopher, Muhammad Iqbal, for instance, saw ijtihad

years, built a mosque, a boys school, and a girls school. The

as the catalyst for Islam's intellectual resurgence, whereas the

society's branches multiplied around the country, founding

grand mufti of Egypt, Muhammad Abduh, considered it a means to numerous

Quran schools, clinics, and hospitals, and estabbreak from traditional

scholarship, and Maududi as the key to establishing a system of cooperative

insurance for its poorer

establishing an Islamic political order. The relationship between members. In

the 1930s it rapidly developed its own distinctive

tween taqlid and ijtihad during this period became less juridi-

characteristics, enabling it to endure and continue to play a
 cal and more symbolic: The former now referred to the key
 religious and sociopolitical role in many Muslim coun general deterioration of
 everything Islamic and the latter to tries until today.
 its reformation. In general, ijti had served to validate the
 reformist's efforts to subordinate the sacred texts to the Features
 of the Ikhwan
 exigencies of a modern context. The Society
 of the Muslim Brothers aims to bring complete
 spiritual revival (nahda) to society under Islam—a vision
 While ijti had was warmly received, no methodology for encompassing
 the moral reformation of youth through phys ireasoning by ijti had was
 established, as was the case with qiyas, cal training, sports, religious and
 ideological indoctrination,
 for instance. Jurists spoke of the four essential constituents of social
 welfare, national pride, resistance against foreign domina qiyas, and its
 various forms, but in the case of ijti had, spoke tion, and the
 establishment of a state run by Islamic norms. Its
 only of the qualifications of the mujtahids who do ijti had, and members
 share an activist ethos, critical of traditional Islam,
 of their rankings within particular schools of law. More as well as
 a certain pragmatism that sanctions the use of
 importantly, they spoke of the closing of the doors of ijti had. Western
 ideas and technology as a tool to advance Islam. Its
 The Crusades, the rise of regional dynasties subsequent to founder's
 unique talents and sense of divine call was evi the collapse of the Abbasid
 empire, and the Mongol invasions denced by his celibacy and his tireless
 self-sacrifice in visiting
 were seen as threats to Islamic intellectualism in general. the
 society's branches all over Egypt, as well as a commitment
 Coupled with this, attacks by rationalists and philosophers on to writing,
 speaking, and organizing.
 Muslim orthodox thinking convinced jurists that any further
 ijti had posed a great danger to orthodoxy itself. The doors of The
 society enjoyed phenomenal growth right from the
 ijti had were thus closed in the fourth Islamic century, and a start.
 Although it could boast only 5 branches in 1930, that
 long period of taqlid followed. Recent scholarship has chal- number had
 jumped to 2,000 in 1949; by 1941 the society had
 lenged this view based on evidence that mujtahids existed well become so
 influential that the British had the Egyptian prime
 into the sixteenth century, and that several prominent minister
 arrest al-Banna and his lieutenant, Ahmad al-Sukkari,
 premodern scholars denied the closure of the doors of ijti had. but he soon
 released them without British permission, fearing
 that their continued imprisonment would touch off a revolt
 See also Law; Madhhab; Reform: Arab Middle East and that would

topple his government.

North Africa; Shari a.

The society was organized in a tight, hierarchical structure. Executive power was vested in the General Guide (al-

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murshid al- amm), who was supported by a General Guidance

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(Maktab al-irshad al- amm) whose members num-

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in 1934 and who were handpicked by the

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Guide. During the 1930s, most administrative tasks

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out by a Central Consultative Council (the

Majlis al-shura al-markazi)—a structure which required cen-

Muneer Goolam Fareed tralization—at the district level (al-dawa ir),

of which there

Islam and the Muslim World

345

Ikhwan al-Muslimin

were eighty-nine in 1937. The society possessed an efficient

underground, yet its activities nonetheless have exerted a powerful
system for recruiting, training, and multiplying cadres and,
influence at the grassroots.

over time, several levels of commitment were developed. For

instance, the Rover scouting movement (jawwala) empha- Sayyid

Qutb (1906–1966), after a three-year assignment

sized teaching (ta rif) with summer camps, athletic training, in the

United States for the Ministry of Education, returned

prayers, Qur anic study, and charitable work. The Battalions in 1951 as

a convert to the Ikhwan's version of Islam and

(al-Kata ib, meaning "formation") were added in 1937 and became

the Brotherhood's chief ideologue. Arrested and

were composed of one to four subgroups of ten members, tortured

with others in the movement in 1954, he spent most

each subgroup being headed by a deputy (mandub), to whom of the rest

of his life in prison. This is where he wrote two of

the local members pledged an oath of strict obedience, his most

influential works, a voluminous Qur anic commendiscipline, and secrecy. Later,

al-Banna replaced the Battal- tary, Fi zilal al-Qur an (1952–1965, In

the shade of the

ions with the "cooperative family" (usra).

Qur an), and Ma alim fi al-tariq (1964, Signposts along the

way), which inspired an entire generation of more radical

A third level of commitment (tanfidh, "execution") materi- Islamist

groups. Central to his writings were his identification

alized around 1940, when al-Banna founded the Special with Pharaoh, and the bulk of Muslims with the Apparatus, which served as the secret military branch of the “ignorant” people who preceded Islam in Arabia (al-jahiliyya). organization. Current research suggests, however, that pres- Under these conditions, he wrote, only through violent jihad could a sure from his more militant members led al-Banna to allow truly Islamic state be instituted.

the formation of the Special Apparatus earlier than he might have personally chosen, and that he worked hard to maintain Four milestones can be discerned since the 1980s, with the its low profile during the period of the Second World War. mainstream of the Ikhwan increasingly turning toward peaceful, progressive methods of implementing Islamic law (shari a).

The society’s core belief was that, just as the Prophet ruled Between 1974 and 1981 there appeared several militant in Medina, there could be no Islamic society without an groups, including al-Jihad, which was responsible for Anwar Islamic state. But in the 1930s and 1940s, al-Banna explicitly al-Sadat’s assassination in 1981. Between 1981 and 1988 the sought to reform society though education and to foster Brotherhood founded a number of Islamic investment com-Islamic principles within the existing government. Although panies and joined with other political parties in order to have he condemned the multiparty system, he sought to increase its people elected to parliament. In 1984, the Brotherhood the Ikhwan’s political influence within the Palace and the claimed twelve parliamentary seats, and in 1987 that number Wafd parties. The Brotherhood’s clear ideological stance of rose to thirty-eight seats. The Mubarak government (1981 to social justice and championing the rights of the educated the present) has cracked down on Islamic businesses and, with lower classes, peasants, and urban poor presented a strong a failing economy, Egypt has witnessed greater violence on challenge to ruling elites.

the part of Islamists targeting police and tourists. At the same Ikhwan Milestones time, the influence of the Brotherhood has been felt in all

The evolution of the Ikhwan reveals unresolved inner ten-strata of society, especially within professional syndicates.

sions between the moderate and pragmatic option chosen by Since 1998, the violence has lessened, and a new party has broken off al-Banna and more militant options that would seek immedi- from the Brotherhood. This is the Wasat (“middle ground”), ate military overthrow of the state. In 1939 dissenters broke which includes both Christians and women. Some analysts off from the Brotherhood to form the more militant Muham-

view this as possibly the dawning of a “post-Islamist” era in mad’s Youth. In 1947 and 1948 al-Banna collaborated with Egypt. The Arab League to send arms, money, and some of his trained units as volunteers for the Palestinian resistance. Further, in The Ikhwan in Syria and Jordan 1948, in a climate of great unrest, the Ikhwan’s organization The Ikhwan spread their message into Syria in the mid 1930s, (including its publications arm) was shut down, and al-Banna chiefly through students returning home from Egypt. In addition, was placed under house arrest. In response, in December of Hasan al-Banna visited Syria in 1946, after which the that year, the Egyptian prime minister was assassinated by the movement officially entered Syrian politics as the Islamic some Ikhwan brothers. Al-Banna publicly condemned this Brotherhood Party. Its first General Secretary (al-muraqib al-a‘mal), but was himself assassinated in February 1949 by (al-muraqib al-a‘mal) was Mustafa al-Siba‘i, an al-Azhar graduate. government agents.

When the Syrian Ikhwan entered the fray of democratic The Ikhwan reached the zenith of its influence in 1952, politics, some Brotherhood members entered parliament, while after the “Free Officers” revolution, but consequently drew others accepted ministerial portfolios. This stopped, the ire of Jamal Abd al-Nasser. Legally dissolved in January however, after the Ba‘thist coup of 1963. The general secretary, 1954, the Brotherhood was decimated: Six of its top leaders Issam al-Attar, chose self-exile in Europe, and the rest were hanged publicly, and thousands of members were im- kept to a more traditional Brotherhood role. In their place, new prisoned. Since then the organization has remained mostly Islamist groups rose up, with militant names and agendas.

346

Islam and the Muslim World

Ikhwan al-Muslimin

The coming to power of Hafiz al-Asad in 1970 inaugurated a second round of confrontation between the Syrian population. Abdallah II, due to Jordan’s majority Palestinian As in Syria, the Brotherhood in Jordan is committed to Ikhwan and an authoritarian, socialist regime, The Brotherhood nonviolence and multiparty democracy, but the question hood succeeded in securing benefits mostly for the poorest remains: How long they will be able to contain the minority, the Alawis, who were considered a heretical sect by anger and frustration of the lower classes? the Sunni majority of the urban elites. Al-Asad’s strategy

against the Ikhwan was two-pronged. First, he began to include more Islamic symbols in Syria's political and cultural life; second, he mercilessly repressed the Islamist groups that extension of its Egyptian counterpart when Hasan had launched a campaign of assassinations in Syria in the appointed a director general in 1949. Already, an 1970s. Al-Asad's policies culminated in the massacre of more movement had started to operate among students than ten thousand civilians in the city of Hama in 1982. name Islamic Liberation Movement. The various strands of politically minded Muslims, mostly in university In the 1990s, the Syrian government permitted a timid liberalization of the economy, aiming to revive the private forming an Islamist coalition and pressing for an sector, and thus lessening some tension between itself and the "Islamic" constitution. By the early 1960s the movement Islamists, who mostly came from the petite bourgeoisie. Also, political party called the Islamic Charter Front noticing the growing Islamization of Syrian society as else- where, al-Asad initiated a mosque-building campaign, and the Ikhwan strand of Islamism became Hasan also sought to coopt the moderate elements among the Ikhwan. At the turn of the century Syrian ruler, Bashar al-Asad, elected to pursue his father's course, and the Brotherhood joined other parties to call for greater political openness and respect of the Front's participation in two elections and its for human rights. getting the Communist Party banned from Sudanese politics, it remained weakened by internal divisions.

By contrast, King Abdallah of Jordan encouraged the tendencies vied for control, both inherited from founding of the Jordanian Ikhwan in the 1940s, and that mother organization. Of these, the "political" tradition of common alliance against communism continued by Turabi, believed that achieving power in the under King Hussein. Despite their differences, the Ikhwan's reformist stance never moved beyond a loyal oppo- "educationalist" option prioritized indoctrination and resitio to a monarchy proud of its Islamic legitimacy. The ideology had prevailed. political reforms introduced by King Hussein in 1989 marked

The Ikhwan
 The
 being as an
 al-Banna
 indigenous
 under the
 circles, banded
 (1956),
 emerged as a
 (Jabhat
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 Britain.
 In spite
 success in
 Two main
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 option, led
 political
 form. By 1969 Turabi's

a new era by opening the way for multiparty parliamentary the military coup of 1969, led by Colonel Ja far elections. The Ikhwan ran candidates with good results, Numayri), established a seemingly irreversible winning twenty-two seats out of eighty, with twelve more secularism and thus, during most of the 1970s, going to independent Islamic candidates. joined forces with the opposition, participating in three failed coup attempts. Then, in 1977, as Nimeiri saw his The Jordanian Brotherhood then joined the cabinet, but it eroding, he began to call for a rapprochehas not been able to capitalize on its early momentum. First, ment with Islamic parties. The Ikhwan rallied to his side, their inexperience in legislative politics showed, as accusa- the leader of the Umma Party, Sadiq al-Mahdi tions of inefficiency and mismanagement were levelled against also Turabi's brother-in-law). This enabled the several of their elected members. Second, its moderation has implemented an impressive strategy aimed toward tended to radicalize the smaller, more militant Islamic off- mass movement poised to take over the state. shoots. One group, started by mostly Afghan returnees (Mu- achieved this by using their new-found freedom to hammad's Army), began a series of attacks in 1991. Eight followers outside the university setting; by gaining were arrested and tried in a military court. Although the king in statesmanship by participating in the Nimeiri later commuted their death sentences to life imprisonment, and by exploiting an experiment in "Islamic the strong message from the palace was clear. This and other to build an extensive Islamist business network. instances of violence and repression worked to discredit the campaign to Islamize society succeeded so well that Islamists. Third, when a new round of elections came in 1993, decreed the enactment of the shari a penal laws the king changed the election law, thus weakening the chances 1983. of a new Ikhwan-controlled Islamist coalition, the Islamic Work Party. The outcome was predictable: poor voter turn- uprising in 1985 enabled Suwar al-Dhahab to out, and less than half of the original seats for the Islamists. Nimeiri through a military coup, and in the elections of 1986 the Ikhwan candidates successfully ran as the leaders The failed peace process between Palestine and Israel has National Islamic Front (NIF). Their influence rendered relations with the Brotherhood all the more delicate rise, to the point that most observers believe that

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Ikhwan al-Safa

the military coup led by Omar al-Bashir in 1989 was actually traditions, and a critical stance toward what they perceived to be the staged by the Ikhwan. Certainly, until the fallout between be the cultural and political stagnation of the time. The Bashir and Turabi in 2000–2001, Sudan was ruled by the evidence in the text, as well as references to them in early NIF, with Turabi as its chief ideologue. Isma ili

writings suggest that the philosophy reflected in the Rasa il was closely affiliated with Isma ili aspirations of the The 1990s were marked by a hardening of the NIF's one- pre-Fatimid period.

party authoritarian regime, the imposition of an intolerant Islamization of Sudanese northern society, and the intensifi- Intellectual Approach

cation of the war against the southern forces—a civil war that Beyond what initially appears to be an encyclopedic work, since 1983 has killed over two million people. Though there is a far-ranging and comprehensive program of intellec- Turabi's writings project a progressive and almost liberal tual and educational reform. Such an agenda of reform was Islamist position on democracy and human rights, the United founded on three assumptions.

Nations' International Labor Organization and numerous human rights groups have protested the use of torture, ethnic First, the Ikhwan acknowledged the existence of "sciences cleansing, and the return of slavery to the Sudan. The and wisdoms," some divinely inspired, which had been pro- Sudanese situation in the early 2000s appears as precarious as duced by past faith communities, individuals, and learned ever, unless Bashir's post-Turabi regime develops a more societies. This base of knowledge represented a foundation for

open Islamist political agenda. for developing a synthesis, appropriate to a new time and circumstances. Such a synthesis would harmonize Qur anic See also Banna, Hasan al-; Fundamentalism; Qutb, and Muslim values and ideals with the best that all other Sayyid; Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa; religious philosophical systems had to offer.

Turabi, Hasan al-.

Second, the ultimate goal of such a synthesis, taught and BIBLIOGRAPHY properly

applied to life and society, was a moral one. It was Hinnebusch, Raymond A. "State and Islamism in Syria." In the

advancement of human beings in their material life and Islamic Fundamentalism. Edited by Abdel Salam Sidahmed conditions and their spiritual lives here and in the hereafter.

and Anoushirami. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996. Such an objective was best fulfilled through personal moral

Lia, Brynjar. The Society of Muslim Brothers: The Rise of an and intellectual growth and spiritual development through

Islamic Mass Movement. Reading, U.K.: Ithaca, 1998. sound teaching and learning. This, however, assumed a

foundation of knowledge, pedagogy, and the capacity to

Mitchell, Richard P. The Society of Muslim Brothers. Foreword

synthesize and assimilate existing resources through the apby John O. Voll. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

plication of intellectual and moral discipline. This personal commitment and emphasis on character development re-

Sihahmed, Abdel Salam. Politics and Islam in Contemporary

ceives a great deal of emphasis in the Rasa il. Piety, compas- Sudan. Richmond, U.K.: Curzon, 1997.

sion, gentleness, and humility are prerequisites to wisdom

and virtue. The attainment of such wisdom is the highest

David L. Johnston

quality of Muslim learning, hikma, a religious and philosophical wisdom.

Third, the acquisition of knowledge as a virtue that fosters

IKHWAN AL-SAFA moral

character created in turn a society with a common set

of civic values and behavior. Thus, the individual, social, and

Ikhwan al-Safa, literally "Brethren of Purity" or more broadly

religious goals intersected in the Ikhwan's vision. The buildthe

"Fellowship of the Pure," is a term used to designate a

ing of this foundation of learning drew upon the following

group of Muslim intellectuals who compiled the well-known

major sources:

encyclopedia of learning called the Rasa il Ikhwan al-Safa.

Many of them lived in the tenth century, constituting a

Mathematical and natural sciences

collaborative forum for discussion, debate, and writing that

Scriptures revealed through prophets

led to the composition of fifty-two epistles of the Rasa il.

Nature and the environment

The consensus of modern scholarship is that the philo-

Inspiration

vouchsafed to purified souls

sophical attitudes and ideas reflected in the Rasa il are consistent and have

much in common with views developed by Each source was capable

of being converted into a series of

Shi ite Isma ili thinkers of the same period. Their writings disciplines,

further formalized into a curriculum, directed at

reflect clearly a vibrant philosophical orientation, strong students through sessions involving reading, study, and dis familiarity with the major sciences, religious and intellectual cussion. These were divided into four broad areas:

348

Islam and the Muslim World

Imam

Mathematics and deductive subjects, including, inter- BIBLIOGRAPHY
estingly enough, music Nanji, Azim. "On

the Acquisition of Knowledge in the Ras il

Physical and natural sciences, including the study of Ikhwan
al-Safa." Muslim World 66 (1976): 262-271.

biology of living things and culture Nasr, Sayyed
Hossein. Islamic Cosmological Doctrines. London:

Psychology and intellectual inquiry Thames and
Hudson, 1978.

Religious science and knowledge, including ethics and Netton, Ian.
Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought
governance of the Brethren of

Purity. London: George Allen and
Unwin, 1982.

The hermeneutical approach of the Ikhwan, and their Poonawala, Ismail.
K. "Ikhwan al Safa." In Vol. 7, The

blending of knowledge traditions, reflects the growth and
Encyclopedia of Religion. Edited by Mircea Eliade, et al.

diversity of learning in the Muslim world of the ninth and New York:
Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987.

tenth centuries. In particular, the translation of the ancient
heritage of Greece and the Mediterranean world had made

Azim Nanji

available to Muslims tools from philosophy and science that
could serve to underpin an interpretation and explanation of
Qur anic principles. The Ikhwan like other Muslim philosophers or rationalist
groups, such as the Mu tazila, were IMAM

committed to building such an intellectual framework, but in
the process they wished to affirm a commitment to core The word

"imam" is an Arabic term signifying a leader, a
notions such as tawhid, the unity of God, the necessity of model, an
authority, or an exemplar. The term occurs in the

religious faith, law, and salvation, which they perceived, Qur an, for
example at 2:124, with reference to God's promquoting the Qur an (89:26), as
the return of the contented ise to make Abraham an "imam for the
people," and at 11:17

soul to the God of Unity. and 46:12,

where the "Book of Moses" is characterized as an

"imam." In early theological and juristic literature, the Qur an

Just as the symbolic significance of numbers and mathematical values reflected their methodological approach to science, so with regards to the Qur'an, whose verses they prayers is typically designated as an imam, considered as having an interior, symbolic meaning (batin) and from the ninth century onwards the term was also used that required a rational interpretation and a hermeneutical approach. Most commonly, however, the term refers to the caliph in the Sunni juristic literature and, in Shi'ism, to the infallible guide of the community. The *Rasa'il* also contains many references to Christian and Jewish scriptures and traditions, acknowledging respect and recognition of the commonalities the Abrahamic traditions. Debates on the question of who was best qualified to be share and the affirmation that an ecumenical spirit is a the imam and whether a sinful leader might be removed from his position prelude to knowledge and appreciation of the other. In his position as the head of the community played an important role in the development of Sunni religious literature of ancient Iran, and political thought. India, and Buddhism. They used well-known stories and Medieval Sunni jurists held the position of the imam parables, such as the legend of Bilawhar and the Debate of the to be deducible from revelation rather than reason, and Animals, which suggest the diverse milieu of the time, but are considered this position to be essential for the defense of Islam and also indicative of the Ikhwan's efforts to broaden and deepen the implementation of the sacred law, the sharia. In general, they Muslim discourse by engaging it with the intellectual strands required that the caliph/imam be a member of Muhammad's of the time. Their approach thus reflects the ethos of the tribe of Quraysh, be duly elected by the people or nominated period—a time of debate, intellectual ferment, and synthesis by his predecessor, and possess moral probity, religious knowledge, and the physical faculties necessary for the discharge of his duties. With the decline of the caliphate and the rise to power of the military warlords, however, the jurists came to By and large their work was read by and influenced many the later Muslim thinkers. The *Rasa'il* were translated into many the caliph—who wielded effective political power was the legitimate languages and transmitted all over the Muslim world. Their

imam, as long as his actions did not flagrantly
 writings have also attracted the attention of Muslim and other contravene the
 shari a.
 scholars in modern times, and their approach and commitment to education as the
 most constructive vehicle for change To the Shi ites, the term imam has
 a different signification
 appears to have stood the test of time altogether. It
 refers to a member of the family of the Prophet
 (ahl al-bayt), and usually to a member of “the family” as
 See also Falsafa; Shi a: Isma ili. descended from
 Muhammad’s daughter Fatima (d. 633) and

Islam and the Muslim World

349

Imamate

her husband Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661). The history of protection,
 and when necessary, it was the imam who would
 Shi ism is marked by numerous disagreements on the precise lead the
 state in war with the enemies of Islam. This theoretidentity and number of the
 imams, as well as on how to define cal presentation was rarely realized,
 and the gap between
 the imam’s authority and functions; and many of these disa- theory and
 practice was recognized by other terms for the
 greements have continued to the present, as have distinct actual
 holders of political power (khalifa, sultan, amir, and
 Shi ite communities. The Imamis, who came to be the most even shaykh)
 that were rarely used to describe leaders in the
 numerous group among the Shi ites, believe in twelve imams, theoretical
 works of jurisprudence, but were the standard
 hence their common designation as “Ithna asharis” or
 appellations in works of history and biography, and in the
 “Twelvers.”
 increasingly popular mirror works, containing advice for
 kings and governors. The compromise evident in the inter-
 The Twelver imams are believed to be sinless, the reposi- face between the
 theory and the historical development of the
 tory of authoritative knowledge, and indispensable for the Muslim
 community is neatly exemplified by the debate among
 guidance and salvation of the community. The last of these Sunni
 thinkers concerning the imamate of one who, though
 imams is believed to have gone into hiding in 874. While not the most
 pious of the community, has the appropriate
 leading Twelver-Shi ite jurists (mujtahids) have continued political
 skills.
 the imam’s function of providing religious guidance and
 leadership to the community (even as they have long debated It is
 perhaps in the Shi ite tradition that the term imam has

the scope of their own authority in his absence), belief in his being subject to the most discussion. For all the Shi'a, the eventual return is a cardinal feature of the Twelver religion. The imam was the descendant of Ali (the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad), who held both religious and political authority (irrespective of the extent of his own personal power). The

BIBLIOGRAPHY

imam was commonly held to have inherited these roles from the prophet Muhammad. In this sense, an Amir-Moezzi, M. A. *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism*. Translated by David Streight. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. The imam was like a prophet. However, in other ways the imam was distinguished from a prophet. In particular, the imam was not the recipient of a divine revelation (wahy), but was

Calder, Norman. "The Significance of the Term Imam in Early Islamic Jurisprudence." *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*. Edited by F. Sezgin. Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften, 1984. The imam was God guides the people. The divisions between the various contemporary groupings (Twelvers, Zaydis, and Isma'ilis) are, primarily, over questions of the imamate (What authority does he have? What power can he exert? Who, precisely, is the Imam?).

Sachedina, A. A. *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981. The imam at the present time, and how is the imam selected or elected from among the Prophet's descendants?). The Zaydi Shi'a (so called because of their belief in the imamate of Zayd b. Ali, a son of the great-grandson of the prophet Muhammad) have determined the imam to be a learned and pious descendant who comes forward to claim the office of the imam. For Zaydis, there may be periods when the world is devoid of an imam, and for some Zaydis, there may be times when there are two Imams. The major Zaydi community is based in Imamate is the English word used to describe the office of the imam. In works of Muslim jurisprudence, both Shi'a and usually

Imamate is the English word used to describe the office of the imam. In works of Muslim jurisprudence, both Shi'a and usually

Imamate is the English word used to describe the office of the imam. In works of Muslim jurisprudence, both Shi'a and usually

considered imams. However, in 1962, the last Zaydi Sunni, the leader of the Muslim state is referred to as the imam (Imam Ahmad Hamid al-Din) died, leading to a revolution. The term imam is also used in other religious contexts in Yemen and the end of the Zaydi imamate there. There (such as a prayer-leader). This entry will concentrate on the has been no universally recognized imam for Zaydi Shi'ite former usage. since then, though there is no theoretical bar to one emerging in the future. The Isma'ili Shi'a have consistently argued that The imam, in Sunni political theory, was the head of the the imam is the current oldest male in a long line of descendants of the Muslim state, whose responsibility it was to ensure that the dants of the Prophet descended from Isma'il, the son of Ja'far state operated in the correct Islamic manner. It was to the (the great-great-great grandson of the Prophet). Isma'il fa'imam that the Muslims should pay their alms (zakat) and land tithes to Muhammad, and the Isma'ili imams are all, suppositively (kharaj). It was with the imam that minority communities edly, descended from him. The Isma'ilis have splintered into (such as Christians or Jews, normally termed "the protected various groups over the past one thousand years. Some people" or ahl al-dhimma) would make their agreement of believe the line of imams to have disappeared and been

350

Islam and the Muslim World Imamzadah

replaced with a line of "propagators" (du'at); many others Arjomand. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988.

ent day. The current holder of the imamate (according to Momen, Moojan. Introduction to Shi'ite Islam. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

imam in 1971.

Robert Gleave

A most extensive discussion of the Shi'ite theory of the imamate is that found within the Twelver Shi'ite tradition.

Twelver Shi'a (or Ithna'ashari) are so named because of their belief in twelve imams (Ali, followed by eleven descendants), IMAMZADAH the last of whom has gone into hiding on a semipermanent basis (ghayba), to return at some point in the future to judge Imamzadah, literally "one borne of an imam," refers to a humankind. The Twelver Shi'ite writers shared with some descendant of a Shi'ite imam and, by extension, to a shrine Isma'ili theologians a rational argument for the existence of where such

a descendant is buried. Imamzadahs exist through an imam: God would not leave the world without some sort of outlet for the Shi'ite world; their relative importance is determined

“guidance” (huda) for humanity, for to do so would make him dependent on the perceived legitimacy of their genealogy. The major tombs of both uncaring (in terms of neglect for his creation) and unjust tombs of Zaynab, daughter of the first imam, Ali b. Abi Talib, and (in that people would be punished in the afterlife for sins committed due to a lack of guidance from God). The imam, Ruqayyah, daughter of the third imam, Husayn, are located in Damascus, Syria. Prominent imamzadahs in Iran then, becomes a necessary condition of humankind's continuation of religious life in the world. In Twelver philosophical works (such as those of the Twelver Mulla Sadra [d. 1637]), the imam's role is expanded, from a mere guarantor of religious life to a creational conduit, through whom the world is continued in cities, towns, and the countryside. Although the world was created, and by whom the world is maintained in existence. In addition to these rational deliberations on the nature and view of fervent devotion of them as tantamount to the idolatry, those who visit imamzadahs approach the shrines of the imams were identified with certain expressions within the sincere faith and affection. Imamzadahs are regarded as accessible to the Qur'an. Qur'an 7:181, for instance, mentions people created as local representatives of divinity, and are appealed to by God to “guide [human beings] to the truth.” This for them as intercessors.

Twelver Shi'ite writers like the great Qur'anic exegete al-Pilgrimage to an imamzadah is known as ziyarat, a formal visit. Tabarsi (d. 1158) is a clear reference to the imams. The amount of time spent visiting an imamzadah is proportional to the saint's importance. For example, three days are considered appropriate for a visit to Hazrat-e Ma sumeh; one day suffices for ziyarat to Shah Cheragh. The most excellent (afdal) of the people, and (most crucially) cursory visits are paid to small neighborhood shrines. Pilgrims visit the shrines in much the same spirit as they would

While the strictly political functions of the imam in Shi'ite visit senior relatives.

thought do not differ significantly from those outlined in Imamzadahs have distinct characters, and are often re-Sunni writings, the notion (particularly evident in Isma'ili regarded as having specialties related to the character and and Twelver writings) of the imam's infallibility (isma), both personal history of the individual to whom they are dedicated. in terms of interpretation and in terms of behavior, makes the For example, the Seyyed Ala al-din Husayn shrine in Shiraz, Shi'ite conception distinctive. The imam, therefore, holds a burial place of an imamzadah who died at thirteen years of more central role in Shi'ite community life than the imam of age, is renowned as a site where children may be cured. Other Sunni political theory. He is both perfect political leader and shrines cure particular diseases or provide special kinds of unchallenged religious authority.

assistance. Female imamzadahs are particularly responsive to See also Ghayba(t); Mahdi; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); women's and girls' concerns, such as the desire to find a Shi'a: Zaydi (Fiver). suitable husband or have an easy childbirth.

Visits to small local imamzadahs are popular among many BIBLIOGRAPHY women. Men

are more numerous at formal religious sites, Abrahamov, Binyamin. "al-Kasim Ibn Ibrahim's Theory of which are generally less comfortable places for women to the Imamate." Arabica 34 (1987): 80-105. spend time. Locations of imamzadahs are suggested by dreams Allama al-Hilli. "Allama al-Hilli on the Imamate." In Au- or the discovery of old tombstones, and confirmed by the thority and Political Culture in Shi'ism. Edited by S. A. occurrence of miracles. Graves of popular imamzadahs are

Islam and the Muslim World

351

Internet

marked by zarihs, often elaborate barred enclosures that MSAs). Their concerns remain the concerns of Muslims surround the tombs and protect them from visitors anxious to worldwide: to foster cyber Islamic environments that reincarry away some of the shrine's blessing, or barakat. Letters of force Muslim values no matter what the dominant culture or petition addressed to the saints as well as money and gifts may the vocational demands that individual Muslims face. be placed inside the zarih to signal vows made or answered.

Shrines that attract many visitors may be divided into separate men's and women's sections, each on one side of the zarih. One of the most fertile and recurrent metaphors from Muslim imagery is the Straight Path. It is first introduced in the Political figures eager to demonstrate their piety may pay opening chapter of the Qur'an. "Guide us on the Straight well-publicized visits to prominent shrines or assure that the Path," each Muslim asks of Allah each day and each time that shrines are refurbished with government funds. Since the he or she engages in canonical prayer (salat). The Straight advent of the Islamic Republic in 1979 in Iran, imamzadahs in Path, and only the Straight Path, leads to peace, to truth, to that country have received a great deal of official attention certainty, in this world and also in the next. and investment. Shrines are maintained by support from donations given to the imamzadahs or, lacking these, from the The boundaries of digital Islam reflect the scriptural, government endowments (awqaf) office. Popular imamzadahs creedal, and historical boundaries of Islamic thinking before are frequently located near bazaars, which benefit from the the Information Age. There can be no Islam without limits or flow of pilgrims. As sacred space, shrines can provide sanctuaries without guideposts. One cannot have a Straight Path unless ary and often serve as focal points for Shi'ite rituals, such as what is beyond or outside or against the Straight Path is Ashura observances. known. Cyberspace, like social space, must be monitored to be effectively Muslim. As Gary Bunt has noted, "much is See also Devotional Life; Dreams; Imam; Pilgrimage: done by Muslims in the name of Islam that is dismissed as Ziyara; Religious Beliefs; Religious Institutions. inappropriate, or worse, by other Muslims. Not every surfer (Muslim or non-Muslim) is able to make appropriate judgments, or BIBLIOGRAPHY possess the knowledge to determine 'the truth.'"

Ayoub, Mahmoud. *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of Ashura in Twelver Shi'ism*. The Hague: Mouton, 1978. Yet the horizontal, open-ended nature of the Internet makes the boundaries of digital Islam more porous and more Betteridge, Anne H. "Muslim Women and Shrines in Shiraz." subject to change than those of its predecessors. There are In *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*, 2d ed. Edited by still the same guideposts: the scripture (the Qur'an), the Donna Lee Bowen and Evelyn A. Early. Bloomington: person (the Last Prophet) and the law (with the ulema or

Indiana University Press, 2002. religious specialists as its custodians). Each has to be defined or redefined in cyberspace in order to reflect the staggering diversity of the Modern Islamic World. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. The cyber-umma remains a subset of, not a substitute for, the actual umma.

In *Unspoken Worlds: Women's Religious Lives*. 3d edition. Edited by Nancy Auer Falk and Rita M. Gross. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001. The most profound diversity is the global distribution of Muslims themselves. Muslims comprise between one-quarter and one-third of the world's population. More Muslims are Asian than African, more are African than Arab, and many Muslims now live outside their countries of origin, whether in Europe or North America. It is Euro-American Muslim immigrants who form the leading edge for change in the Muslim world as a whole. Children of the information technology revolution, they have a heightened sense of diversity,

INTERNET at the same time that they use expanded human and material resources to link themselves with other, like-minded groups. The Islamic presence in cyberspace relates to both religious authority and the accessibility of authoritative texts, scriptural and juridical, reflecting a spectrum of views internal to democracy in the Muslim world. Some cybernauts encourage the diverse Muslim community. Digital Islam projects Muslims that the expansive technology of the World Wide Web have assumed makes it as democratic in access as it is global in scope. But by the American origins of the World Wide Web: Afro-Asian traditional Muslim students who came to the United States to be trained as engineers were also the first to create specifically Islamic Arab or Iranian) Muslim immigrants get their views projected on web pages websites (especially through Muslim Student Associations, or in cyberspace. The South Asian cultural critic

Internet

Ziauddin Sardar (1996), for instance, lambasts cyberspace as is too early to predict how transformative the Internet will be, its “social engineering of the worst kind. . . . The supposed impact on individual, communal, and national identity is growing. democracy of cyberspace only hands control more effectively back to a centralized elite, the ideology of the free citizen making everyone oblivious to the more enduring structures The challenge for Muslim cybernauts is the same as for other of control.” “netizens” (a neologism meaning “internet citizens”): How to define place and community in new ways that do not The Internet and the Information Age oppose virtual and real but rather see them as complementary? Can For those Muslims who do have access to cyberspace, two key social networking in the flows of the information terms frame their experience of the Internet. Both terms, superhighway provide an alternate context within which to build Muslim networks and the Information Age, come together in communities as small as a kinship group, or as large as a nation? digital Islam. Muslim networks precede and inform the Information Age. Manuel Castells accents the difference inaugurated by the information technology revolution. This revolution The cybernetic revolution provides unprecedented opportunities for local and transnational community formation. but it did enhance the way they opportunities for local and transnational community formation. function. The information technology revolution has made Whether Muslims aggregate in virtual associations, such as the internal diversity and historical networking of Muslims build cyber-Muslim chat groups, or actual networks, such as Women Living more apparent. The Internet, in particular, opens up access to project a Under Muslim Laws (<<http://www.wluml.org>>), they communities that were closed or inaccessible, thus facilitating an investigation of the ways in which diverse peoples reagggregation. In this era of mass migration, when violence encounter their diversity and interpret their experiences. It and economic necessity have forced many to travel, diasporic provides options for new forms of collective interaction. Muslims are split from their birth communities. They are imagine and compelled to negotiate multiple speaking positions as they During the 1990s, the Internet became part of daily life in project national identities. Nationalism today, though many parts of the world. While access in Africa and Asia remains limited for economic and political reasons, grass-through

language and systems of meaning that allow participants to share cultural practices and experiences. People are able to exploit the democratizing potential of e-connectivity and to circumvent attempts to centralize control. In Malaysia, for example, networks reflect shared interests rather than shared place or shared ancestry. They may also form contingent virtual communities of distribution. Elites with computer access download materials as hard copies, which are then widely distributed into levels, as well as to provide companionship, social support, rural areas, where they can be read aloud to groups of and a sense of belonging. illiterate people. Virtual communities are becoming the norm, even as technophiles debate with neo-Luddites about whether The Internet seems to empower individuals who would not they are the harbingers of a brave new world or the end of otherwise have a public voice to express and present their fully human life. opinions to strangers. However divergent from the norm, an individual can insist on his or her unorthodox position. A debate that While the information revolution emerges out of technological developments and organizational patterns long in dominance could be closed in real space by the assertion of by a majority remains open in virtual space. Consider place throughout the world, it can be marked as a revolution the fierce debate concerning women's rights as human because of its difference from these same antecedent patterns. rights and Muslim women as fully the equal of Muslim What is different are the speed, scope, and directness of communication, nowhere more evident than in the concept prophet Muhammad, to wit, that "a nation which places its of telepresence. affairs in the hands of a woman shall never prosper." Traditionalists have used it to deny women any role in affairs of state or Telepresence and Resistance the public domain, but a contemporary Nigerian jurist, Telepresence is a new form of association, and, as such, it Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, has demonstrated through an essay compels a reconsideration of the meaning of community: circulated on the Internet (at <www.gamji.cm/sanusi.htm>) the What is community when participants do not share place but extent to which rival interpretations of this hadith can communicate as if they did? If shared place is not a render it

suspect as the eternal norm governing Muslim necessary condition, is the notion of community as embodied women's access to professional employment and political contact a romantic projection of an idealized past? Sociological power. gists since the nineteenth century have been worrying about the impact of technology on community, as though it pos- Heteroglossia and contestation do not automatically ressed a solid, immutable core. But a century later, communi- place the ideological closure of other forms of telecommunities survive, albeit in less solid but no less real forms. While it cation such as newspapers, television, radio, and even telephone.

Islam and the Muslim World

353

Internet

Still, dissension that might have been quashed previously in conduit and the center for the one billion strong umma. Yet an environment where hegemonic discourse held sway might the HADI-sponsored websites have little relationship to today persist beyond presumed endings. To the extent that other cyber-Muslim voices with a variant notion of Islamic the necessarily horizontal nature of relationships on the Net loyalty and ritual practice.

challenges traditional hierarchies, the democratizing potential of the Net holds out hope for people living under Among the numerous alternative Muslim websites, two authoritarian rule in many postcolonial Muslim states. kinds contrast sharply with Islamicity in Cyberspace. One is the principal Twelver Shi'ite website at <www.al-islam.org>.

Consequences of the Information This site, like HADI, originates from North America, in this

Technology Revolution case from Canada, but instead of the dominant Sunni stress

The Information Age is an age defined by media, whether on scripture and Prophetic practice, it projects a personal print (newspapers), auditory (the radio and telephone), audio- loyalty to Ali, the cousin/son-in-law of the Prophet and an visual (television and movies), or print-auditory-visual-tactile individual whom Shi'ite Muslims esteem as one of the

(the World Wide Web). There could be no World Wide Infallibles, or perfect beings who guide others to Allah. Also

Web without antecedent technological breakthroughs, yet it reflecting a personal loyalty, but to other semidivine media represents the culmination of a process the further consetors, are numerous Sufi sites, among them those dedicated to

quences of which no one yet knows. While Muslims did not the Chishti-affiliated Sufi Order of the West and its founder,

create the World Wide Web, they have been among its beneficiaries, at least in those nodes of the global capitalist library.htm> is the home page of a Chishti devotee from New Mexico, and it offers a broad appeal to numerous, nontheir own cosmopolitan centers or as part of the demographic Muslim spiritual paths, all under the canopy of a universal pluralism of Western Europe, North America and South/ perspective of Sufism. Southeast Asia.

What will be the consequence of the information technology revolution for Islam during the next two decades? Castells has argued that it will augur the biggest revolution experienced from a cyber-utopia of the sort that Castells proenced by humankind since the invention of the Greek alphabet. Differences in virtual space will be as multiple and bet in 700 B.C.E. It is too early to confirm Castells' grand vision, but even if one acknowledges its long-term potential, be a limited number of Muslims who have access to its immediate impact has to be qualified on two major points. First, the boundaries of religious knowledge are not so will find many competing notions of Islamic loyalty easily or so swiftly changed. The major web site for Muslims in the Euro-American diaspora today is IslamiCity in Cyberspace, located at <www.islam.org>, <www.islamic.org>, and <www.islamicity.org>. Syria, and, while hacking can take place as easily within a cyber-Islamic environment as elsewhere, it will It has been embraced by Muslim Student Associations in border zones of actual conflict, such as throughout North America, at the same time that it has and Kashmir. Because information technologies, benefited from the early endeavors of student-based religious traditions, are inherently conservative, they webmasters to create Cyber Islamic environments. Because reinforce global structures and asymmetries rather IslamiCity in Cyberspace claims 120 million hits since January a new era for civil society and transformative

The huge
their
demurral
myriad as
will there
the World
netizens
and options
where one
less prone
occur more often
Palestine
like
tend to
than to bode

ary 2001, it would seem that it fulfills its mission, namely, to justice.

The information technology revolution will continue

service the global Muslim ecommunity. to benefit

diasporic Muslims more than their homeland co-

But does IslamiCity actually represent all Muslims, in religionists.

The disparity between north and south, between

geographic space as well as in cyberspace? IslamiCity in rich and

poor will be as evident, alas, among Muslims as it is

Cyberspace is itself an offshoot of HADI, the acronym for a among

non-Muslims, at least for the foreseeable future.

Saudi overseas holding company based in California: Human

See also Globalization; Networks, Muslim.

Assistance and Development International. In Arabic, hadi

means guide or leader. Hadi is also one of the "99 Most

Beautiful Names of God," and it echoes the phrase from the

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Path guides the Muslim cybernaut cation and Cyber Islamic Environments.

Lampeter: Univertowards norms and values that reflect the Saudi sponsors of

sity of Wales Press. 2000.

HADI. It reflects the effort of the Saudi government to Castells,

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project itself as the bastion of Islamic orthodoxy, at once the Culture.

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354

Islam and the Muslim World

Intifada

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collective punishment and for security reasons. In

in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere. Bloom- short, Israeli

repression and unmet Palestinian expectations

ington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999. of freedom and

independence contributed to years of pent-up

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and the Changing Boundaries of Religious Knowledge."

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first Intifada, Palestinians in October 2000 began

World Newsletter, no. 2 (March 1999): 21-24. by using

nonviolent methods. After 144 Palestinians had been

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however, Islamist groups, such as HAMAS and Islamic

Information Superhighway. New York: New York Univer- Jihad, began a

campaign of suicide bombings against mostly

sity Press, 1996. civilians in

the occupied territories and Israel, while groups associated with Fatah organization, such as al-Aqsa Martyr's Bruce B. Lawrence Brigade, focused on resistance against Israeli army incursions

Miriam Cooke and conducted attacks on settlers in the West Bank and Gaza.

Starting in January 2002, al-Aqsa Brigade also began conducting suicide bombings against mostly Israeli civilians, a practice condemned by the international community. Yasir INTIFADA Arafat, head of Fatah and the PLO, and president of the Palestinian Authority (PA) since 1996, did not initiate the Intifada ("shaking off") is the name given to two Palestinian Intifada, but he reportedly gave tacit approval to armed uprisings against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and resistance and terrorism, despite his promise made in the Gaza Strip. The first began in December of 1987 as a popular Oslo Accords in 1993 to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to uprising, its hallmark being the image of Palestinian youths renounce "the use of terrorism and other acts of violence." throwing rocks at Israeli soldiers and settlers in the occupied territories. This Intifada was triggered by an incident in Gaza Sharon became Israel's Prime Minister on 6 February that turned violent and subsequently spread rapidly to the 2001. A proponent of Greater Israel, an architect of the West Bank territories. Over the next several years, the Intifada settlements, and an opponent of the Oslo process, he proescalated, involving demonstrations, strikes, riots, and violence, with broad public support, to use harsh measures lence against Israelis. The Intifada lasted until 1993 when, in against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. In response to the uprising, the Oslo Accords were drawn up response to Palestinian violence, he initiated a policy of between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators. assassinations, euphemistically called "targeted killings," of suspected terrorists leaders, but which included activists and Al-Aqsa Intifada began after Ariel Sharon, a leader of the innocent bystanders. He reoccupied major Palestinian cities, using Israeli right-wing LIKUD Party, visited al-Haram al-Sharif using helicopter gunships, war planes and tanks. Some of Sharon's (Temple Mount), in Jerusalem, on 28 September 2000. Al- methods were condemned by both human rights groups and Haram, which contains al-Aqsa Mosque, is the third holiest groups and the United States. shrine of Islam. The visit was provocative to Palestinians, especially because Sharon was accompanied by one thousand The Intifada was costly to the Palestinians, Israel, and the

riot police, but what triggered the Intifada the following day United States during the first thirty months. Some strategists, including Palestinian analysts, considered the militarization of the bullets against unarmed, rock-throwing Palestinian demon- Intifada to be a blunder. The Oslo process was destroyed, strators, killing six and injuring 220. Arafat sidelined, the Palestinian economy damaged, and the PA areas occupied, while settlement construc- tion continued

The fundamental cause of al-Aqsa Intifada was the break- apace. Sharon's harsh measures cost the lives of over down, in July 2000, of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process of over 2,000 Palestinians, of whom most were civilians, including that had begun with the Oslo Accords of 1993. Palestinians lost much about 275 children. In addition, the Palestinians expected that the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) lost much popular, moral, and diplomatic support around the world. The recognition of Israel, which was a part of that agreement, world. The Intifada also cost the lives of over 700 Israelis, most of whom would lead to an end of the thirty-three-year Israeli occupa- and resulted were civilians, brought insecurity to their lives, and resulted tion of the West Bank and Gaza, and to the establishment of a partners. in the loss of faith in the Palestinians as peace partners.

Palestine state. However, the number of Israeli settlers in the See also West Bank and Gaza doubled to 187,000 and increased to BIBLIOGRAPHY 170,000 in East Jerusalem in the 1990s, and Israel confiscated Lockman, Conflict and Violence; HAMAS; Human Rights. Uprising

more Palestinian land for the settlements and their access Press, roads. Israel extended its policy of restricting the movement of Palestinians, and of establishing checkpoints where Pales- Zachary, and Bein, Joel. Intifada: The Palestinian Against Israeli Occupation. Boston: South End

tinians experienced humiliation. Israel also continued to demolish homes and to uproot and burn olive and fruit trees, 1989.

Islam and the Muslim World

355

Iqbal, Muhammad

O'Ballance, Edgar. The Palestinian Intifada. New York: Mac- Although calling for practical action in the world, Iqbal's millan, 1998. poetry

remained steeped in erudite, abstract, and metaphorical language and in the metrical conventions of the Persian

Philip Mattar tradition. At the same time he mixed in allusions to European literature and contemporary events. His most ambitious work, the Javid Nama (1932), a kind of Divina Commedia,

recounts the poet's journey through the solar system, guided
 IQBAL, MUHAMMAD by the great
 Sufi poet Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–1273 C.E.),
 (C. 1877–1938)
 encountering a wide range of mythic and historical figures.
 The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (1930) sets
 Muhammad Iqbal, South Asian poet and ideological innova- forth his
 social and religious philosophy, which seeks to
 tor, wrote poetry in Urdu and Persian and discursive prose, construct a
 concept of a dynamic, democratic society inspired
 by the Qur'an and the life of the prophet Muhammad.
 primarily in English, of particular significance in the formu-
 Rejecting the goals of secular nationalism associated with
 lation of a national ethos for Pakistan. A popular lyric and
 Europe as a false division of matter and spirit, Iqbal's ventures
 patriotic poet in his youth, he later shifted to more philo into politics as
 president of the Muslim League in 1930,
 sophical themes that sought to discover in the heritage of
 participation in the London Round Table Conferences in
 Islam a spirit of individual and social activism that would
 1931 and 1932, and occasional commentary, set forth a
 inspire an alternative path to modernity and demonstrate the
 positive vision of a modern Muslim social and political order.
 universal relevance of Islam for the modern world. An opponent of nationalism,
 particularly the Indian nationalist move- See also Liberalism, Islamic;
 Persian Language and
 ment, he promoted a renewed aspiration for a worldwide Literature;
 South Asia, Islam in; Urdu Language,
 Muslim umma. Nevertheless, his advocacy of Muslim social Literature,
 and Poetry.
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 Born in Sialkot, Punjab, of Kashmiri background and
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 modest economic circumstances—his father had a small
 Iqbal, Muhammad. *Javid-Nama*. Translated by A. J. Arberry.
 tailoring and embroidery shop—Iqbal received an early edu-
 London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966.
 cation in Arabic and Persian and a British colonial education
 that earned him a masters degree in philosophy at Govern- Iqbal,
 Muhammad. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in*
Islam. 1951. Reprint, Lahore, Pakistan: Sh. Muhammad
 ment College, Lahore, where he also established his reputa-
 Ashraf, 1971.

tion as a poet. His academic brilliance won him a scholarship to continue his studies at Cambridge University in 1905, Iqbal, Muhammad. Iqbal: a Selection of the Urdu Verse. Translated by D. J. Matthews. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993. while also qualifying him as a barrister. He then earned a Ph.D. in philosophy from Munich in 1908 with a dissertation, Schimmel, Annemarie. Gabriel's Wing: A Study of the Religious The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, which was published Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963. that year. His three years in Europe, during which he was immersed in philosophical idealism, also inspired a powerful David Lelyveld concern with the historical circumstances of Muslims throughout the world in the face of the technological and political domination of the West. His Urdu poem Shikwa (Complaint), in 1911, asked why God had allowed Muslims to fall IRAN, ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF from their position as leaders of humanity. Founded in 1979 in the wake of a violent and dramatic To reach a wider Muslim audience and establish a deeper revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran walked a delicate historical connection with the cosmopolitan civilization of tightrope between modernity and theocracy. For millions of Islam, Iqbal chose to write most of his later and more Muslims throughout the world, the Islamic Republic inspired philosophically ambitious poetry in Persian. Asrar-e khudi hope that Muslim law could be applied to a modern nation (Secrets of the self, 1915), his first major poem in Persian, was state, while for others who were opposed to its agenda, the a sharp rejection of the mystical goal of absorption into country stood out as a repressive, fearful regime. undifferentiated being, which Iqbal associated with passivity on the part of individuals and communities. For Iqbal, the The Islamic Revolution of 1978 and 1979 destroyed the assertion of khudi, individuality, allows for the possibility of monarchy of the Pahlavis, who had pursued a secularization love and creativity in the unfinished creation of the world. policy at the expense of the majority public opinion and

356

Islam and the Muslim World
 Iran, Islamic Republic of

allowed foreign investment to control large sectors of the national economy. Millions of Iranians of varying political persuasions—leftists, merchants, and ulema—were particularly troubled by the predominant influence of the American government on Iranian foreign policy and economic decisionmaking. Despite some

gains for the population during the White Revolution (1967–1963) most Iranians lived in poverty, totally alienated from the luxury of the Pahlavi regime, and repressed by its security forces.

The revolution forced Muhammad Reza Shah (1919–1980) to abandon the country by January 1979, ushering the return of the exiled Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989). Although Khomeini had been in exile since 1964, his anti-Western and anti-secularization messages had been distributed widely throughout the country, in both print and cassette form. In the wake of the shah's exile, Khomeini returned to Iran in February 1979, becoming the spiritual figurehead of what was now an Islamic Revolution. On 1 April 1979, Iranians voted overwhelmingly to found an Islamic Republic. Their action was inspiring to some, and frightening to others.

From 1979 until 1982, Iran existed in a revolutionary crisis mode. The entire apparatus of government had collapsed, along with the economy. The military and police forces were in disarray, and battles between hard-line clerics and more moderate politicians raged in an effort to determine who would control the new society. The extreme anti-Western, and particularly anti-American, tone of the revolution cut Iran off from the West, compounding its economic problems, yet giving strength to its revolutionary credibility in 1997 and reelected in 2001, is seen as a liberal reformer among struggling nations. Although there were many factions in opening ties with the West, his stances are balanced against him, Khomeini was able to come to the forefront of conservative Islamic legislature heavily influenced by the of the government with the backing of the Revolutionary Guards, formed in 1979 to suppress opponents of the Islamic Republic, and a series of revolutionary tribunals, which meted out harsh justice to collaborators of the Pahlavi regime. For 444 days. This inflamed Western hatred of the revolution, the next few years, those shaping the new Islamic government fueling its radicals further. Moreover, in September 1980, would completely crush their opposition in a bid to consolidate their power over Iran. Iraq invaded Iran, hoping to take advantage of its fragility to seize control of its large oil fields, as well as to prevent the spread of the

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

By the end of 1979, Iran had a new constitution, officially spread of the

revolution across its borders. While antideclaring the nation an Islamic Republic. The government Western sentiment was fueling the purge of the military was structured with an elected president, a prime minister establishment, Iran was now forced to mount a military chosen by the president, and an elected parliament, the defense. Majlis, and a twelve-member Council of Guardians, dominated. In the midst of these international problems, the Islamic Republic's first president, the secular leftist Abu 'l-Hasan Khomeini, passed by the elected parliament. Finally, the most powerful position in the government lay in the institution of Bani-Sadr (b. 1933), attempted to rein in the power of the velayat-e faqih, which established the office of supreme jurist, ulema at home by consolidating the power of local revolutionaries who would rule on all workings of government on behalf of revolutionary tribunals under the watch of the central government of the Hidden Imam of Twelver Shi'ism. This jurist would be and by promoting secular reforms. However, the ulema Khomeini, effectively making him the supreme leader of the resented his attempts to assert secular authority, as well as his Islamic Republic. botched efforts to resolve the hostage crisis with the Americans and the escalating war with Iraq. By 1981 Bani-Sadr was In 1980, the new republic faced serious new crises. In impeached and forced into exile in France, the same place he November of 1979, students took control of the United had been exiled during the shah's regime. Now the road was

Islam and the Muslim World

357

Iran, Islamic Republic of

paved for Khomeini and his Islamic Republic Party (established in 1979) to take full control of Iran. In 1992 it went a step further and revoked government assistance from any family with more than three children; and it made abortion legal up to 120 days after conception. In the first years of the Republic, a radical program of Islamization purged all secularists and leftists from education, Such reforms made Khomeini and Iran's third president, Ali-Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani (b. 1934), popular with moderate. Universities were particularly altered, with new curricula and graduates in the country, but the republic continued throughout libraries privileging Islamic values over all others, and all the 1990s and beyond to vacillate between periods of students with leftist backgrounds barred from attendance.

liberalization and moments of hard-line crackdown. Under Strict sex-segregation in public was enforced, and women Rafsanjani, Iran's markets became more open to Western goods, but were required to wear the traditional hijab while in public. the clerical ruling class continued to exercise dramatic influence over all aspects of public life, particularly in the realm of gender segregation and speaking out against Islam. The Islamic Republic's strict moral codes were enforced by Islam. the Revolutionary Guards, who maintained a vigilant watch over society on behalf of the clerical ruling class. All secular Meanwhile, sales from Iran's vast oil reserves could not law was replaced by Islamic interpretations, and those who stabilize its economy, and people struggled to maintain their rebelled against Islamization were subject to imprisonment. families in the wake of increased prices.

Meanwhile, the war between Iran and Iraq continued. For At the end of Rafsanjani's second term, in 1997, spiraling eight years these neighboring nations battled in a brutal war inflation and public dissatisfaction with censorship ushered in of attrition, ultimately resulting in 262,000 Iranian casualties the presidency of Mohammad Khatami (b. 1943), a man and 105,000 Iraqi deaths. Iran stunned the world by repelling many saw as a reformer interested in opening up debate in the Iraqis and maintaining its borders, but it was not without Iranian political life and building social and political bridges cost. Iraqi bombing left 1.6 million Iranians homeless, and with the Western nations. Although he was reelected in 2001, the nation was forced to dip deep into its already unstable Khatami's liberal positions were balanced by the clerical elite, financial reserves to accommodate widowed families and rebuild its damaged infrastructure. However, the Islamic who continue to exert their influence over a conservative Republic was not toppled by Iraq; indeed, its ability to legislature. Opening up Iran's public culture to the influences of Western maintain its sovereignty boosted public morale, despite the consumerism, secular government and nonterrible human and economic costs.

Islamic culture is still a sensitive issue in the Islamic Republic, more than two decades after the beginning of its dramatic In 1988 the war with Iraq ended, and Iranians now faced a revolution. Despite landslide victories in two presidential elections hard question: Should they continue to reject all Western elections (1997 and 2001), in the elections for municipal and village overtures or was it possible to engage economically with village councils in 1999, and in the parliamentary elections in 2000, Western nations and still remain Islamic in government? In Khatami and the reformists have made little progress in

the next decade, Iran restored diplomatic relations with many the power
struggle against the clerical ruling elite.

European countries. However, it did not restore ties with the
United States, which continued to be its primary adversary on The
creation of the Islamic Republic of Iran was one of the
the world stage. Even as late as 2002, the United States most
dramatic events of the twentieth century. For millions
considered Iran part of an “axis of evil” in the world, while of
Muslims throughout the world, its foundation was a
Iran continued regular anti-American protests in response. symbol of
the continued validity of their religion for the
modern world. For those weary of theocracy, however, it
With the death of Khomeini in 1989, grief struck the stood as a
symbol to be feared. For many Iranians and others,
Islamic Republic, and the ruling establishment had to find a the Islamic
Republic continues to represent, in the words of
replacement for the society’s preeminent religious guide. its
founder Khomeini, a “third way, neither East nor West.”
The new supreme jurist, Sayyed Ali Khamane i (b. 1939),
had been president since 1981 and had assumed the position, See also Abu
'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr; Hashemi-Rafsanjani,
knowing full well that Iran faced tremendous difficulties. Ali-Akbar;
Khomeini, Ruhollah; Muhammad Reza
Normalizing the nation after years of revolution and war, and Shah
Pahlevi; Revolution: Islamic Revolution in Iran.
stabilizing an economy facing a shocking demographic shift
would be difficult. In the early 1980s, the new regime had

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banned birth control and abortion, and the government
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children as they could provide for. This gave Iran a birthrate
of 3.9 percent by 1983, and the population nearly doubled to Mackey,
Sandra. The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the Soul of a
over sixty million people by 1990. That year the government, Nation.
New York: Dutton, 1996.
overloaded with trying to provide for such a massive increase,
changed its policy, allowing contraception once again. In
Nancy L. Stockdale

358

Islam and the Muslim World
Islam and Islamic

was not translated into Latin but there are indications that
IRHAB See Terrorism some of his
ideas were known in the Latin West perhaps

through Hebrew sources and a number of Jewish philosophers who were ishraqi in their perspective.

The ishraqi school holds that the origin of philosophy is

ISHRAQI SCHOOL

divine

revelation and that this wisdom was handed down in

ancient times to the Persians and the Greeks, creating two

The term ishraq, from the Arabic root sh-r-q, meaning both traditions

that met again in Suhrawardi, who spoke explicitly

illumination and orient, has been used in a general sense in of eternal

wisdom or the perennial philosophy. This school

several contexts in Islam, including in reference to certain believes that

authentic philosophy must combine the training

currents of Sufism. More specifically, however, the term of the mind

with the purification of the heart and that all

ishraqi refers to the school of philosophy/theosophy founded authentic

knowledge is ultimately an illumination. The ishraqis

by Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi in the twelfth century always

emphasized the unbreakable link between philosophy

C.E. The most important source of this school of thought is and

spirituality and the salvific power of illuminative knowlthe major opus of

Suhrawardi, Hikmat al-ishraq (“Theosophy edge. They considered God to

be the Light of lights and all

of the Orient of Light” also known as The Philosophy of degree of

cosmic reality to be levels and grades of light. They

Illumination), which is also the name of this school in tradi- rejected the

sensualist epistemology of Aristotle and were

tional Islamic languages. Certain other works of Suhrawardi, critical of

not only Aristotelian cosmology but also of his logic

especially his Hayakil al-nur (Temples of light), are also of and

epistemology.

much importance for the later ishraqi tradition.

During the twentieth century the teachings of Suhrawardi

After Suhrawardi was killed by the political authorities in were introduced

to the West by Henry Corbin and have

Aleppo in 1191, followers of his teachings went underground attracted

many European philosophers. In Persia and certain

for a generation. But in the middle thirteenth century two other Islamic

countries there is also a major revival of interest

major commentaries on Hikmat al-ishraq appeared, the first in

Suhrawardi and the ishraqi school.

by Shams al-Din Shahrzuri and the second by Qutb al-Din

Shirazi, the next two major figures of the ishraqi school. From See also

Falsafa; Ibn al- Arabi; Mulla Sadra; Tasawwuf;

that time on, the teachings of this school became widespread, Wahdat

al-wujud.

especially in Persia itself from which Suhrawardi had hailed.

Such figures as Allama al-Hilli and Jalal al-Din Dawani wrote commentaries on Suhrawardi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The founder of the School of Isfahan, Curzon, 1997.

Mir Damad, who lived in the Safavid period that began in Henry. History of Islamic Philosophy. Translated by L. Persia in 1499 and lasted until the eighteenth century, was London: Kegan Paul International, 1993.

influenced by Suhrawardi and used the name Ishraq for his Hossein. The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in pen name. Mulla Sadra, his student, wrote one of the major London: Curzon, 1996.

works of the ishraqi school, his annotations on the Hikmat al-Knowledge and Illumination. A Study of Suhrawardi's ishraq. Later Persian philosophers such as Sabziwari were also al-ishraq. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990.

deeply interested in ishraqi teachings, and a figure such as the nineteenth-century philosopher Shihab al-Din Kumijani was

Seyyed Hossein Nasr
a purely ishraqi figure.

The school of ishraq also spread into India and had many followers there, including Fathallah Shirazi and Muhammad ISLAMIC

Sharif Hirawi. Suhrawardi's teachings became in fact a part of the program of traditional Islamic madrasas, a program that islam is a verbal noun (Ar., masdar) in Arabic for the came to be known as the Nizami curriculum. The ishraqi submission or total commitment, usually referring school attracted even the attention of Hindus and the Parsis of and submission to the will of God. It is the of India.

identifying the faith tradition and community of those who believe that there is one God and that the prophet

Likewise, the teachings of the ishraqi school spread widely Muhammad was God's messenger, and the person who subin the Ottoman Empire, especially in Anatolia, and produced mits is a "Muslim." In the Qur an, islam appears eight times.

some notable figures such as Isma il Anqarawi, who lived in It is associated with the concept of din, which is translated in modern times the seventeenth century. The complete history of this school as "religion" but has a broader sense of includin the Islamic world, especially in India and the Ottoman ing creed, normative standards, and the whole range of

Empire, has not been fully studied. As for the West, Suhrawardi standard behavior. The Qur an affirms that "With God, the

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Sherrard.

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Persia.

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Hikmat

ISLAM AND

The word

action of

to acceptance

name

Muhammad was

It is

modern times

ing creed, normative standards, and

standard

Islam and Other Religions

din is al-islam" (3:19), which can be translated more generally Smith,
Wilfred Cantwell. *The Meaning and End of Religion*.

as stating "With God, the true way is submission" or more New
York: Macmillan Company, 1963.

specifically, "With God, true religion is Islam."

John O. Voll

In the historical development of the faith tradition and
community of Muslims, the term "Islam" is important in at
least two different frameworks. In religious thought, one
important issue was defining the relationship between Islam,
OTHER RELIGIONS

identified as submission to God expressed in observance of
ritual requirements and social behavior, and iman or the inner
Understanding the relations between Muslims and a variety
faith of the believer. In this issue, the concept of islam was a of religious
"Others," including Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians,
component part of the broader structure and vocabulary of Hindus,
Buddhists, as well as Africans, Chinese, Mongols,
theology. Turks, and

Westerners, depends on how one defines religion

and religious. In addition, there is a diversity of Muslim

A second significant framework is that "Islam" was used as
identities that shapes the various perceptions of and relations
the term denoting the whole body of the faith tradition and
to religious Others, just as there are many identities other
the peoples and regions where Islam was practiced. Within
than religious ones that intersect with the Muslim-Others
this context, the identification of someone as a "Muslim" gave
duality, such as tribal, ethnic, linguistic, national, and the like.
emphasis to being a member of the community of those who

recognize the Qur'an as the record of God's revelation and As with

any categorization of identities and concepts, the Muhammad as the messenger of God, with less emphasis on boundaries

between Islam and Others remain fluid, and the particular practices and behavior of the individual Muslim. exceptions

can often be found. The most striking example of

this fluidity is the term umma, which came to mean, from the

This usage facilitated the transition to modern usage in

first centuries of Islam until today, the community of all

which "Islam" is identified in the scholarly study of this

Muslims in contradistinction to all Others, whether religious

religion as one of the major religions of the world. This

or not. Yet, initially, umma included Muslims as well as nonreification of

“Islam” was similar to the processes of Western Muslims, and it especially included Jews, as indicated in the scholarly classification of other “world religions,” as in what so-called Constitution of Medina negotiated by the prophet came to be called “Hinduism” or “Confucianism.” Initially, Muhammad as a basis for the migration of his nascent Islamic community from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E. The umma “Mohammedanism” were used but they have gradually been referred to then was inclusive of all the peoples living in displaced in common usage by “Islam.”

Medina under the leadership of the prophet Muhammad. By the late twentieth century, in the context of the Islamic resurgence, some made a distinction between “Muslim” used history of Muslim-Other relations has been interpreted by as an adjective and “Islamic.” The term Muslim is increasingly identified with the existing community and the practices of the human world: Muslims, who submit to the will of God

practices of people self-identified as Muslim. The term “Islamic” as revealed in the Qur’an; People of the Book, who believe in has sometimes been reserved for those instances where there the same God although their knowledge comes from a different a conscious effort to reflect the fundamental principles and

distorted version of the original divine revelation; and Unbelievers of Islam interpreted in a relatively restrictive way. In

others, who either associate idols to God or deny God’s existence. this usage, for example, a “Muslim state” is a state where the This categorization emerged out of the unique historical majority of the people are Muslim, while an “Islamic state” context of the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad, (ca. would be one in which there is a formal program of implementation of the regulations and ideals of Islam. “Islam” remains the identification of the religion underlying geographical spread.

both usages.

The Lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad

See also Islamicate Society.

The first period of Muslim-Other relations corresponds to the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad. The best sources on

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these first

relations between Muslims and religious Others

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include

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recent years, it

Asad, Talal. *Genealogies of Religion*. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. It remains possible to infer that prior to 610 C.E., when the prophet Muhammad is believed to have received the first

360

Islam and the Muslim World

Islam and Other Religions

Qur'anic revelation, his encounters with religious Others The short history of Muslim-Jewish relations in Medina that had started primarily included Christians and Jews that he may have met well with the Constitution of Medina ended up tragically in some Arabian oasis as well as during his northern caravan with the disappearance of the Jewish tribes from the oasis. trips into greater Syria. With subsequent revelations, which These various historical events are reflected in the he continued to receive until his death in 632 C.E., the prophet many, and at times contradictory, Qur'anic passages regarding Muhammad gradually distanced himself from the various ing the Jews in general and Muslim-Jewish relations in particular. tribal practices of his fellow Quraysh tribesmen while developing a new Islamic identity, thereby turning most Meccans of his own clan and tribe into religious Others too. Together This brief history holds the hermeneutical keys to the subsequent with the earliest converts, the prophet Muhammad experienced a series of encounters with religious Others that in- basis of analogy. The hermeneutical concept of abrogation (which included an increasingly hostile Meccan resistance as well as holds that later revelations supercede earlier ones) has been used hunafa (sg. hanif: monotheistic ascetics), Jews, and Christians in the of mostly unknown theological leanings, except for the small in the later part of the twentieth century, to claim more intolerant number of early Muslim converts who sought refuge with and exclusivist positions regarding Jews, but others favor a Ethiopian Christians in the Abyssinian kingdom in 615 C.E. proach was because it implies that a more tolerant and inclusivist approach A greater formative influence came from 622 C.E. onward, willled initially by the prophet Muhammad. In reconstructing these historical encounters, contemporary

tion of Medina, which allowed the Muslim community to Muslims and non-Muslims alike have uncovered a dual hismigrate there from Mecca. This agreement not only pro- torical process: The historical events of the pristine commuvided an escape for the nascent Muslim community increas- nity become paradigmatic models that shape future relations. ingly threatened in Mecca, but it also propelled the prophet With newer historical events, new interpretations emerge, but always Muhammad to the status of both arbitrator and religio- paradigm within the conceptual framework of what the political leader of this oasis. Its two largest, formerly animist initially set forth. This process can be exemplified tribes, the Aws and Khazraj, had been fighting each other for today in how the constitution of Medina serves as a rich historical many years before they settled on the prophet Muhammad as and theological document to guide contemporary Others, their arbitrator. The Constitution stipulated the conditions reinter- pretations of how Muslims ought to relate to religious especially within contemporary nation-states in which Mus- lims and comprise the majority population. Muslims Ansars (the newly converted Medinan Muslims of the the The Early Aws and Khazraj), as well as those of the three small Jewish Muslim Conquests: 632–750 C.E. The second tribes (Banu Qaynuqa , Banu Nadir and Banu Qurayza). The second period in Muslim-Other relations begins after sudden the death of the prophet Muhammad, in 632 C.E. With the definition of the one community or umma. This marked the developed Within the Constitution, Jews were included in the defi- beginning of a short period of cooperation between Muslims tions and concepts to manage their relations with religious Others, and Jews that has left permanent traces in Muslims’ self- whether within the nascent Islamic polity or outside of it. The understanding as monotheists, such as the incorporation into dual categorization of the house of Islam (dar al- islam) Islamic beliefs of the long genealogy of Jewish prophets. In versus the house of war (dar al-harb) emerged to describe addition, early Muslims recognized Jesus as another Jewish the relations between Muslims in Muslim-controlled prophet, albeit with some unique Christian characteristics, areas and Others in non-Muslim controlled areas. Within such as the virgin birth and the special role he played in being the messenger of the injil (Gospel). Other influences included the brief use of Jerusalem as the direction for daily prayers, tected people (ahl al-dhimmi) arose to

regulate Muslim-Other relations. The development of fasting during the month of Ramadhan in The dhimmis, organized collectively by religion, opposition to and part imitation of the day of atonement (yom had to pay a head tax (jizya) and a land tax (kharaj) in exchange kippur), and the emphasis on orality within a sacred textuality, for military protection by Muslim armies. They included later developing into the unique religious legalism that makes Jews, Christians, and Sabians, as noted in the Qur'an, but Islam so similar to Judaism. However, in 624, due to attacks soon also included Zoroastrians, who constituted the major from the Meccans and accusations of treasons, the Jewish ity population of the Sassanian Empire, which was taken over tribe of Banu Qaynuqa was expelled from Medina. A year by Muslims within a decade of the Prophet's death. There later, after another defeat, the Banu Nadir suffered the same were a few exceptions to this general practice, such as the fate. Finally, in 627, after a long siege of Medina itself, the Armenians contributing men to the Umayyad army to fight barely victorious Muslims exterminated the last Jewish tribe, against the Byzantine Empire, thereby briefly avoiding the the Banu Qurayza, under recurring accusations of treason. jizya tax. Yet, on the whole, these new categorizations and

Islam and the Muslim World

361

Islam and Other Religions

concepts remained central to Islam for over a thousand years. customary practices (ada) in various parts of the expanding They continue to this day to be used in their traditional Muslim world. This flexibility in the Islamic legal system to meanings by many Muslims, while a few others reinterpret accommodate many local cultural practices that did not them in light of new modern political realities. The silent directly infringe on central Islamic tenets greatly enabled the majority probably dismisses these traditional categorizations long term consolidation of Islam wherever it spread. Muslim and meanings as no longer relevant. Other relations thus often proved to be a two-way bridge with mutual influences.

The Consolidation of Power: 750–1258 C.E.

The centralization and consolidation of Muslim political An important incursion into the heart of Islamic lands power was exemplified respectively by the first and second occurred when the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, in 1099. halves of the Abbasid Empire (749–1258 C.E.). This long Their arrival was marked by massacres of both Muslims and

period witnessed a slow conversion process that led to the Jews. They were considered barbarians by the mostly Muslim gradual emergence of majority Muslim societies in what came local population. Salah al-Din recovered Jerusalem in 1187 to be known as central Islamic lands from Spain (al-Andalus) without any bloodshed. The Crusaders slowly lost control of to central Asia. Internally, most religious Others within their principalities until their last defeat, in 1302. The Muslim polities were Islamized over generations. In part ory of the Crusades remains alive to this day, having caused because Islamic worldviews and practices became normative great distrust between Muslims and Christians in particular. in these regions, exerting social pressure to convert, and in Today, many Arab Muslims use this historical vignette as a part because dhimmi laws came to be perceived as discrimina- trope for interpreting mid- to late-twentieth and early twenty-first century and no longer as relevant in a period of pax islamica. first-century politics associated with the creation of the State Externally, in addition to the People of the Book, Muslims in of Israel. South and Central Asia came into contact with increasing numbers of Hindus, Buddhists, and a variety of Turkic and The Continued Expansion of Islam: 1258–1798 C.E. Chinese Others, which often rendered the boundary between After consolidation, Islam continued to spread through a religion and culture harder to delineate. slow process of land migrations and conversions in Southeastern Europe; sub-Saharan Africa; and South, Southeast The greatest experiment in coexistence and mutual reand East Asia, up to and into the colonial period. This was a spect between Muslims on the one hand and Jews and vast and mostly peaceful expansion on the peripheries of Christians on the other is undoubtedly the case of Muslim central Islamic lands, with two exceptions: the Ottoman Spain, al-Andalus, during its own Umayyad dynasty (756–1031 Empire (1300–1918), centered in what is today called Tur- C.E.). The degree of symbiosis that emerged, especially during key, and the Mughal Empire (1483–1858) of South Asia. the respective but not sequential reigns of the three Abd al- Between the two, the smaller and short-lived Safavid Empire Rahmans (styled I, II, and III), is exemplary of its popular (1501–1722) exemplified the internal Islamic conversion from name, the Golden Age of Spain. Sunni to Twelver Shi'ite Islam, bringing few changes to the By the end of the weakened Abbasid Empire, the destruc- interpretation of religious Others. The continued presence, tion brought about in the mid-thirteenth century by the albeit dwindling, of Zoroastrians, Assyrian Christians, and

Mongol invasions from the east to what had been the center Jews proved the long-term resilience of the traditional Islamic power surprisingly resulted in the Islamic conversion of the Islamic system of *ahl al-dhimma*, traces of which are found today in the fixed Jewish, Christian, and Zoroastrian seats in the rapid influx of new cultural traditions from peripheral nomadic the democratically elected parliament of the Islamic Republics were therefore not as dramatic, but they did bring the Islamic Republic of Iran. about a certain cleansing that resulted in a greater homogeneity. At the height of its power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire expanded dramatically into the Islamic world, with the sequential waves of the *al-Murabitun* (Almoravids 1056–1147) and the *al-Muwahhidun* (Almohads 1130–1269), sweeping from the Sahara into what is now North Africa, had already happened earlier at the extreme west of the Islamic world, with the sequential waves of the *al-Murabitun* (Almoravids 1056–1147) and the *al-Muwahhidun* (Almohads 1130–1269), sweeping from the Sahara into what is now North Africa, elaboration on the *ahl al-dhimma* concept that accommodated religious diversity and often provided each religious community with a large degree of autonomy. How controlled areas in the Iberian Peninsula. Christian Reconquista that was gradually taking over Muslim-controlled areas in the Iberian Peninsula. ever, the Ottomans also developed the practice of *devshirme*: the forcible conscription and conversion to Islam of young Christian boys, especially in the Balkans, in order to build an elite military corps, the Janissaries. Since much benefit could have come from this day. They consolidated many practices regarding non-Muslims through the integration of earlier key concepts such as *People of the Book* and *ahl al-dhimma*, together with times, offered up their sons to the Ottomans voluntarily.

362

Islam and the Muslim World

Islam and Other Religions

At the same time, in South Asia, the Mughal Empire reached its apogee. The difference was that the majority of the post-colonial period has seen a continuation of many trends, despite the emergence of independent The established

verted to Islam. The Mughal emperors used radically different approaches in their relations to their subjects. While the radical changes in migration patterns: Muslim workers were brought into Western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, others migrated to South Asia witnessed much intolerance and destruction, the America. Australia and the Americas, especially to North America. In the United States, important African-American most powerful of its emperors, Akbar (1542–1605) and his nephew Dara Shukoh (1615–1659), tried to have Hindus conversions to Islam started a local Islamization process that recognized as People of the Book. Emperor Akbar even is currently unfolding rapidly, despite the backlash in America developed his own religion, *din ilahi*, that combined Islamic can perceptions of Muslims. and Hindu worldviews and practices. While his efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, a similar but more popular effort led Scientism was imported initially through colonialism and to the development of Sikhism in the Punjab. later strengthened by programs of national education supported by the westernized Muslim elites of newly independent majority The Colonial Period: 1798–1945 C.E. Muslim nation-states. With this, much Orientalist thinking The period of Western European colonization of most majority Muslim lands radically changed the nature of power understanding. This influence is clearly at work in the rise of militant dynamics in Muslim-Other relations. In 1798, Napoleon invaded Egypt for a brief period of three years. This event is fundamentalism in the West in that they both essentialize often referred to as the symbolic beginning of a major shift in their understanding of religion in political discourses. The power between Muslims and non-Muslim Others, whether result is a growing reciprocal popular intolerance between the West religious or not. While earlier political events such as the events in and Islam, further fueled by the 11 September 2001 world the United States and their subsequent impact on The (Tamerlane 1336–1405) invasions directly impinged on ma- taken a politics. democracy, jority Muslim areas, the first was relatively brief, the second took place over centuries, and the third and fourth resulted in encounter with modernity through colonialism has the conversion to Islam of the new Mongol and Turkic rulers, toll on the possibility of seeing positively the values of the last two being more inconspicuous in the collective

the rule of law (Western style), and human rights, memory despite their even more violent histories than that of such discourses come from political oppressors. With the Crusades. In contrast, the military and political Western continuation of this control through the more subtle European takeover of most of the world between 1492 and neo-liberal discourse and globalization, the West 1945 took place together with an economic, cultural, and an overarching Other among many Muslims ideological penetration that overwhelmed majority Muslim The cost of this has been the development of a societies. For the first time in their history they lost control malaise for many westernized Muslims, and especially over the balance of power that they had collectively held since living in the West itself. Yet, the Muslim world is their earliest memories. Only Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and to a different from many other religiocultural worlds that have lesser degree, Iran, retained some measure of independence. distinguish between modernization, which they want to participate in for its obvious material benefits, and Parallel to this colonial enterprise was the introduction of new scientific discourses that have sought, ever since the democracy upon societies that have their own Enlightenment period, objective truth about the world, both heritage and blueprints for collective decision-making. material and human. The part of science which has dealt with discovering the truth about Islam has been known as interaction between Muslims and Others in general Orientalism. This influential school of thought helped con- two-way bridge of potential mutual benefits, if only solidate power in the hands of the colonial masters by means fears did not prevent many of both sides from of arguments that often, though not always, supported the across it. The advent of interreligious dialogue in logic of empire: The West would civilize the backward part of the twentieth century has encouraged this Islamic world (as part of the 'Orient'). Yet, despite its politi- movement, however. Many contemporary Muslims are thinkcally pro-Western bias, Orientalist scholarship also brought relationship to sacred Islamic texts about new standards of interpretation and preservation of various traditions of interpretation in light of much Islamic heritage, resulting in greater mutual under- historicocritical and dialogical methods of inquiry, but are standing. Nonetheless, much of the Muslim-Other relations reconsidering the very nature of their interdependence

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 for Muslims
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 fought to
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during this period were reduced to Muslim-Westerner relations, due to the unavoidable colonial power of the West. With the advent of Western European colonialism and the

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Islam and the Muslim World

363

Islamicate Society

emergence of postcolonial nation-states, as well as the expansion of Muslims worldwide in modern times, the balance of power has recently undergone radical change. Many of the true.

understand

have come

is equally

older Islamic categorizations and concepts that have served Muslim-Other relations relatively well in the past have now Andalus, al-; Central Asia, Islam in; Christianeither faded or been judged as obsolete by well-thinking but ity and Islam; Dar al-Harb; Dar al-Islam; East Asia,

See also

often paternalistic modernists, or else are in the process of European Culture and Islam; Expansion;

Islam in;

being reinterpreted for a better integration of past and and Islam; Hospitality and Islam; Internet;

Hinduism

present, as well as internal and external aspects of Islam. and Islam; Modernism; Networks, Muslim;

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1995 to the Present

The advent of the Internet is radically changing the nature of BIBLIOGRAPHY

communication worldwide, creating transnational communities of all kinds into virtual entities that are both global and Discourse. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota local at once. This transformation brings in its wake new rules 1999.

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expansion is as yet unknown for the future of Islam and
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once to sustain greater cultural and religious continuities Laiou,
Angeliki E., and Mottahedeh, Roy Parviz, eds. *The*
globally, despite large migration movements, and yet threat-
Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim
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private spaces of those who can afford being wired into this Library
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new space to be explored, shared, disputed, but never truly Madigan,
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conquered.
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Complex, Ongoing History Runciman,
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Throughout their long history, Muslims have continued to
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develop and expand worldwide, bringing them into contact
Waardenburg, Jacques, ed. *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions with a variety of*
religious and nonreligious Others. *The Religions: A Historical Survey*.
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legacy of those encounters is rich and complex, with moments Press,
1999.

of great tolerance and cross-fertilization as well as episodes of Ye or,
Bat. *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*.
intolerance and mutual violence. External and internal influ-
Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002.

ences from religious Others have been felt at all times and
continue to this day. What has changed the equation from
Patrice C. Brodeur

tolerance to intolerance at different times in history, including very
recently, is the degree to which threats and insecurities are perceived by a
Muslim community that has internalized

the ideal of political control as an implicit measure of its ISLAMICATE
SOCIETY

collective identity and success, from the inherited reading of
its own history from the time of the prophet Muhammad The term
Islamicate culture was coined by Marshall Hodgson
until today. (d. 1968)
in the first volume of his *The Venture of Islam* (1974).
Hodgson invented the term in response to the confusion

The history of Muslim-Other relations is, therefore, a surrounding
such terms as "Islamic," "Islam," and "Muslim"

complex and ongoing set of both tolerant and intolerant attitudes and episodes. Both sets are diverse in kind at any one time, even sometimes contradictory to one another; they are shaped by socio-political, theological, and ideological realities that change over time, albeit at different rhythms. Inter- to the Islamic religion but to the “social and cultural dynamics within Muslim societies have always been historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, interdependent with external ones. The history of Muslim-Muslims themselves and even when found among Other relations is, therefore, an integral part of any search to non-Muslims” (p. 59). For example, Hodgson argued that

364

Islam and the Muslim World Islamic Salvation Front

there are a variety of artistic, architectural, and literary styles in eliminating the security threat of the Jihad, at a indicative of Islamicate culture. No matter where these aes- of repression and violation of the basic human right thetic styles are found, they are identifiable as deriving from nonviolent opposition. Some Jihad members escaped into Islamicate cultural complexes. Thus, if one finds the use of Afghanistan and joined Usama bin Ladin in forming alarabesques, calligraphy, or arched doorways anywhere in the Qa ida. The most prominent of them is Ayman Zawahiri, world, these forms are identifiable as Islamicate in origin. In to Bin Laden and linked to the terrorist attacks of 11 contrast, Hodgson argued that those elements of Islamic 2001.

society that are not shared by non-Muslims are not indicative of Islamicate culture (for instance, mosque architecture). Due Palestinian Harakat al-jihad al-Islami (Islamic Jihad to the overriding influence of Islam on non-Muslims living Movement) was founded by Fathi al-Shiqaqi and Abd alwithin Muslim realms, however, Hodgson used the term to Aziz Auda in 1981. Both studied in Egypt and were infludemstrate the importance of Islam as a cultural force that enced by the teachings of Egyptian radical Islamists. Another influenced non-Muslim forms of art, literature, and custom. inspiration was the Iranian Revolution. The main goal of this organization is the liberation of Palestine, as the central issue See also Islam and Islamic. for

Muslims, and the establishment of an Islamic state. At least two other groups embrace the same name, but the

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Shiqaqi

faction remains the largest. The group carried out

Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and* several

violent attacks against Israelis prior to the first intifada

History in a World Civilization. Chicago: University of

(1987–1993), in which it was active. Israel retaliated by

Chicago Press, 1974. expelling

its two founders, and arresting and even assassinat-

Martin, Richard C. *Islamic Studies: A History of Religions* ing some

of its activists, including Shiqaqi, who was mur-

Approach. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996. dered by

the Mossad (the Israeli secret service) in Malta in

October 1995. Ramadan Shalah succeeded Shiqaqi as the

R. Kevin Jaques organization's Secretary General. Since the establishment of

Hamas in 1988, the Islamic Jihad has lost some of its appeal.

Despite hostility in the late 1980s between the two groups,

both have closed ranks in their opposition to the Oslo

ISLAMIC JIHAD

agreement

and the Palestinian Authority, and after 1994,

were joined in this effort by leftist Palestinian groups. Since

Two groups have the name Islamic Jihad (sometimes called

the outbreak of the second intifada in September 2000, the

the Organization of the Islamic Jihad), one Egyptian, the

Jihad has taken active part in fighting occupation forces and

other Palestinian. These two movements contend that armed

assailing Israeli civilians.

struggle is the Islamically ordained form of striving against a

corrupt authoritarian regime in Egypt and military occupa- See also

Ikhwan al-Muslimin; Political Islam; Qa ida,

tion in Palestine. Both were influenced by the teachings of the al-.

Muslim Brothers, but grew more critical of its reformist

approach.

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A small group of students founded the Egyptian Tanzim (Jihad:

The forgotten obligation). Jerusalem: Maktabet Iz

al-Jihad (Jihad organization) in Alexandria in 1977. The Jihad al-Din

al-Qassam, 1982.

concentrated its activities in Cairo, while its rival al-Gama a Ghabdian,

Najib. "Political Islam and Violence." *New Political-Islamiyya* (The Islamic

Group) dominated Upper Egypt. cal Science 22 (2000): 77–88.

Despite similarities in dogma and membership—and an at-

Shiqaqi, Fathi al-. *Al-Mashrou al-islami al-mu asir fi filastin*

tempt at unification in 1981—Jihad has not formed a grass-

(The contemporary Islamic project in Palestine). n.p., 1995.

roots movement. The main theorist of the Jihad is Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj, who wrote a tract entitled *al-Farida al-Najib Ghadbian* (The forgotten obligation). The forgotten obligation among Muslims today is jihad, or the struggle to uproot Muslim leaders perceived by the group as infidels, and replace them with a comprehensive "Islamic state." The main path to its goal is by penetrating the military. The closest the group Algerians, the founding of the Islamist party, the came to attaining its goal was when members of Jihad assassinated President Anwar Sadat on 6 October 1981, but failed to complete the takeover of the state. Conspirators were executed and hundreds of other members arrested. Arrested in the first round of legislative elections in December 1991, were events as unforeseeable as they were phewas not until the late 1990s that the Egyptian government nomenal. Islamic symbols and discourse had been used Islam and the Muslim World

365

Islamic Society of North America

repeatedly to oppose the alliance between the army and the Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis; Madani, Abbasi.

sole legal political party, the National Liberation Front (FLN, or Front de Libération Nationale), since Algeria's birth

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as a nation in 1962. Nonetheless, the meteoric rise of the FIS Shahin, Emad Eldin. *Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic* can mostly be attributed to the growing economic gap between the elites and the masses, which worsened in the 1980s Press, 1997.

and pushed people over the edge of frustration and despair. Shah-Kazemi, Reza, ed. *Algeria: Revolution Revisited*. London: Islamic World Report, 1997.

In October 1988 young people took to the streets to protest the state's inability to satisfy their basic needs, and in five days the army had killed over five hundred protesters.

David L. Johnston

President Chadli Benjedid, sensing the gravity of the situation, boldly proposed a constitution to pave the way for multiparty elections. Yet it was not the handful of secular-leaning parties who

gained from the riots, but rather those who saw in Islam the salvation for the nation's woes—

ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

Algeria's homegrown Islamism.

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) was founded in 1982 and Islam had already played a key role in Algeria's struggle is currently based in Plainfield, Indiana. ISNA against French colonialism. The reformist Salafiyya movement of the Muslim Students Association (MSA), which grew out of the Muslim Students Association (MSA), which was founded in the 1960s by predominately South Asian when, in 1931, he founded the Association of Algerian Muslim students who, upon graduation, sought to organize Ulema. The FIS's two founding leaders claimed to wear Ibn professional Muslim associations under one administrative apparatus. The ideology of the organization is influenced by Badis's mantle, yet only Abbasi Madani (b. 1931) could realistically do so. Indeed, he grew up in ulema circles, joined the writings of Abu l- Ala Maududi (d. 1979). the FLN, and spent several years in French prisons. He later obtained a doctorate in philosophy in England. As a professor Maududi argued that Islam had become corrupted because of other Islamic leaders cultivated the growing Islamist cause of a general Muslim ignorance of Islamic history and student movement of the 1980s. By contrast, the second piety. Only through an active movement of community leader, Ali Belhadj, born in 1956, was a school teacher, and organization and education could Islam return to the position knew no French. His rise began as a young, fiery, eloquent of power and authority that Maududi understood the classical Muslim imam who successfully organized a massive peaceful rally at Muslim world to possess. ISNA has sought to educate America the end of the bloody 1988 riots. From the start, Madani led can Muslims through a variety of programs and by funding the more moderate, reformist wing of the FIS, and Belhadj its workshops and conventions to teach people how to develop more radical wing. strong Muslim communities in a North American cultural context. Since the mid-1990s, and especially after the 11 September 2001 The army arrested Madani and Belhadj in June 1991 and, New York, terrorist attacks on Washington, D.C. and the centerpiece of ISNA activities has been its Community an Islamist majority in parliament, deposed Benjedid and Development Department, which organizes a variety of banned the FIS. With all of its leaders either imprisoned or conferences and workshops dealing with such issues

exiled, the uneasy populist coalition fell apart. A more moderate community development, domestic violence prevention, and leadership took over the party under Abdelkader Hachani, conflict resolution, and media relations. and the radicals broke off to found the GIA (Groupe Islamique Armé). In the bloody civil war that ensued (over 120,000 In contrast to other Muslim organizations, ISNA has killed, mostly civilians, in ten years), two rays of hope appeared in the 1990s. First, eight opposition parties, including Muslims about the American political system and allowing the FIS, signed the Rome Platform in 1995, condemning local communities to choose candidates based on local needs. violence and calling for the reestablishment of democracy. In addition, ISNA also publishes a bimonthly magazine, Second, single presidential candidates were successively elected Islamic Horizons, which discusses issues relating to Muslim life by majority vote, Liamine Zeroual (1995) and Abd al- Aziz in North America, and includes information on conventions and Bouteflika (1998). In the early 2000s the army retained its and workshops as well as a matrimonial section. ISNA does strong grip on power, but in spite of the continued ban on the not currently publish membership statistics. As of the year 2003, FIS and the competition of two other legal Islamist parties however, Islamic Horizons reported a circulation of (HAMAS and al-Nahda), most Algerians believe that without approximately 60,000. Since many, if not most members the reinstatement of the FIS, Algeria will not likely see the receive the magazine as a part of their membership, this figure return of democracy and national reconciliation. most likely reflects membership totals.

366

Islam and the Muslim World

Isma'il I, Shah

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- Before becoming king, Isma'il's religiosity reflected Shi'ite Haddad, Yvonne. *The Muslims of America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. spect to God, transmigration of souls, and occultation and Mawdudi, Abul A'la. *Towards Understanding Islam*. n.p.: return. In his poetry, he claims divinity for himself, and Islamic Circle of North America, 1986. proclaims to be the Hidden Imam. His followers were said to Smith, Jane I. *Islam in America*. New York: Columbia have followed him into battle without wearing armor, believ-

University Press, 1993.
invincible.

ing him to be

In 1501, however, Isma'il established not ghuluww Shi'ism,
R. Kevin Jaques

but orthodox Twelver Shi'ism as the official state religion,
imposing this sect upon a predominantly Sunni Iran. He
spent the next ten years of his career consolidating and

ISMA'IL I, SHAH (1487–1524) expanding
his rule inside Iran and beyond. He was defeated in

Azerbaijan by the Ottomans at the battle of Chaldiran in

Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–1524) was founder and first king of the 1514. This

led to a ceasing of military campaigns. Isma'il

Safavid dynasty, which ruled Iran until 1722. Isma'il lived died ten
years later, in 1524.

during a turbulent time in Iran's history, in a period of

political fragmentation and decentralization. When Isma'il's See also
Empires: Safavid and Qajar.

brother Sultan Ali was killed in battle by the ruling house of

Aq Qoyunlu in 1494, Isma'il went into hiding in northern

Iran. In 1499, he and his Qizilbash followers, Turkoman

Roger. Iran under the Safavids. Cambridge, U.K.:

tribesmen, attempted to seize power, and defeated the last Aq

University Press, 1980.

Qoyunlu ruler. He was crowned king in the northern Iranian
city of Tabriz in 1501.

Sholeh A. Quinn

Islam and the Muslim World

367

J

JA FAR AL-SADIQ (C. 701–765)

Al-Sadiq attracted an intellectual and cohesive following.

He is reported to have trained thousands of disciples in

Born sometime between 700 and 702, Ja far al-Sadiq died in

diverse fields such as theology, jurisprudence, and Arabic

765 C.E. An erudite jurist of Medina, al-Sadiq was associated

grammar. Speculative Shi'ite theologians and jurists like

with a wide range of scholars. Abu Hanifa, and Malik b. Anas,

Hisham b. al-Hakam, Zurara b. A'yan, and Muhammad b.

among other prominent figures, are alleged to have heard

Muslim were associated with him. Some of his prominent

hadith from him. Regarded as a reliable traditionalist in

disciples are reported to have differed with him on major

Sunni circles, he is cited in several isnads (chains of transmis-

sions). Al-Sadiq is credited with the construction of a legal or

excommunicated. Al-Sadiq claimed that they had misrepresystem called Ja far

excommunicated. Al-Sadiq claimed that they had misrepresystem called Ja far

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Savory,

Cambridge

school of law, which Shi'ites follow. He resented his teachings.

is also seen as an eminent ascetic and is revered in Sufi circles.

Many mystical ideas are narrated from him. According to the

Al-Sadiq was at the center of much extremist speculation.

alchemist Jabir al-Hayyan, al-Sadiq was also a teacher in Abu

'l-Khattab (d. 755–756) claimed that al-Sadiq had designed alchemy.

nated him to be his deputy

and had entrusted him with

esoteric knowledge and the greatest name of God, thus

Sunni sources maintain that Shi'ites, such as Hisham b. al-Muwaffaq, empowered him to

comprehend occult sciences. He also

Hakam, formulated distinctive doctrines like that of the

attributed divinity to al-Sadiq. Along with other extremist

imamate and ascribed it to al-Sadiq. In Shi'ite sources, al-Muwaffaq, Abu

'l-Khattab was repudiated by al-Sadiq.

Sadiq is considered as the sixth Imam and the author of

thousands of traditions that were recorded by his disciples

After his death, al-Sadiq's followers differed on his succession and documented in

the writings of al-Kulini and Ibn Babuwayh,

son. The Isma'ilis claimed al-Sadiq had designated his eldest

among other, later, scholars. These sources also indicate that

al-Sadiq was responsible for the formulation and crystallization of the Shi'ite doctrine of the imam. This stipulated

Isma'il, to succeed him. Most of al-Sadiq's followers

tion of the Shi'ite doctrine of the imam. This stipulated

initially accepted Abdallah, the eldest surviving son. When

that the imam be designated by God through the Prophet or

Abdallah died without a son, the majority accepted al-Sadiq's

another imam. The imam was also believed to be infallible, next

son, Musa. They formed the basis of the Twelver

hence he was empowered to provide authoritative interpretation

Shi'ites. The Nawusiyya asserted that al-Sadiq was in occultations of Islamic

revelation. Designation and infallibility were occultation (hiding), and

would reappear as the eschatological

complemented by the imam's possession of special knowledge

Messiah (mahdi).

edge that was either transmitted from the Prophet or derived

from inherited scrolls. The imams reportedly had access to See

also Imamate; Law; Succession.

esoteric knowledge and were able to foretell future events.

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Al-Sadiq's political stance became the cornerstone of

Shi'ite political theory, which taught coexistence with rather

Hodgson, Marshall G. "How did the Early Shi'ites Become

than opposition to tyrannical rulers. The removal of the

Sectarian?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75

imamate from a political role was compounded by al-Sadiq's

(1955): 1–13.

teaching of dissimulation, which meant the imam did not
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Jahannam

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 Calligraphy; Janna; Law; Muhammad; Qur an;
 Comprehensive Authority of the Jurist in Imamite Jurispru- Tafsir.
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JAHANNAM Arabic

Writings Illustrative of the Beliefs and Practices of
 Muslims. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962.

Jahannam is a designation for hell and is related to the
 cognate Hebrew word gehinnom ("Hinnom Valley"), origi-

Juan Eduardo Campo

nally a site near ancient Jerusalem where children were
 immolated as sacrificial offerings, which subsequently became a garbage dump.

In early Jewish and Christian eschatology, Gehenna was believed to be where
 wrongdoers would be JAHILIYYA

punished by fire in the hereafter. This is the meaning Jahannam
 carries in the Qur an (where it is mentioned seventy-seven The word
 jahiliyya, rendered as ignorance or barbarism,

times), the hadith, and later Islamic eschatological discourses. occurs
 several times in the Qur an (3:148; 5:55; 33:33; 48:26).

It is often used synonymously with "the Fire" ("nar"), and in
 Used pejoratively to describe pre-Islamic Arabia, it means the
 juxtaposition to "the Garden" ("janna"), the Islamic paradise
 period in which Arabia had no dispensation, no inspired
 of the blessed. prophet,

and no revealed book.

The Qur an depicts Jahannam as an infernal dwelling or The seven
 Mu allaqat, written down in Umayyad times,

refuge with seven gates (counterparts for the seven heavens) are

believed to be a collection of prize-winning pre-Islamic
 awaiting unbelievers, hypocrites, and other sorts of offenders poems on
 the courage and endurance of its warriors, recited

(4:140; 15:43–44). It will be the fiery abode of jinns and
 in contests at the annual fair at Ukaz. Fragments of similar
 satans, as well as humans (11:119; 19:68), including polytheists
 poems are also found in the Kitab al-aghani of al-Isbahani (d.
 and "people of the book" (98:6). Indeed, according to one

967). The ideal Arab virtues referred to in this literature are
verse, all will go to Jahannam, but God will save the pious and
murad (courage, loyalty, and generosity). and ird (honor).
abandon wrongdoers there on their knees (19:72). Polytheists
Courage was reflected in the number of raids undertaken, and
and their idols will become fuel for its fire (21:98). The
generosity in the readiness with which one sacrificed one's
authoritative hadith collections, such as those of al-Bukhari
camel for a guest. Killing was discouraged. Murder resulted
(d. 870), Muslim (d. 875), and Ibn Hanbal (d. 855), expand
in blood feuds and vendetta. Three months of the year (Rajab,
upon these Qur'anic discourses, detailing its horrific features
Dhu-l-Qa'da, and Dhu-l-Hajj) were pronounced sacred, howand inhabitants.
Hadiths describe it as a pit of fire seventy
ever, when no fighting or raiding were permitted.
times hotter than earthly fire, guarded by the angel Malik,
into which plunge the damned who fail to cross a narrow test Trade
had brought wealth to some, but the poverty of
bridge (al-sirat) that traverses it. They enumerate the kinds of many was
disregarded, and there was no strategy to care for
sinners punished there, among whom are the Jahannamites—
them. Females were regarded as a burden and many were
Muslims who have committed major transgressions, but who
killed at birth. Muhammad viewed this attitude as ungodly.
will eventually win entry to paradise.
The religion of the pre-Islamic Bedouin was primarily
The most elaborate descriptions were formulated in the animistic,
while urban populations, such as the Meccans,
tenth century C.E., and later commentaries and eschatological worshiped a
supreme God, al-Ilah, and its three daughters, al-Lat, al-Uzza, and Manat. Hubal was the
(d. 922), al-Samarqandi (d. c. 983), Uzza, al-Lat, and Manat. Hubal was the
chief deity of the
al-Ghazali (d. 1111), al-Qurtubi (d. 1273), Ibn Kathir (d. Ka'ba.
Women were required to circumambulate the Ka'ba
1373), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1350), and al-Suyuti (d. in the
nude. Various tribes in different regions identified with
1505). In these books, Jahannam is said to consist of seven different
gods to whom they turned for immediate favors.
hierarchical levels, the highest for Muslims and the lower There was
no belief in an afterlife or a day of judgment.
levels for Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, polytheists, and Muhammad,
who preached the existence of one, invisible
hypocrites. Commentators furnished it with geographic fea- God, taught
that man would be judged for his actions, and
tures such as blazing mountains, valleys, rivers, and seas, as rewarded
accordingly. He fought to establish Islam in Arabia,
well as houses, prisons, bridges, wells, and ovens. They also and had the

pre-Islamic idols systematically destroyed. Thus, he claimed,
 provided it with venomous scorpions and snakes to torment
 Islam brought an end to jahiliyya. Nevertheless,
 its inhabitants. In modern times, Jahannam remains a popu- several
 pre-Islamic observances have been incorporated into
 lar sermon topic. Islamic
 ritual, such as the circumambulation of the Ka ba, and

370

Islam and the Muslim World Jama at-e Islami

the running between Saffa and Marwa, with new significance To
 start with, the Jama at-e Islami needed to consolidate
 attributed to them. its
 base, which would strengthen its internal bonds and
 permit the development of a sense of umma, a term that
 In the twentieth century, jahiliyya took on a new meaning. means
 “the imagined community.” From its founding days in
 Writing from Pakistan, Abu l-A la Maududi (d. 1979) had the city
 of Pathankot, the party grew through a strong
 considered aspects of modern life reflecting Muslim imita-
 campaign that disseminated its ideals through a variety of
 tion of the West, as comparable to jahiliyya. On the same channels
 of communication, including political conventions
 lines, the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966) asserted that and
 the use of the mass media.
 the world consisted of but two cultures, Islam and jahiliyya,
 which included both the West and the atheistic communist The
 Jama at-e Islami is strictly and hierarchically organworld. The polytheistic
 societies of Asia, and Christian and ized, under the leadership of
 its emirs. Party affiliation can be
 Jewish societies, were now considered “ignorant” or jahili
 broken down into two categories, fully-fledged members
 because of their movement away from God, as were the (arkan)
 on the one hand, and sympathizers and workers
 Muslims who accepted Western elements into the Islamic (karkun)
 on the other. In the first year of the party’s existence,
 system. For Qutb the only antidote to jahiliyya was hakimiyya, 1941,
 there were 75 members. A decade later, in 1951,
 that is, the adherence to the belief that governance, legisla-
 membership had grown to 659, with 2,913 sympathizers. By
 tion, and sovereignty belong only to God. 1989,
 membership had swelled to 5,723, with some 305,792
 nonregistered but active sympathizers. In 2003, membership
 See also Arabia, Pre-Islam; Modern Thought; Political
 reached 16,033, and the number of sympathizers to the
 Islam; Qutb, Sayyid.

party's goals had reached 4.5 million. The party is guided by an emir who is obliged to consult an assembly called the BIBLIOGRAPHY shura.

This authoritarian, pyramidlike structure is complete-
Boullata, Issa. Trends and Issues in Contemporary Arab Thought. mented
by other sub-organizations, such as women's wings
New York: SUNY Press, 1990. and
student organizations, all working toward the common
Guillaume, Alfred. Islam. Middlesex, U.K.: Penguin Books goal of
establishing an ideological Islamic society, particu-
Ltd., 1956. larly
through educational and social work. Jama at-e Islami's
Hodgson, Marshall G. S. The Venture of Islam. Vol. 1. Chi-
organizational structure is replicated throughout the world,
cago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. wherever
it has taken root.

Rizwi Faizer The Jama at-e Islami is based on social action in a
variety
of fields, and encourages Muslims to set up a better society
here and now through constantly contesting the political
establishment. In Pakistan, most of its members come from
JAMA AT-E ISLAMI the
educated lower-middle class, including immigrants from
India, called the muhajirun. The party never did appeal to the
Jama at-e Islami (JI) is one of the most influential religiopolitical
upper-class clientele that favored most of Pakistan's other
parties in the Muslim world, particularly in South Asia. It was parties,
such as the Pakistan People Party and the Muslim
founded in 1941 in Lahore, the creation of Abu l-A la League,
who frequently based their platforms upon tradi-
Maududi, who was working for the Islamization of Pakistan. tional
landowning loyalties. The Jama at-e Islami also failed
The party's goal was to contest the Congress (representing to
attract the poorer classes, who lacked the literacy that
the Hindu majority) and the Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Hind (JUH; would
permit them to comprehend the Jama at's rhetorics.
aiming for composite nationalism) as well as the Muslim
League (with territorial nationalism as its platform). In con-
Anchored firmly in the rather ambitious middle class, with
trast to these other parties, the Jama at-e Islami party echoed a
following drawn from the newly rising elites, the Jama at-e
the ideas of Maududi, who favored the creation of an Islamic Islami
increasingly finds itself in confrontation with the
state. Maududi was supported by a number of young, activist power
assertions of the postcolonial political establishment,
religious scholars, among them some Deobandis and Nadwis. which is

characterized by the party as westernized and corrupt. Maududi was the first emir (commander) of the Jama at-e Islami, a post he held until 1972. As can be seen from the ship of the Jama at-e Islami derives from the difficulty people face in shifting areas of popularity, the history of the JI cannot be gaining access to political power and cultural privilege. separated from the emirs's lives—Maududi (1941–1972), The party has enlisted the help of a small religious elite that is a muhajir settled in Punjab; Miyan Tufail Muhammad itself struggling for political survival and controls a mass base, (1972–1987), a muhajir-converted Punjabi; and Qazi Husain and which provides a common language and symbolism with Ahmad (since 1987) from the frontier province—a fact also which to express and generalize the social discontent that reflected in its seats in provincial assemblies. Jama at-e Islami seeks to redress. In the terms of this language

Islam and the Muslim World

371

Jama at-e Islami

Qazi Husayn Ahmed, head of the Pakistani religious party Jama at-e-Islami (Party of Islam) in Peshawar, Pakistan, speaking to religious students in a mosque, where he condemned the introduction of new laws by the Musharraf government designed to bring the madrasa system under greater government control, as well as American presence in Pakistan. Jama at-e-Islami was founded in 1941 by al-Maududi in Lahore to advocate an Islamic state. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

and symbolism, only the spread of Sunni Islam throughout consistently confronted the Pakistani government on this the world can make possible the revival of an ideal, if mythical, issue, questioning the state's legitimacy, ultimately forcing cal, original community. The Jama at-e Islami relies heavily on politicians to include provisions regarding Islam in the constitution. The ongoing struggle between Jama at-e Islami and the government led to the party being outlawed several times. The anti-Ahmadiyya movement in 1953–1954, however, was the party's ticket into the mainstream of Pakistani politics because by heresizing the Ahmadiyya movement, thereby questioning the Islamicity of state functionaries, itself up in opposition to European culture and values and the

JI also opened up to other schools of thought. concept of modernity. The social pathologies resulting from modernization are often cited as evidence of a Machiavellian During the Ayub era (1958–1969), the Jama at-e Islami strategy employed by the West with the goal of seizing was forced into the background for a while, until 1965, when it power. The purpose of such rhetoric is to produce a norma- entered into new political alliances against the Ayub regime tive consensus, to increase cultural self-confidence, and to and, at last, became a proper political party. Its participation mobilize the party’s membership and sympathizers. In its in the anti-Bhutto coalition intensified the politization of the dealings with the broader society, the party’s spokespersons Jama at-e Islami, for it could now call the government ungenerally employ ideological arguments, keeping references Islamic. Eventually the party was able to mobilize a large to purely Islamic symbols to a minimum. But when address- enough portion of the society to topple the Bhutto regime. It ing traditionalist groups, the party employs a more overtly supported Zia ul-Haq’s coup d’etat in 1977, and earned theological approach, supporting public worship and partici- leading positions within the government. But the party was pating in debates on religious issues. unable to widen its social basis, and found itself being used by the government to further its own ends, instead. Hence, in When Maududi first became politically active in post- the elections that followed, the JI was not able to secure partition India and Pakistan, it was through the party that he enough seats to gain an effective political voice. articulated his political visions and ideas. Only a few years after the creation of Pakistan, the Jama at-e Islami was forced Since the 1980s, the party has started to diversify its to face the issue of the role of religion in politics. Maududi membership, spreading out from Karachi into other areas of

372

Islam and the Muslim World

Jamil al-Amin, Imam

the country. It has accomplished this through its welfare Lumpur, Delhi, Lahore, Cairo, and more recently, in Lonprogram, especially in the field of university higher educa- don, Paris, and Washington, D.C. tion, and by establishing madrasas (religious training centers), as well as by working hand in hand with the relief agencies in See also Ibadat; Masjid; Religious Institutions.

the Afghan refugee camps after 1979.

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In spite of its limited electoral success prior to 1988, the Campo, Juan

Eduardo. *The Other Side of Paradise: Explorations*

Jama at-e Islami has become a powerful political and cultural force into the Religious Meanings of Domestic Space in Islam.

force in Pakistani politics. In the late twentieth and early Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina, 1991.

twenty-first centuries, the party has been increasingly successful in recruiting members and sympathizers, and thus has

Muneer Goolam Fareed

been able to establish links with future leaders drawn from a wide spectrum of society, including the bureaucracy and the civil service. In 1997 the party publicly called for the adoption JAMIL AL-AMIN, IMAM (1943–)

of a more populist approach, and was rewarded with a swelling of its ranks to 2.2 million registered members by A gifted rhetorician and civil rights activist, the American

mid-August of that year. In the 2002 elections, the Jama at-e Muslim leader Jamil al-Amin (formerly H. Rap Brown, born Islami could claim sixty-eight members in the National in 1943)

came to national prominence in the 1960s as an Assembly, gaining for itself the ability to play “kingmaker” outspoken advocate of black power. In 1967, Brown sucwithin Pakistani politics.

The party’s success in Pakistan has ceeded Stokely Carmichael as leader of the Student Nonnot been mirrored by equal success for its counterpart in

Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a prominent India. Since the Pakistani-Indian partition in 1947, the Indian African-American civil rights organization. Brown also bebranch of the party has taken a much more docile and secular came known for his advocacy of black self-defense and his

approach toward politics and religion. As one of the few saying that “violence is as American as cherry pie.” In 1969,

national Islamic parties in India, it has attracted a following he published his most famous work, *Die Nigger Die*, a blisterthrough its activities in missionary work, social services, ing critique of American racism.

Because of Brown’s radical

publications, and conventions. rhetoric,

he became a target of the FBI’s Counter Intelligence

Program (COINTELPRO), which harassed many black lead-

See also Maududi, Abu l-A la ; Pakistan, Islamic Republic ers during this period. In 1972, Brown was apprehended on of. federal

weapons charges, tried, convicted, and sentenced to

four years in prison. During his prison term, he converted to

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the auspices of Darul Islam, a predominately

African-American Islamic group organized in the 1960s. He

Ahmad, Mumtaz. “Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia:

also adopted a new name, Jamil Abdullah al-Amin. Paroled in

The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat of South Asia.” In *Fundamentalism Observed*. Edited by Martin E. 1976, al-Amin moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where he became Marty and Scott R. Appleby. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991. the owner of a community store and an imam (leader) at a local mosque.

Over the next two decades, he emerged as a Sunni Muslim leader with followers throughout the United States. Over thirty mosques recognized Imam Jamil as leader. The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan, London: I. B. Tauris, 1994. of a group called the National Islamic Community. Focusing on economic and social, as well as religious, empowerment, Jamal Malik he also became known for his role in attempting to revitalize the West End of Atlanta. In March 2000, Imam al-Jamil was accused of murder in connection with the death of a police officer. But many American Muslims of diverse racial and JAMI ethnic backgrounds defended Imam al-Jamil’s innocence and offered him financial and moral support as he prepared for his trial. The jami, like the masjid and the musalla, is where the Islamic community performs the daily prayer. And while both the masjid and the jami are also used for teaching and preaching, only a masjid specially dedicated to the Friday prayer is See also American Culture and Islam; Americas, Islam designated a jami. Whereas previously local mosques were in the; Nation of Islam. managed by area residents and the jami by the state, nowadays many states, under the pretext of law and order, strictly BIBLIOGRAPHY control even the musallas. Apart from Medina and Jerusalem, McCloud, Aminah Beverly. African American Islam. New York: some of Islam’s greatest Friday mosques are located in Kuala York: Routledge, 1995.

Islam and the Muslim World

373

Jamiyat-e Ulama-e Hind

Van Deburg, William. *A New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Friedmann, J. L. Yohanan. “Jamiyat-e Ulama-e Hind.” In *The Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*. Edited by Esposito, et al. New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995. Vol. 2, pp. 362–363. Edward E. Curtis IV

JAM IYAT-E ULAMA-E HIND ULAMA-E ISLAM

JAM IYAT-E

Muslim politics saw the era of institutionalization in two new Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Islam (JUI) broke off from the Jam iyatreligiopolitical bodies that formed in 1919: All-India Khilafat e Ulama-e Hind (JUH), which stood for Indian nationalism Committee and Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Hind (The Association and opposed the demand for an independent Pakistan. In contrast of Scholars of India, or JUH). The JUH was the first political to its mother organization, the JUI, established in 1945 under solidarity foundation of Indian ulema, who saw themselves as the leadership of Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani, supported religious guides, even in political matters, at the peak of the the Muslim League’s demand for Pakistan. How- ever, after Indian Muslim agitation for the Ottoman Caliphate. By using independence in 1947 it had to struggle for a long period the potential of the religious infrastructure, along with new before being accepted by the Pakistani elites.The JUI remained a political structures, ulema were mobilized and unified to religious organization until the late 1960s, when defend the caliphate. The first meeting in November 1919 in general elections were announced after the collapse of the Ayub Khan New Delhi demanded that Muslims abide by Islamic tenets, strengthen their relationship with the Islamic world, and political arena, where it demonstrated a remarkable career. It soon split foster Muslim-Hindu amity. The holy places of Islam were to into a a politically quiet faction, led by the Karachibe defended, separate shari a courts and zakat system were to based Ihtisham al-Haqq Thanawi, and a more activist group centered be established, and the Indian Congress supported. This primarily around Mufti Mahmud and Ghauth Hazarawi, solidarity traditionalism found its climax in a fatwa for nonco- operation and civil disobedience in 1920. Use was made of During the elections of 1970 Mufti Mahmud’s faction of the JUI Islamic repertory—proselytization and forcible conversion became quite popular by making use of Islamic symbolwere rejected. JUH stood for an independent, multireligious ism, postulating the establishment of shari a in Pakistan, and advocating India in which Muslims and Hindus would have their sepa- the implementation of Islamic economic and rate institutional structures. social reforms. The party benefitted from the use of traditional infrastructure, such as madaris (Islamic schools) and

The major contribution of the JUI was the idea of waqf (pious foundations), and established an umbrella organization of religious schools. In this way it won quite a number of seats and eventually entered into a coalition with the two-nation theory proclaimed by the Muslim League in 1940. This concept of territorial nationalism was unique in National Awami Party (NAP) and thus managed to form Islamic thought, and was put into practice by a nationalist provincial governments in NWFP and Baluchistan. Mufti campaign against the creation of Pakistan.

Mahmud became chief minister of the NWFP from 1971 to 1973. The Islamization of this region under his tenure influenced the following political scenario.

Shortly before the partition of India in 1945, a dissident group was formed, the Jamiat-e Ulama-e Islam (JUI). Under the leadership of Fazl al-Rahman, the son of Mufti After 1947, JUI pursued noncommunalism, stood for Mahmud, the JUI became increasingly orthodox and also social and religious reforms, and supported the secular constitution of the Republic of India. However, it still holds rigid Punjab-based communal Anjuman-e Sipahan-e Sahaba, a positions concerning Muslim personal law, but the ambivalent splinter group of the JUI established in 1985. In the lent image created through the tussle between political pragmatism and religious dogmatism has been improved through religious school in Pakistan, the Dar al- Ulum Haqqaniya—its social activities.

and Qadi Abd al-Latif introduced the Shariat Bill to the See also Jamiat-e Ulama-e Islam; South Asia, Islam National Assembly.

in.

Although the JUI has not been very successful in gaining political influence at the national level, it is one of the most powerful political and social forces in Pakistan, particularly in Agwani, M.S. Islamic Fundamentalism in India. Chandigarh, the NWFP and Baluchistan. It controls a large number of India: Twenty-First India Society, 1986 religious schools throughout the country that have been

drawing its constituency from the followers of Sufi pirs—scholars but also for the Afghan mujahidin who fought against preferably Qadiris—observance of ritual traditions associated with the Soviets in Afghanistan. Since the mid-1990s the madaris saint worship, and usage of millenarian postulates and symbols also have been very actively supporting the Taliban. The mediated in a multimedial staging. Like the JUI, the talibanization of Pakistan goes to the extent that after the JUP runs an umbrella organization of madaris (Islamic schools), and has Afghani Taliban takeover of Kabul in 1996, the JUI openly been actively defending the nationalization of pious declared abjuring the electoral politics of Pakistan. The JUI is foundations.

also believed to have a wide international jihadi connections, such as in Tajikistan, Chechnya and Kashmir. See also

Deoband; Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e Hind; Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e Islam; South Asia, Islam in.

See also Deoband; Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e Hind; South Asia, Islam in; Taliban.

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JANNA

Jamal Malik

Janna (Ar. "garden," pl. jannat; Persian firdaws "paradise," "enclosure," "orchard") is the designation for the primordial paradise of Adam and Eve and for the paradisaal garden (or

JAM'İYAT-E ULAMA-E PAKISTAN gardens)

in the hereafter, where the blessed will dwell for

eternity after passing the trial of the last judgment. This dual

The Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e Pakistan (JUP) is a Barelwisignificance of the garden

in Islamic cosmography is rooted in dominated religious party established in 1947 under the ancient Near Eastern myths and afterlife visions that were leadership of Abu al-Hasanat (1896–1961) and Abd alsubsequently adapted to biblical narratives about the origin Hamid Badayuni (1898–1970). The JUP attempted to give and destiny of the human being, and were further elaborated legitimacy to the cause of Pakistan and the Muslim League, within the communities of rabbinic Judaism and early Chriscontrary to the Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Hind (JUH), and also in tianity. In Islamic discourse, janna is usually juxtaposed to some contrast to the Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Islam (JUI). The nar (“fire”), the hellish abode of wrongdoers (nar and JUP proclaims Ahmad Reza Khan, the founder of the Barelw jahannam).

movement, as the first to advocate the two-nation theory, which led to the partition of Pakistan and India. Engaged in Muslims usually conceive of janna as a real place where social activities—mainly the settlement of refugees in Sindh humans experience contact with supramundane beings, as well and rural Punjab—the JUP remained politically insignificant as pleasurable bodily existence. This understanding of for more than two decades. It established, however, a Sufi paradise was canonized in the Qur an and elaborated further organization in 1948 and a student wing in 1968, when its in the hadith, theological tracts, and visionary literature.

leader Shah Ahmad Nurani (born 1926) started propagating Thus, Adam and Eve enjoyed communion with God and the Islamization. In 1973, Nurani was nominated for the position angels, and consumed the fruits of the garden until they ate of the forbidden tree (2:35–36, 20:117–123), which caused their the Democratic Front against the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP). fall into the abode of mortal life. God then promised their return When in 1977 the JUP stood for the establishment of the to immortality in the hereafter. In contrast to the Bible, Muhammadan System, it united the Islamic parties in the of extensive passages of the Qur an deal with the subjects Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against Zulfiker Ali Bhutto’s of resurrection and the afterlife, beginning with chapters PPP. After 1977, JUP changed sides several times—sympathiz- traditionally consigned by scholars to the Meccan phase of ing at times even with its main adversaries, the JI (Jama at-e Muhammad’s career (c. 615–622 C.E.). In the Qur anic after- life Islami) and JUI. Its integrity thus suffered and therefore it world, paradise is a domesticated arboreal garden or park split into two major factions (Nurani faction and Abd al- perfumed

by musk, camphor, and ginger, through which
Sattar faction). Its success lies in its reliance on oral tradition, rivers
of milk, honey, and wine flow (47:15). It is populated by

Islam and the Muslim World

375

Jerusalem

families of immortal believers who dress in elegant garments Campo,
Juan Eduardo. *The Other Sides of Paradise: Explorations into the Religious Meanings*
mansions furnished with couches, tions into the Religious Meanings
of Domestic Space in Islam.

carpets, and precious household vessels (9:72, 15:47, 36:55–58,
Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

88:10–16). Angels greet them (13:23–24), and handsome
Ghazali, Abu Hamid al-. *The Remembrance of Death and the*
youths and beautiful houris (black-eyed maidens) offer food
Afterlife (*Kitab dhikr al-mawt wa-ma ba dahu*): Book XL of
and drink (43:71, 52:19–24, 76:15–22). The Qur'an also the
Revival of the Religious Sciences (*Ihya' ulum al-din*).

intimates that the blessed will enjoy the vision of God there
Translated by T. J. Winter. Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic
(10:26, 39:75, 75:22–23), a doctrine that was later subject to Texts
Society.

much debate among theologians and Qur'an interpreters.
The hadith mention that paradise has eight gates, each named

Juan Eduardo Campo

for a virtue through which the blessed possessing that virtue
will enter. They also speak of the existence of eight paradises
rather than a single one, each deriving its name from a
Qur'anic term or phrase, such as dar al-salam (House of JERUSALEM
See Holy Cities

peace), jannat al-khuld (Garden of eternity), and jannat Aden
(Garden of Eden). In number, therefore, paradise surpasses
hell, which is said to have only seven levels or gates (jahannam).

It is also speculated that God's throne (kursi) stood above
paradise. Sufis acknowledged the lower levels of paradise, but JEVDET
PASHA (1822–1895)

stressed the ecstasy of communion with God in the heart, or
in the highest level of paradise—that of the elect. Ahmet
Jevdet Pasha was an Ottoman historian, administrator, and educational and
judicial reformer. Born in Bulgaria,

Ideas of paradise so captured the Muslim imagination that
he pursued a religious education; dissatisfaction with tradition they inspired
caliphs and sultans, artists and architects, learned
scholars—even ordinary people—to invest the cultural land- tional
methods led him to study secular mathematics, law,
scape with heavenly significance. According to the hadith, the and

history. He wrote the first Ottoman grammar primer in Turkish, *Kavaid-i Osmaniye*, and the span between the Prophet's grave and the minbar in Jevdet's unique combination of religious and secular eduhis Medina mosque is one of the gardens of paradise. Reprecation made him useful as an advisor to the Tanzimat resentations of heavenly gardens occur on the Umayyad Grand former, Mustafa Resit Pasha. He worked on educational Mosque in Damascus (seventh century C.E.), in the Alhambra reforms, wrote a religious text for schoolchildren, and began of Granada (fourteenth century C.E.), on Persian royal pavilhis history of the later Ottoman Empire, *Tarih-i Jevdet*, based ions (seventeenth century), and in illuminated Turkish and on state papers and personal observation. He became a judge Persian manuscripts of the Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries). The city and and member of the government, writing judicial and cadastral palaces of Baghdad, the imperial capital of the Abbasids (r. regulations. After a series of administrative positions in the 750–1258), were named and described as earthly paradises. In reformist government of the Tanzimat, he became minister of India, the enclosed park within which the Taj Mahal, the of justice, established a secular court system, and drew up a grand mausoleum of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1657) and his queen modernized Islamic law code, the *Mejelle* (1869–1876), based Mumtaz Mahal (d. 1631), was constructed was an adaptation not on French law but on Islamic Hanafi law. of the “four garden” (*chahar bagh*) design of royal Persian Jevdet opposed the constitution of 1876 and the deposigardens, a microcosmic image of paradise with its four rivers. tion of Sultan Abdulaziz. He served the absolutist Sultan The magnificent building itself may well represent God's throne in heaven, believed to be located above paradise. Abd al-Hamid II in various ministerial posts and prosecuted the Elsewhere, inscriptions and murals in mansions and ordinary the reformer Midhat Pasha for the murder of Abdulaziz (1881). He Muslim homes created metaphorical relations between the (1881). He retired in 1882 and continued work on his history and his domestic spaces of the living and the abodes of the blessed in and his memoirs, *Tezakir*, but returned to government servthe hereafter. ice from 1886 until his death in 1895.

See also Calligraphy; Jahannam; Law; Muhammad; See also Modernization, Political: Administrative, Mili- tary, and Qur an; Tafsir. Judicial Reform.

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376

Islam and the Muslim World

Jihad

Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1961. divine law (shari'a). Defining and understanding jihad, a concept with complex religious and moral significance, naturally occupied a great deal of their attention. The scholars

Linda T. Darling outlined a number of different types of jihad, all of which may

be grouped into two basic categories, the spiritual jihad and the physical jihad. The objects of the first type included one's own soul (nafs), whose evil inclinations had to be overcome,

JIHAD or Satan

(Shaitan), whose attempts to sow doubt and confusion and to lead the believer astray had to be perpetually

The word jihad is derived from the Arabic root jahada, fought. The physical jihad was aimed at unbelievers outside

meaning "to strive" or "to exert oneself" toward some goal. In the Muslim community, as well as hypocrites and troublemakers within the Muslim ranks. Its goal was to establish the

something with no particular moral value, or even a negative supremacy of divine law and thereby to promote justice and

value. The Qur'an itself twice uses the verb when describing social welfare according to Islamic values. In this sense, jihad

the efforts of pagan parents to induce their Muslim-convert was closely related to the Qur'anic injunction that Muslims

children to return to polytheism (29:8, 31:15). Other occurrences of this verbal form and its derivatives, however, are "command

the right and forbid the wrong" (amr bi l-ma'ruf wa nahy an al-munkar).

limited to the struggle of the Muslims to attain and maintain

The classical scholars also listed various means by which their faith. Thus, jihad has come to mean in the Islamic

both the spiritual and the physical jihad could be conducted,

context only a virtuous struggle, toward some praiseworthy including by the heart, tongue, pen, hand, and sword. Some

end, as defined by religion. It is therefore often linked with

traditions ascribed to Muhammad profess the merits of jihad the phrase *fi sabil Allah*, meaning “struggle in the path of God.” conducted by the tongue, as in one hadith in which the The term jihad occurs infrequently in what are believed to Prophet said, “The greatest jihad is a word of truth spoken to be the Meccan revelations of the Qur’an. During this first a tyrant.” Other traditions describe the jihad of the pen, that part of the Prophet’s mission, lasting some twelve years, jihad is, of scholars, as more meritorious than the jihad of the is used in the sense of cultivating personal piety, perseverance sword. One of the most famous such hadiths declares the in the preaching of Islam, and forbearance and patient suffer- spiritual jihad to be the greater jihad (*jihad al-akbar*) as ing in the face of persecution by the Muslims’ enemies. compared to the physical jihad, which is the lesser jihad (*jihad* Qur’an 25:52, for example, advises Muslims to “listen not to al-asghar). But the most widespread use of the term jihad in classical Islamic thought was in the sense of a divinely sanctioned struggle, the Meccan period in which the Prophet ordered or allowed his followers to use violence against their enemies. Jihad eighty and thereby to propagate the Islamic faith to unbeliev during this period meant exclusively nonviolent resistance. ers. In classical jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the dominant strand of intellectual activity in these early centuries, the chapters on Following the Prophet’s migration to Medina (the Hijra), jihad in legal treatises contained rules for the declaration, occurrences of jihad increase in the Qur’an. While some of conduct, and conclusion of such religiopolitical wars. these verses may be understood as still referring to nonviolent struggle, the majority clearly refer to physical force or fight- At the heart of the classical theory was the division of the ing (*qital*). Qur’an 22:39 is believed by many scholars to be the world into two basic spheres, *dar al-islam* (land of Islam), a unitary state comprising the community of Muslims, living by with force against those who continue to attack and persecute the shari’a, and led by the just ruler (*imam*); and *dar al-harb* them. A subsequent series of verses (2:190–191) converts the (land of war), where Islamic law did not prevail, leading permission of self-defense into an obligation, with the argu- presumably to anarchy and moral corruption. It was comment that “oppression is worse than killing.” Then, after monly understood that Muslims had an individual obligation

eight years of warfare between the Muslims and their polytheist (fard ayn) to defend dar al-islam whenever it was threatened by enemies, the Jewish tribes of Medina, and the Christian aggression from dar al-harb. This type of war received little attention in the chapters on jihad.

conversion against all remaining polytheist Arabs (9:5) and a war of subjugation against Christians and Jews (9:29). The jurists' attention was focused on what may be called the expansionist jihad. The imam was obliged to undertake a The Classical Theory jihad whenever the conditions of the Islamic state permitted. Following the Prophet's death, Muslim scholars produced a him to reduce dar al-harb and bring its lands and peoples into large body of literature analyzing Qur'anic terms and collect- dar al-islam. This was a collective duty of the Muslim community traditions of the Prophet as part of their effort to codify nity (fard kifaya), one that required participation only from

Islam and the Muslim World

377

Jihad

During an Islamic Jihad rally at Hebron University in 1997, some two thousand students rallied and chanted against Israel and America as a round of Palestinian and Israeli peace talks began in Washington D.C. This protester's headband reads "Allahu Akbar" (God is Great). Though the idea of jihad has been used by some terrorist groups to advocate killing civilians, mainstream Muslim scholars condemn such supposedly Qu'ranic justifications. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

those financially and physically capable of undertaking it. Before the start of any attack, the enemy was to be offered the One school of Sunni jurisprudence, the Shafi'i, interposed a choice of accepting Islam, in which case no further action third category between the other two, dar al-sulh (land of against them was permissible. If they refused, they were to be truce), comprising peoples with which the Muslims had a offered dhimmi (protected) status as an autonomous community of truce, which suspended, but did not end, the jihad nity within dar al-islam. This option, deriving from Qur'an obligation. The maximum duration of such a truce, according 9:29, initially pertained to Jews and Christians, but was to most scholars, was ten years, although nothing prevented steadily expanded to include Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Buddhists the imam from renewing the truce if he deemed it in the dhists as the Islamic frontiers expanded. Only the polytheist Muslims' interest. Arabs

who had fought so bitterly against Muhammad and the early Muslim community were excluded from the dhimmi. The jihad in dar al-harb, in the view of the scholars, was option and forced to convert according to Qur'an 9:5. aimed at bringing Islam's higher civilization to those unaware of it, not territorial conquest or plunder. Thus, they elaborated rules on what Muslim armies may or may not do in dar al-harb. In fighting the enemy, Muslim soldiers were to avoid directly targeting women and children. Some jurists included old men, peasants, hermits, merchants, the insane, and other males under the general command, "Do not transgress limits, for God loves males who do not ordinarily take part in fighting on the list of not transgressors" (2:190), which was given greater specificity prohibited targets. According to most scholars, all ableby the practice of the Prophet and his first four successors. bodied adult males could be killed at the discretion of the

378

Islam and the Muslim World

Jinnah, Muhammad Ali

imam, whether they were fighting or had been taken prisoner, necessary, to establish the Islamic order over all unbelievers. The scholars permitted the use of all types of weapons. The more tolerant and pacific texts relating to or military tactics that were necessary to overcome the unbelievers were abrogated by the later, more belligerent enemy, including laying siege to fortresses, firing incendiary verses. But the category of unbelievers in fundamentalist devices, cutting off the water supply, or flooding. The exception writings includes nominal Muslims as well as non-Muslims. The tions were certain practices that were categorically prohibited. The transformation of hypocritical Muslim societies into by the Prophet, such as killing by mutilation or torture, true Islamic communities, led by true Muslim leaders, is the burning individuals alive, and violating oaths or grants of immediate goal of most fundamentalist ideologies. Although security to soldiers or envoys. some writers continue to speak of dar al-Islam and dar al-harb, the jihad to spread Islam beyond its current borders seems for The difference in Shi'ite views on jihad was that only the most fundamentalists to be a secondary concern. righteous imam, a descendant of Ali, could lead the expansionist jihad. Because the line of imams ended with the As for the proper conduct of war today, the vast majority of Muslim disappearance of the twelfth imam in the ninth century, of Muslim scholars agree that principles of international

according to the dominant strand of Shi'ism, only a defensive humanitarian law are compatible with Islamic teachings.

jihad to repulse enemy aggression is theoretically possible. These include the notion of noncombatant immunity and the prohibition against inhumane forms of killing. Muslim ter-

The classical theory was already outdated as it was being terrorist groups have, however, sought to justify the killing of

formulated in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. With civilians on Islamic grounds, but their arguments and tactics

the launching of the Reconquista in Spain and the Crusades have been condemned by mainstream scholars.

in Syria and Palestine, the expansionist jihad gave way to a defensive struggle. In the nineteenth century, as European Finally,

many Muslims today are trying to reclaim the imperialism advanced throughout much of the Muslim world, broad

meaning of jihad as "effort" or "struggle" apart from the defensive aspects of jihad assumed paramount importance. war.

Increasingly, we find references to such struggles as the "jihad for literacy" or the "jihad for economic development."

Modern Interpretations

The Christian missionary activity that accompanied British See also Conflict and Violence; Terrorism.

rule in India led some Indian Muslims to undertake major revisions of classical notions of jihad. The literature produced BIBLIOGRAPHY by these writers is unmistakably apologetic in tone, straining Hamidullah, Muhammad. Muslim Conduct of State. 7th ed.

to answer the charge of Christian writers that Islam was Lahore: Shaykh Muhammad Ashraf, 1961.

spread by the sword. According to the apologists, the wars of Johnson, James Turner, and Kelsay, John, eds. Cross, Crescent,

early Islam were purely defensive in nature, and jihad in and

Sword: The Justification and Limitation of War in Westmodern times should be largely divested of its military concern and Islamic Tradition. New York: Greenwood, 1990.

notations and reduced mainly to its spiritual aspects. Kelsay,

John, and Johnson, James Turner, eds. Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and

Such writings inevitably created a backlash among other Peace in Western and Islamic Tradition. New York: Green-

Muslim interpreters. Two broad reactions may be identified, wood, 1991.

the modernist and the fundamentalist. The modernists' goal Khadduri, Majid. War and Peace in the Law of Islam. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955.

and dogma, but to reinterpret jihad in ways that make it Peters, Rudolph. Islam and Colonialism: The Doctrine of Jihad

compatible with the principles of modern international law. in Modern History. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.

Thus, they challenge the classical theory's conception of a dar Peters, Rudolph. Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam. Princeal-islam in opposition to a dar al-harb, pointing out that such ton: Markus Wiener, 1996.

categories are nowhere to be found in the Qur'an or hadith. If these two basic sources for Islamic law and ethics are properly

Sohail H. Hashmi

analyzed, they claim, jihad cannot be properly understood as a war to spread Islam or subjugate unbelievers. It is waged only in self-defense, in conformity with international law, when the lives, property, and honor of Muslims are at stake. JINNAH, MUHAMMAD ALI

(1876–1948)

The fundamentalists also appeal to the Qur'an and hadith to challenge what they consider various false understandings Muhammad

Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 in

of jihad. First, they refute the mystical strand of thought that Karachi and

became one of the most celebrated leaders of the

emphasizes the superiority of the inner, spiritual jihad over independence movement. Later he became the founder of

the outer, physical jihad. By the end of the Qur'anic revelation Pakistan. He died one year after independence on 11 September, according to them, jihad meant a struggle, through ber 1948.

Islam and the Muslim World

379

Judaism and Islam

People of Pakistan know him better by his title, Quaid-i Azam, meaning "the great leader." After earning his degree in law from London's famous Lincoln's Inn in 1896 and with a certificate to join the bar of any court in British India, he returned to his homeland. He settled in Bombay where he practiced law and soon rose to fame as the most distinguished attorney in the country. He split his time between the legal profession and politics. As a liberal nationalist trained in British constitutional and democratic tradition, he became a passionate advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity against British rule. For almost two decades, he devoted his energies to bringing the two communities together on one political platform by focusing on the idea of common political interests against British imperialism.

By the early 1920s, he began to feel disenchanted by the leaders of the Indian National Congress Party. He did not feel comfortable with their militant, confrontational style with the British. Rather, he advocated the course of moderation and dialogue to

win freedom. His real disappointment came on the issue of minority rights, specifically those of the Muslims who comprised nearly 20 percent of the population, with concentration in the eastern and western parts of the British Indian Empire. Given their numbers, they were not a minority in a traditional sense, but a people with a heritage of more than one thousand years of Muslim rule and separate sense of identity. Jinnah favored a tripartite understanding on the constitutional guarantees for the rights of the Muslims Muhammed Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) was the leader of the Indian once India became independent. Muslim

League and the driving force in the creation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state in 1947. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Muslim nationalism developed parallel to secular Indian nationalism in the later part of the nineteenth century. Muslims in the Indian subcontinent regarded themselves as a See also Pakistan, Islamic Republic of.

separate community with distinctive culture and civilization. But their political separatism was confined to the issue of minority rights that Muslim leaders like Jinnah strongly

Rasul Bakhsh Rais

advocated in seeking representation in elected councils through separate electorates for Muslims. That ensured that Muslims would get adequate representation according to the size of JUDAISM AND ISLAM

their population. The dominant Hindu groups, including the Congress Party, were opposed to continuing any such ar-Jewish-Muslim relations have been shaped by the intercrangements once the British left. tions of the theological

perspectives of both religions and the historical circumstances in which they are found. Both use By the late 1930s, Jinnah began to argue for a separate sacred texts and history to form the basis of their perceptions country for the Muslims in the eastern and western fringes of of the other, with the result that there are often conflicting British India. With the passage of the Lahore Resolution in versions of the same events. This entry will show how 1940 by a great assembly of Muslim leaders from all over historical circumstances, the place of Jews in Islamic religious India, Jinnah formally demanded the creation of a Muslim text, and political ideology combine in varying degrees to homeland. For the next seven years, he mobilized the Muslim shape Jewish-Muslim relations.

masses on the basis of separate nationhood and convinced the British that that was the only option to prevent a communal Historical Perspective

war between Hindus and Muslims. Although Jinnah invoked historical period, the definition of who was a Muslim Islamic symbols for political mobilization, he was a liberal, or a Jew has shifted. Often only a religious identification, more frequently it signifies a particular social, economic, or outlook. political group. Ethnic categories and religious identities

380

Islam and the Muslim World

Judaism and Islam

have been conflated by both insiders and outsiders alike, Christianity meant also choosing to ally with a superpower thus complicating the task of analyzing intergroup and interested in dominating Arabia. intercommunal relations. In the first two centuries of the Islamic era, for example, we have evidence that some Jews Arab sources report that at the time of Muhammad's birth, who had converted to Islam still retained Jewish home prac- some Meccans had abandoned polytheism and had chosen tices, not from hypocritical motives, but because the develop- monotheism (Ar. hanif), in a Jewish, Christian, or nonsectarment of Islamic practices for the home were somewhat ian form. From Qur anic and other evidence, it is clear that underdeveloped. Meccans were conversant with the general principles of Judaism and Christianity and knew many details of worship, Another important tool for Jewish-Muslim intergroup practice, and belief.

analysis is the placement of behaviors and ideas in specific temporal and geographic contexts. Visions and ideas of the When Muhammad had his first revelation in 610 C.E., his wife, past have a strong influence on both religions. Many Muslims Khadija, tested the validity of his experience by seeking the have as keen an awareness of the events around the time of the advice of her cousin, Waraqa b. Nawfal, a hanif learned in Prophet as they do their own time. The Qur an and the sunna Jewish and Christian scriptures. In declaring that Muhamof the Prophet are guides for a Muslim's relations with Jews, mad was a continuation of the prophetic traditions of Judaism as they are in all areas of behavior. A similar level of historical and Christianity, he said that he had been foretold in Jewish consciousness, albeit with different perspectives and details, and Christian scripture. A central doctrine of Islam places helps shape Jewish attitudes toward Muslims. The historic Muhammad at the end of a chain of prophets from God,

interactions of Muslims and Jews have resulted in each being starting with Adam and embracing all the prophetic figures of shaped and transformed by the other, and both by interac- Judaism and Christianity, and holds that Muhammad's actions with Christians, Zoroastrians, Hindus, and others. It is event is announced in the Torah and Gospels. Denial of this hard to imagine how each religion would be as it is without central idea by Jews and Christians is said to be a result of the the presence of the others. corruption of the sacred texts, either inadvertently or on purpose. This disparity of perspective underlies much of what When the prophet Muhammad was born in 570 C.E., Muslims believe about their Jewish and Christian forebears Arabia, a central trade and military location, was caught in the and conditions Islamic triumphalist views about the validity of Islam Byzantine-Sassanian rivalry. Arabs, including Jewish Arabic-speakers, were in the armies of both sides, providing horse and camel cavalries, and each empire maintained Arab client The Qur'an and the Sira, the traditional biography of states as buffers and bases of operation. Only around fifty Muhammad, present ambivalent attitudes toward Jews and years earlier, the last Jewish kingdom in southern Arabia, Christians, reflecting the varied experience of Muhammad allied with the Persians, had been defeated, replaced by a and the early community with Jews and Christians in Arabia. Byzantine-supported Christian army from Abyssinia. Accord- Christians are said to be nearest to Muslims in "love" in ing to early Muslim historians, this army, led by a general Qur'an 5:82, but Muslims are not to take Jews or Christians as awlilya, named Abraha, is referred to in Surat al-Fal in the Qur'an. "close allies or leaders" in Qur'an 5:51. The Qur'an sometimes makes a distinction between the "Children of The Hijaz had numerous Jewish settlements, most of long Israel," that is, Jews mentioned in the Bible, and "Jews," standing, dating to at least the time of the destruction of the members of the Jewish tribes in Arabia during Muhammad's Second Temple in 70 C.E.. According to some scholars, the time. This distinction is also present in the Sira and other earliest Jewish presence in the Hijaz was at the time of histories, and one sees some Jews as hostile to Muhammad Nabonidus, circa 550 B.C.E. The Jews in these settlements and his mission, while others become allies with him. The sower merchants, farmers, vintners, smiths, and, in the desert, called Constitution of Medina, which Muhammad negotiated with members of Bedouin tribes. The most important Jewish ated with the Ansar, the Muhajirun, and the Jews of Medina, dominated city was Yathrib, known later as Medina. The Jews include

Jews in the umma, allowing them freedom of association of the Hijaz were semi-independent, but often allied with Byzantium and the Persians. Some made the claim to be originally called the kharaj. This agreement and the subsequent “kings” of the Hijaz, most probably meaning tax collectors, treaties negotiated by Muhammad with the Jews of Tayma, Khaybar, and other cities in the Hijaz, establish the precedent of including “people of the book” (Ar. ahl al-kitab) loyal to Persian interests against those of the Byzantine empire. Jews, as well as Christians, seem to have been engaged in the umma. As the armies of conquest encountered communities of Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, the model of their religious and political views, often with some success. Muhammad’s accommodating behavior extended the original notion to incorporate all these recipients of God’s revelation. The loyalties of the Jews and Christians to one or the other of the two empires meant that choosing either Judaism or Christianity as ahl al-dhimma, or dhimmi.

Islam and the Muslim World

381

Judaism and Islam

generally displacing other groups. Also, because Muslims expanded to include most of the world’s Jews in their polity, Rabbinic Judaism was able to develop its institutions within the context of the Islamic umma. For the newly forming Islamic state, the loyalty of the exilarch, and, by extension, the Jews, added legitimacy to Muslim claims to legitimate rule over its various non-Muslim populations. The interaction between Jews and Muslims thus produced profound effects on both Judaism and Islam. The occasional uprisings against Muslim rule—as the Jewish uprisings of the early eighth century—were local, over specific grievances, and not anti-Islamic as such. In fact, the Jewish revolt against the Umayyads, driven, it seems, by messianic visions, was sympathetic to early Shi’ite ideology while it unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the last Umayyad caliph.

The first two Islamic centuries were a time of translating Jewish and Christian scripture into Arabic, along with a vast body of commentary, particularly on biblical figures. Qur’anic tafsir became the repository of much Jewish tradition about such figures as Abraham, Moses, Solomon, and others. It was during this period that Rabbinic Judaism met a strong challenge from Karaite

Judaism and ultimately triumphed as the dominant form of Judaism in the world.

Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), a rabbi, philosopher, and physician. The period from the tenth through the eighteenth centuries, was born in Cordoba, Spain, where Christians and Jews witnessed a rise of Western military, participated in a lively intellectual community along with Muslims. When Maimonides was still young, however, Almohads technological, and economic power, ultimately eclipsing the from North Africa arrived in Cordoba and forbade Christians and great agrarian-based Islamic empires that had formed in the Jews to worship openly, so his family left and eventually settled in wake of the collapse of the Abbasid caliphate. In the western Egypt. © CORBIS-BETTMANN Islamic lands of the Iberian peninsula and North Africa, Jews, Christians, and Muslims combined in a society that is often described by later historians with the adjective “golden.” The death of Muhammad and the subsequent expansion areas of poetry, music, art, architecture, theology, exegesis, of Islam out of Arabia brought about a break with the Jewish law, philosophy, medicine, pharmacology, and mysticism Arabian communities, so that subsequent relations are built were shared among all the inhabitants of the Islamic courts on Jewish and Christian interactions with Muslims who knew and city-states at the same time that Muslim armies were locked the Prophet’s actions only as idealized history. During the in a losing struggle with the Christian armies of the first Islamic century, the period of the most rapid expansion Reconquista. In the eastern Mediterranean, similar symbiotic of Islam, social and religious structures were so fluid that it is societies could be found. Within the intellectual circles of the hard to make generalizations. Jews and Christians were theo- Islamic world, Jews become Hellenized through contact with retically expelled from Arabia, or, at least, the Hijaz, but later Muslim philosophers and theologians, just as Muslims had evidence shows that Jews and Christians remained for centu- from contact with Christians earlier. In the areas of comries afterward. As late as the eighteenth century, for example, merce, world trade was dominated by trading associations Jewish Bedouin roamed Northwestern Arabia, terrorizing made up of Muslims, Jews, and Christians from Islamic lands. pilgrims.

Political Ideology

The era of the Umayyads was a time in which Muslims, The twin attacks on the Islamic world in the Middle Ages by the Jews, and Christians negotiated the new power arrange-

Crusaders from the West and the Mongols from the East
 ments. The parameters of dhimmi status were developed, and
 transformed Muslim attitudes toward the dhimmi. In the
 both head and land taxes were paid to the Muslim rulers. Jews
 resulting visions of society, the influence of Jews, Christians,
 and Christians related to the Muslim caliphs through repre- and
 Shi ites was circumscribed and made more rigid, but not
 sentatives and not individually. For the Jews, the Resh Geluta
 eliminated. Muslim religious scholars used depictions of Jews
 or exilarch was designated as a “prince” in the Muslim court, and
 Christians found in the foundation texts as cautionary
 representing all the Jews. Because the exilarch was from the models
 for Muslims, but actual communities of Jews and
 Rabbinic branch of Judaism, it became the dominant form,
 Christians were treated with strict adherence to Islamic legal

382

Islam and the Muslim World

Judaism and Islam

precedent. Dhimmis had to wear distinctive clothing and status. By
 the eve of World War II, most Islamic countries
 badges to indicate their position in society, as did Muslims as were prepared
 to overthrow colonialism and establish nationpart of a general “uniform”
 indicating rank and status. Cer- states along Western secularist models.
 When this happened
 tain occupations became common for Jews and Christians, after World
 War II, constitutions were modeled after such
 such as tanning, which was regarded as imparting ritual countries as
 Switzerland, the United States, and France,
 impurity to Muslims, and it became less common in this usually
 guaranteeing freedom of religion, but providing no
 period to find Jews and Christians in the highest ranks of particular
 safeguards for religious expression. Other religious
 advisors to the rulers. Jews and Christians usually lived in and ethnic
 groups also desired nation-states. Christian states
 separate quarters of cities, and, while they were inferior to were formed
 in the Balkans and the Jewish state of Israel was
 Muslims in public, barred from riding horses or blocking the formed in the
 formerly British Mandate territory of Palespublic way with religious
 processions, they lived autonomously tine. The creation of the state of
 Israel in 1948 became a
 with respect to their communal affairs. This autonomy, while central focal
 point for Jewish-Muslim relations that had
 protective of the individuals, was to prove to have long-term steadily
 deteriorated since before World War I. The worsenconsequences, however.
 ing conflicts in Palestine increased
 Jewish-Muslim conflict in

the Arab states, where Jews were seen as both foreign and instruments of
 When Jews and Muslims were expelled from Spain in Western colonial designs. Within twenty
 1492, the majority of Jews chose to move to Islamic lands, the years after
 the formation of the state of Israel, the majority of
 area of the Ottoman Empire in particular. The Iberian Jews Jews living
 in Arab lands migrated to Israel, thus crystallizing
 were so numerous, well educated, and prosperous that Iberian the conflict
 in Palestine into a Jewish-Muslim conflict. Rulers
 Jewish culture often supplanted that of the older Jewish in
 predominantly Muslim countries no longer had a constitucommunities so that
 Sephardic became the general term for ent Jewish population. Jews
 became an abstract and hostile
 Jews living in Islamic lands. The trading and manufacturing Other, and
 Judaism, increasingly identified with Zionism by
 skills and the capital of these immigrants to the Ottoman Jews and
 non-Jews alike, was revalorized as the ever-present
 empire provided much of the wealth for Ottoman expansion. opposition to
 Muslims in Islamic history. This last notion,
 Under the Ottomans, Jewish and Christian communities while having
 its roots in the foundation texts of Islam, was
 achieved the greatest degree of autonomy. Through the millet now
 abstracted in a way unlike any time in the past, and
 system, each community was distinct and responsible directly Jewish-Muslim
 relations took a new direction.
 to the sultan.

Jews in Islamic History

In the Ottoman Empire, the British and French found A common thread
 among many Islamic intellectuals con-
 Jews and Christians to be attractive agents for their commer- cerned with
 the role and direction of Muslims in the
 cial activities, and the Ottomans, in turn, were pleased to postcolonial
 world is the role of the Jews in Islamic history. As
 employ the dhimmi for these purposes as well. Many Jews mentioned
 above, the historical circumstances of a strong
 sought to secure the benefits of Western societies for them- Jewish
 presence in the Hijaz during Muhammad's time and
 selves and their offspring by asking for and getting Western the
 opposition of a few of the Jewish tribes to Muhammad's
 protection, passports, and, in some instances, citizenship. mission,
 embedded numerous seemingly anti-Jewish state-
 The increasing identification of Jews and Christians with ments into
 the early literature. For a few, in a quest to use the
 non-Muslim powers served only to isolate these non-Muslims Islamic
 historical past to explain the present, the negative
 from the rest of Islamic society. By the end of the nineteenth accounts of
 Judaism and Christianity became abstracted so as

century, most Muslims were under Western political and legal influence. The secular legal systems devised in the West conflated the past with the present Arab-Israeli and East legal influence. Biblical descriptions of Jews rebelling against God's commands, Medinan Jewish opposition to the forming of a Muslim state, and Israeli actions against Palestinians were read together as an eternal Jewish character, a view some from a relationship in law with Muslims and an increasing number of times informed by Western anti-Semitic literature. The identification of Jews as "European." This was particularly an article by Egyptian intellectual Sayyid Qutb, "Our Struggle with the case in Western Islamic lands, where a knowledge of the Jews," is one example, as are the views expressed in the growth of European forms of Judaism was greatest. America by leaders of the Nation of Islam.

The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I resulting in the creation of a number of small nation-states brought about a further separation of non-Muslims from Muslims. The ideology of nationalism reduced Palestine, they separate the Arab-Israeli conflict from discussion of religion to the status of only one of the components of a discussion about Jews (and Christians). Some at Al-Azhar in Egypt cite Qur'an and sunna to support peace accords between logical, and secular, further reducing religion to peripheral Israel and the Palestinians, and Warith D. Muhammad, the

Islam and the Muslim World

383

Judaism and Islam

son of Elijah Muhammad, has countered the anti-Jewish considerable polemic. It has also produced positive calls for mutual respect and cooperation. It remains to be seen if the positive richness of past Jewish-Muslim relations can overcome the current antipathies. Discourse about Jewish-Muslim and Christian relations has been dominated in the last century by the problems of See also Christianity and Islam; Islam and Other Religions forming new group identities after the dissolution of colonialism. Muslim, Jewish, and Christian

communities have all
ions; Minorities: Dhimmis.
suffered from conflicts pitting one ethnic group against
another. As with any conflict, this period has produced
Gordon D. Newby

384

Islam and the Muslim World

K

KALAM

The subject matter of kalam included such topics as God and his attributes, classification of and arguments against other religions, ethical responsibility and its eschatological Kalam is an Arabic term for speech, and has several other, consequences, and the doctrine of the imamate (political related, technical connotations in Islamic religious thought. theology). Ilm al-kalam became the lingua franca of most Used in the phrase kalam allah it means the word of God as religious discourse among sects and groups in medieval revealed to humankind through prophets (2:75, 9:6, and Islamic society from the eighth century onward. Sunni and 48:15). In this sense, kalam is analogous to the Greek term Shi ite schools adopted the kalam method. So, too, did logos, as it is used in Jewish theology by Philo of Alexandria in medieval Christian and Jewish communities living in Iraq and about the first century C.E. In its second sense, kalam designates God's creative word. In the Qur'an, God's words, as eleventh century, Aristotelian philosophy and logic began to commands, create reality. This can be seen in such Qur'anic wax as the kalam methods and schools waned. Nowadays, quotations as: "Yet when We will a thing We only have to say kalam is studied historically but does not claim thriving 'Be' and it is" (16:40). In this context, the word of God, kalam, schools or exponents. Nonetheless, in his widely read treatise on a performative function—the utterance of the word logical treatise on Islam and modernity, *Risalat al-tawhid* accomplishes the creative act. (Theology of unity), Shaykh Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) preserved a modified version of the dialectical method of the The third and the most primary usage is found in the medieval Mu'tazilite and Ash'arite schools. phrase *ilm al-kalam*, which connotes "the science of (dialectical) theology" that establishes and elaborates on the doctrinal Knowledge; Murjites, Murji'a; Qur'an. teachings of the various schools (sing. *madhhab*) of theology,

such as the Mu tazilites, Ash arites, and Maturidites. In Islamic

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intellectual traditions, the scholars of kalam gradually came to

Wolfson, Harry A. *The Philosophy of the Kalam*. Cambridge,

be delineated as dogmatic theologians (mutakallimun), as

Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

distinct from philosophers (falasifa) and mystics (Sufis).

Parviz Morewedge

The mutakallimun developed a dialectical method of framing and defending

religious claims over rival teachers and

schools. Some scholars believe that Greek and Hellenistic

philosophy influenced the rise of kalam as a form of theology,

KANO

while others point out that Islam, as a revealed, word-

Kano is the capital city of Kano State, in northern Nigeria. Its

centered religion, was the primary factor in the emergence of

1992 population (the last year for which census data is

the kalam method and schools of thought. The latter method,

available) was estimated at 700,000 inhabitants. Kano State

as it appears in literary form, strongly indicates the disputational

has an area of 16.630 square miles and an estimated populacontext of early and

medieval Islamic thought. A theological

tion 5.6 million.

claim was made, then defended against critics in a series of

conditional statements of the form: "if someone from such

Archaeological evidence suggests that Kano was founded

and such a school asks you so and so, then say to him"

in the fifth century as a settlement at the foot of Dalla Hill.

Karaki, Shaykh Ali

The early inhabitants were animist, believing that a soul or

Other

prominent buildings in Kano are the Amir's palace, the

spirit inhabited all things. The animist tradition is still fol-

Grand

Mosque, and the museum.

lowed by some peoples of northern Nigeria, but Kano's

inhabitants were introduced to Islam possibly as early as the

See also

Africa, Islam in; Marwa, Muhammad; Uthman

tenth century.

Dan

Fodio.

Kano was visited by strangers in the tenth century. These

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newcomers may have been early Muslims, but a firm Islamic

Hogben,

S. J., and Kirk-Green, A. H. M. *The Emirates of*

presence was not established until the fourteenth century. By

Northern Nigeria. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

the late 1300s, Kano became an independent Islamic sultanate,

Smith, M. G. *Government in Kano, 1350–1950*. Boulder,

with close links to other Islamic centers located across the Westview Press, 1997. Colo.:

Sahara to the north. With the creation of the sultanate, the people of Kano began to publicly observe Islamic festivals, Thyge C. Bro and the appointment of eunuchs to office—a practice common in courts elsewhere in the Islamic world—was begun in Kano as well.

By the fifteenth century, Kano had assumed control of the KARAKI, SHAYKH ALI trans-Saharan caravan trade, due in large part to its powerful Nur al-Din Abu l-Hasan Ali b. al-Husayn b. Abd al- Ali alarmy. Camels appeared in the city, acquired through trade, Karaki, also known as al-Muhaqqiq al-Thani (d.1533), was an and slave raiding in the countryside to the south had become a Arab Twelver Shi'ite jurist from Karak Nuh in present-day profitable occupation of the Kano aristocracy. Later in the Lebanon, who acquired the scholastic tradition of Jabal Amil fifteenth century, Kano came in direct contact with European in Syria and stood in the intellectual line of descent from traders, and further expanded their trade repertoire by specializing in indigo-colored textiles and red “Morocco-leather.” Muhammad b. Makki (d.1384), who was known as al-Shahid al-Awwal (the First Martyr). Al-Karaki was the first major Shi'ite scholar to emigrate from Jabal Amil to Najaf in Iraq During the period of European colonization, Kano developed as a center of Western-style education. The British during the sixteenth century and from there to Safavid Iran colonial government set up a school to train teachers of (1501–1736), where Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–1524) appointed him Arabic and Islamic sciences in the methods of modern pedagogy. Nonetheless, the city remained an important center of Shi'ite legal rulings, observed the previously suspended Friday Sufi activities as well. It became in the same period an Friday prayer, and tried to draw Shi'ism out of its scholastic emporium of the new groundnut trade, on which the economic puritanism to fit the Safavid state structure. In 1532, and as a visible sign of al-Karaki's eminence at the court, Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576) issued a royal decree declaring him the deputy Kano is not remarkable for creative literary contributions. (na'ib) of the imam and the seal of jurisconsults (khatam al- It relied on works that were imported from peripheral Islamic mujtahidin), thus undermining the position of the Iranian areas. The first Kano scholar in Islamic literature was Usuman, sadrs,

chiefs of the Safavid religious administration who
 an imam from Miga, who lived in the middle of the eight-
 adjudicated in criminal and religious matters. Shah Tahmasp
 eenth century. A century later Asim Degal contributed works also
 conferred on al-Karaki extensive land holdings as a
 on astrology. The Makarantan Ilmi schools of higher Islamic
 hereditary waqf (religious endowment). Al-Karaki's ardent
 learning play an important part in the Islamic life of Kano defense
 of the Shi'ite faith earned him the nickname "inven-
 City. There are at least twelve establishments of this kind in tor of
 the Shi'ite religion." Among his descendants was the
 Kano, but the number is believed to be much higher.
 seventeenth-century Iranian jurist and philosopher Mir Damad.

In the eighteenth century Kano was besieged by the See also
 Empires: Safavid and Qajar; Isma'il I, Shah;
 Fulani, a powerful West African people. After the Fulani Shaykh
 al-Islam; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); Tahmasp I,
 came the Europeans. British troops took the city in 1903 and Shah.
 imposed indirect colonial government. The emir stayed in
 power, but a British colonial official was present at all times.

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Kano grew during the twentieth century. A railroad was built Arjomand,
 S. A. "Two Decrees of Shah Tahmasp Concerning 1912, an airport in 1937, and a
 system of roads and ing Statecraft and the Authority of
 Shaykh Ali al-Karaki,"
 highways expanded over the years. Today the city preserves a In
 Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism. Albany: State
 mixture of the old and the new. Its walls still stand. Built in the
 University of New York Press, 1988.
 fourteenth century of mud-brick, the walls are nearly 30 Arjomand,
 S. A. "The Mujtahid of the Age and the Mullabashi:
 kilometers long, with 15 gates. Still standing, too, are tradi- An
 Intermediate Stage in the Institutionalization of Religious houses of
 mud-brick, finely decorated in Hausa style. ious Authority in
 Shi'ite Iran." In Authority and Political

386

Islam and the Muslim World
 Kemal, Namek

Culture in Shi'ism. Albany: State University of New York Qajar dynasty,
 covered the dome in gold and the manara of
 Press, 1988. the sanctuary.
 In April 1802, twelve thousand Wahhabis
 under Shaykh Sa'ud invaded Karbala, killed over three thou-
 Rula Jurdi Abisaab sand inhabitants, and sacked the city.

See also Ali; Husayn; Qur'an; Shi'a: Early.

KARBALA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Karbala is the second largest town in Iraq, with over 350,000 inhabitants in the early twenty-first century. It is situated about sixty miles southwest of Baghdad, where the mausoleum of Muhammad's grandson Husayn (Mashhad Husayn) was erected and frequently destroyed and restored during the early centuries of Islam. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. Islam. Momen, Moojan. An Introduction to Shi'i Islam. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

When the first Umayyad Sunni caliph, Mu'awiya, died in 680 C.E., his son Yazid came to power. The majority of Muslims saw the nomination of Yazid to the caliphate as an usurpation of the notion of consensus (ijma'), the legitimate means of choosing a caliph. When Husayn received confirmation of the loyalty of the Kufis from his cousin Muslim Ibn

KEMAL, NAMEK (1840–1888)

Aqil, he headed toward Kufa. On his way, Husayn learned that his cousin had died at the hands of Yazid's men and that the Kufis had shifted their allegiance to Yazid. Ottoman, attempted to introduce political liberalism into the bureaucratic despotism of the Tanzimat reform era. Kemal Husayn nevertheless continued in the direction of Kufa. came from an aristocratic background, and Ibn Ziyad, the governor of Kufa, with one thousand soldiers after learning French he began his career in the Translation Office of the Ottoman government in Istanbul in 1857. He published a journal and wrote essays on reform in a simple but powerful Turkish style. In 1865 he helped found a secret political society and was dismissed from his government position where they were slain mercilessly on the battlefield. This position when this became known. In exile in Europe event played an important role in the development of Shi'ite (1867–1870), he discovered European civilization and French revolutionary thought, which he found compatible with certain Islamic political ideas. He

popularized the concepts of two major branches of Islam. The event forged in Shi'ite fatherland and freedom, and started the newspaper Hurriyet (Freedom) to Muslims an identity as believers who are subjected to persecution (Freedom) to develop public opinion (1868). On returning from exile he cution for the sake of the true succession of Muhammad. became a journalist and political essayist, advocating liberal political rights founded on Islamic principles. A cult of martyrdom is linked to the death and downfall of Husayn at Karbala. The Ashura (date of Husayn's death) was European economic penetration. His controversial 1873 paelaborated upon and systematized in the articulation of Shi'ite triotic play, Vatan (Fatherland), resulted in renewed impristheology. Every year during the first ten days of the month of hijra, the battle of Karbala is commemorated by Shi'ite onment and exile. In 1876 he returned to join state service Muslims during Muharram, and many go on pilgrimage to under the constitutional regime. He criticized Ottoman mod-Karbala. Husayn's martyrdom has become a source of strength ernization as insufficiently liberal, destroying old safeguards and endurance for Shi'ite Muslims in times of suffering, against absolutism, notably the shari'a and the Janissaries persecution, and oppression. (elite corps of Turkish troops) without providing new ones. Suspected of plotting to depose Sultan Abdulhamit after the During its long history the tomb of Husayn was dese- 1878 abrogation of the constitution, he was again exiled and crated several times and had to be restored. In 850 and 851, his writings were banned. He died in exile, but his works, read the Sunni Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil destroyed the tomb secretly, fired the imagination of the Young Turks, who took up the cause of Husayn and prohibited pilgrimages to the sanctuary. up the cause of liberalism during the autocratic regime of Sulayman the Magnificent visited the tomb in 1534 and 1535 Abdulhamit. and participated in its restoration. At the end of the eighteenth century Agha Muhammad Khan, the founder of the See also Young Ottomans.

Islam and the Muslim World

387

Khalid, Khalid Muhammad

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in 1939.

Khamane i finished his study in Qom Seminary in

Mardin, Serif. The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study 1964.

During the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah, Khamane i

in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas. 1962. Reprint, was a student

of Ruhollah Khomeini, the future leader of the

Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000. Iranian Revolution. Khamane i was arrested many times during the shah's rule, served a total of three years in prison between 1964 and 1978, and was exiled for a year between 1978 and 1979, spending his time in Kanshahr, Baluchistan province. In 1979, following the overthrow of the shah, he was selected as the representative of the Revolutionary Council in the army as well as Deputy for Revolutionary Affairs at the National Ministry of Defense. He was also chosen as the leader of the Friday prayer in Tehran.

Khalid Muhammad Khalid was a popular Egyptian writer on religious and political topics, and the author of more than thirty books and numerous newspaper and magazine articles. He received his theological degree from the faculty of shari a June 1981 he became the target of an unsuccessful assassination attempt. In 1981, following the assassination of certificate, also from al-Azhar. He taught Arabic language, Raja e, he was elected as the third president of and then worked in the Egyptian Ministry of Education and revolutionary Iran. He was reelected president in 1985 and in the Ministry of Culture. He became a supervisor in the second four-year term. On 4 June 1989, after the Department for the Publication of the Heritage. the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the Assembly of Experts chose Khamane i as the vali-ye faqih or leader of the His first book, From Here We Begin (Min huna nabda), Republic of Iran. His main problem in leadership as a published in 1950, was a forceful and controversial call for for his predecessor, Khomeini, has been his lack of separation of religion from state, as well as for a democratic and charismatic legitimacy. socialism, effective birth control, and furtherance of the rights of women. It was shortly translated into English, as was several attempts to make him the sole marja al-taqlid the Islamist response to it, Our Beginning in Wisdom, by his Shi a leader) had failed, he was endorsed as one of friend Muhammad al-Ghazali. These two books provide a maraje by the conservative Qom clerics in December good sample of the secularist-Islamist debate in Egypt at mid- political modus operandi includes conspiracy thecentury. Khalid expressed similar views in other passionately ory, religious authoritarianism, antipluralism, and antiwritten books in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Iranian

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He was one

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President

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After

(Twelver

seven

1994. His

intellectualism. Khamane i has been accused of killing about eighty political activists and intellectuals both within and outside Iran since the 1990s. He closed more than eighty other heroes of early Islam. In his book *al-Dawla fi al-Islam* (The State in Islam), published in 1981, he revised his earlier position, stating that Islam does have civil principles that should be applied by the state, although it does not prescribe a “religious government.” According to Khalid, parliamentary democracy is the contemporary application of the Islamic principle of shura (consultation).

Majid Mohammadi

See also Ghazali, Muhammad al-.

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KHAN

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The meaning of the word khan is dependent upon the context in which it is used. It is often used as a title, but can also refer to an office, a form of address, an attribute of rulership

William Shepard

(following Genghis Khan’s thirteenth-century Mongol unification), or as part of a place name. Its etymology is obscure, though probably Turkic. It continues to be used commonly

KHAMANE I, SAYYED ALI (1939–) in

Central Asia, North India, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. It is seldom used in Arabic, except as a place name.

Sayyed Ali Khamane i, the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran (r. 1989–) was born in Mashad, Khorasan province, Iran,

G. R. Garthwaite

388

Islam and the Muslim World

Khan, Reza of Bareilly

By the sixteenth century, khanqas began their steady

KHANQA (KHANAQA, KHANGA)

decline as

they had lost their patrons. Indeed, the Ottomans,

new masters of the region, were rather interested in patroniz-

In twelfth century Sufism—a new strand of Islam based on

ing Sufi orders. Since khanqas did not follow any particular

the knowledge of God through personal experience of a

order, the Ottomans showed no interest in maintaining these spiritual nature—developed its own institutions, the most important of which were the zawiya and khanqa. Zawiyas were society had experienced a rise in popular Sufism sponsored by mostly associated with Tariqas (Sufi “orders”). They spread a type of popular Sufism, which appealed to the masses, and longer, soon the institution became defunct. Sufism survived they were left free to develop from the control of the ruling in the zawiyas, which remain active today.

elite. Khanqas, known for their spread of a type of “orthodox” Sufism, often had their fate closely linked to that of the ruling elite, whose patronage was crucial to their survival.

See also

Architecture; Tariqa; Tasawwuf.

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The khanqa institution made its first appearance in Persia from where it spread rapidly to the rest of the Muslim world. Leonor. “The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir in Cairo: Its Waqf, History and Architecture.” *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 21–42.

Fernandes,

who put the institution under the control of the state. Two centuries later, the khanqa had reached its full development B. “The Sufi Convent and its Social Significance in the Medieval Period of Islam.” *Islamic Culture* 51 thanks to patronage of the Mamluks. (1977): 31–52.

Mala, S.

According to the fifteenth century historian al-Maqrizi, John Spencer. *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. Oxford, the term khanqa (Arabic form, pl. Khawaniq) derives from the Clarendon Press, 1971.

Trimingham,

U.K.:

Persian. It is formed by two words: khan, which means sultan, and kah, which means people. In the Eastern lands of Islam,

Leonor Fernandes

the term khanqa was used to refer to foundations reserved for Sufis. In these “monasteries” Sufis and their master could dedicate their lives to the practice of orthodox Sufism according to the rules set by their patrons. For medieval Egypt and Syria, the set of rules that regulated the communal life of (1856–1921)

KHAN, REZA OF BAREILLY

Sufis are known from extant endowment deeds (waqfiyyas).

Sufis and their master were generally appointed by the Reza Khan Barelwi (Bareilly) was an influential scholar

Ahmad

founder of the khanqa or his successors. They were housed in whose followers emerged in the colonial period as

and Sufi

the foundation, and were given a salary, food, and clothing.

one of two

major groupings among South Asian Sunni Sufis living in a khanqa were to remain celibate; the ones Muslims—the other being the Deobandis. Ahmad Reza’s married would spend the day there but would live outside it. voluminous writings include a translation of the Qur’an and All Sufis were required to attend the daily Sufi gatherings, many volumes of advisory opinions, or fatawa. Although perform the ritual of Dhikr (remembrance) and spend time in often called “Barelwi” by outsiders, those associated with this religious meditation. As the khanqa evolved, its function became asso- style claim the name Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama at, ciated with that of the madrasa. As a result, Sufis’ activities that is, the true Sunnis. They follow the Hanafi school of also included attending classes in the various religious sciences. legal interpretation and primarily follow the Qadiri order in Sufi affiliation.

Khanqas were mostly urban foundations to which the founders often attached their funerary domes. The plan for For the Barelwis, a good Muslim is defined as one faithful khanqas did not differ much from that of the madrasa. Most to the shari a and personally devoted to the prophet Muhamkhanqas followed the four iwan (vaulted hall) plan with an mad as continuous intercessor to Allah through the mediaopen courtyard in their middle. In time the latter’s size was tion of the Sufi master. Unlike other reformers, they participate reduced and it was covered by a roof. Fifteenth-century in ceremonies like the urs observances at Sufi shrines (the khanqas consisted of elaborate complexes that included a saint’s “wedding” with the divine) and the mawlid celebration grain mill, a bakery, an oil press, and living quarters for the of the Prophet’s birthday. Conflict with the Deobandis refounder and his family. volved around issues related to the Prophet’s attributes: his ability to see into the future, to have knowledge of the unseen, The presence of a khanqa within an urban setting affected and to be present in multiple places, all of which they the life of the individuals living around it. Often the growth of accepted. Ahmad Reza charged those who differed with him the whole quarter depended on the khanqa’s survival, and as being “Wahhabi,” a politically charged label in the colonial sometimes the ruin of the khanqa meant the gradual disap- context because it linked opponents with the militant followpearance of the quarter. ers of the Arab Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1787).

Kharijites, Khawarij

Ahmad Reza opposed participation in the Khilafat movement and, subsequently, his followers were aloof from the branch of Kharijites known as the Ibadis persevered and are found today in Oman and North Africa.

Jam'iat-e Ulama-e Hind. Mosques and madrasas identifying themselves as Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a are currently found across South Asia and in places of Indo-Pakistani settlement like Britain and South Africa. See also Law.

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Al-Khidr ("the green" man) is the guide and mentor of Moses described in Sura Kahf (Q. 18.60–82) as "Our exceptional

servant to whom We gave compassion from Ourselves and inner knowledge from Our presence." Exegetes interpret this as "God-given knowledge" (ilm laduni), which complements KHARIJITES, KHAWARIJ Moses's

knowledge of shari'a. The Qur'an narrates that Moses vowed to his servant (identified in hadith as Joshua) to reach the place where the two seas meet. When Moses learns The Kharijites, or Khawarij, began as a group of Ali's supporters who "exited" (kharaju) after the battle of Siffin

their fish has plunged into the water, he resolves to return and
 (657 C.E.), when Ali accepted arbitration (tahkim) with
 finds al-Khidr, God's exceptional servant filled with God's
 Mu awiya (r. 661–680). The “exiters” (khawarij) opposed a
 Compassion and Inner Knowledge. Moses asks to follow alhuman tribunal in place
 of a battle victory decided by God's Khidr. Al-Khidr cautions that
 since Moses will neither be
 judgment, hence their slogan, “Judgment belongs to God able to
 be patient with him nor understand, he must agree not
 alone,” echoing Qur an 6:57, 12:40, and 12:67. They subse- to ask
 any questions until al-Khidr gives him permission.
 quently identified themselves as “exchangers” (shurat) for Moses
 protests when al-Khidr scuttles the boat in which they
 God's pleasure, as in Qur anic verse 2:207. Both militant ride.
 Al-Khidr renews his warning about patience. When alactivists and quietists used
 the exchange concept in their Khidr kills a child, Moses protests, and
 receives a similar
 rhetoric, including their highly esteemed poetry. In opposi- reprimand.
 In a village where they are denied hospitality, altion to the dynastic nature
 of the Umayyads, they purported Khidr rebuilds a wall. When Moses
 protests, al-Khidr anto choose leaders by religious merit rather than by
 heritage. nounces their parting and explains the true meaning (ta'wil)
 Considering themselves true Muslims, they developed rigid of the
 events: The ferrymen were poor people whom alstandards for proving one's
 faith and for what is permissible Khidr wanted to prevent from having
 their boat seized by an
 in Islam, which led to a variety of practices and consequent approaching
 king; the child would have corrupted the faith of
 divisions. Militant groups attacked towns, engaging Umayyad his
 believing parents and will be replaced; and the wall
 generals al-Hajjaj and al-Muhallab for decades. Major leaders concealed
 an inheritance belonging to two orphan sons of a
 included the activists Nafi b. al-Azraq al-Hanafi, Qatari b. al- righteous
 man, a “treasure which is a mercy from your Lord,”
 Fuja a, and Shabib b. Yazid al-Shaybani, and quietists Najda signifying
 the deep meaning, learned through patience, that
 b. Amir al-Hanafi, and Abdallah b. Ibad al-Tamim. “Sufriyya” behind
 apparent injustice lies mercy.
 is a general term used for quietists. Many quietists took up
 arms after the Umayyad's brutal massacre of Abu Bilal Mirdas In
 al-Bukhari's collection of hadith, the prophet Muhamb. Hudayr b. Udayya and
 his men while praying, in 680. mad is quoted as saying: “He was
 named al-Khidr because
 Women were involved militarily and culturally. The Khawarij/ after he
 sat upon barren land, it became green with vegeta-
 Shurat were found variously in Arabia, Iraq, and Iran until tion.”
 Bukhari presents the story of Moses and Khidr as a

largely eradicated at the end of the Umayyad period (750). A model for seeking knowledge with diligence and humility.

390

Islam and the Muslim World

Khilafat Movement

The association of al-Khidr with Alexander the Great (356–323 editors from Delhi, their spiritual guide Maulana Abdul Bari B.C.E.) stems from the fact that the Khidr narrative in the of Lucknow, the Calcutta journalist and Islamic scholar Qur'an precedes that of Dhu l-Qarnayn (the man "of two Maulana Abu l Kalam Azad, and Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan, horns"), who is often identified with Alexander, and from the head of the Deoband madrasa. These publicist-politicians motif in the narrative of the water of life reviving a cooked and ulema viewed European attacks upon the authority of the fish; al-Khidr, like Elijah, Jesus, and Idris, is considered caliph as an attack upon Islam, and thus as a threat to the immortal. Al-Khidr is a protector of travelers, a rescuer, and a religious freedom of Muslims under British rule.

saint. In the Levant, sacred places often have multiple dedications to Khidr, Elijah, and St. George. In India, Khwaja The Khilafat issue crystallized anti-British sentiments

Khidr is depicted as resembling Vishnu's Matsya (fish) Avatar. among Indian Muslims that had been increasing since the

British declaration of war against the Ottomans in 1914. The

In Sufism, al-Khidr represents the saint and the spiritual Khilafat leaders, most of whom had been imprisoned during

master. For Sufi Qur'an commentators, al-Khidr represents the war, were already politically active in the nationalist

spiritual guidance (suhba) as distinguished from instruction movement.

Upon their release in 1919, the issue of the

(ta lim). In hagiographies, Khidr gives to humankind initia- khilafat

provided a means to achieve pan-Indian Muslim

tion, guidance, and liturgies. The famous Sufi Ibn al- Arabi political

solidarity in the anti-British cause and a source of

reported receiving al-Khidr's mantle of initiation (khirqa)

communication between the leaders and their potential mass

twice, and the poet and mystic al-Rumi's relationship to following.

The Khilafat movement also benefited from Hindu-

Shams-e Tabrizi was described by Rumi's son, Sultan Veled, Muslim

cooperation in the nationalist cause that had grown

as being like that of Moses and Khidr. during the

war, beginning with the Lucknow Pact of 1916

between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim

See also Prophets.

League, and culminating in the protest against the Rowlatt

anti-sedition bills in 1919. The Congress, now led by Mahatma

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called for nonviolent noncooperation against the

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Gandhi espoused the Khilafat cause, as he saw in it

genesis of Qur an 18.60–96." Journal of Near Eastern Studies the

opportunity to rally Muslim support for the Congress.

57, no. 3: 191–215.

The Ali

brothers and their allies, in turn, provided the

noncooperation movement with some of its most enthusias-

Hugh Talat Halman tic troops.

The combined Khilafat-noncooperation movement was

the first all-India agitation against British rule. It saw an

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

unprecedented degree of Hindu-Muslim cooperation and it

established Gandhi and his technique of nonviolent protest

The Khilafat movement (1919–1924) was an agitation on the

(satyagraha) at the center of the Indian nationalist movement.

part of some Indian Muslims, allied with the Indian national-

Mass mobilization using religious symbols was remarkably

ist movement, during the years following World War I. Its

successful, and the British Indian government was shaken. In

purpose was to pressure the British government to preserve

late 1921 the government moved to suppress the movement.

the authority of the Ottoman sultan as caliph of Islam.

The Ali brothers were arrested for incitement to violence,

Integral to this was the Muslims' desire to influence the

tried, and imprisoned. Gandhi suspended the noncooperatreaty-making process

following the war in such a way as to

tion movement in early 1922, following a riot in the village of

restore the 1914 boundaries of the Ottoman empire. The

Chauri Chaura that resulted in the deaths of the local police.

British government treated the Indian Khilafat delegation of

He was arrested, tried, and imprisoned soon thereafter. The

1920, headed by Muhammad Ali, as quixotic pan-Islamists,

Turks dealt the final blow by abolishing the Ottoman sultanate

and did not change its policy toward Turkey. The Indian

in 1922 and the caliphate in 1924.

Muslims' attempt to influence the treaty provisions failed, as

the European powers went ahead with territorial adjust-

See also

South Asia, Islam in.

ments, including the institution of mandates over formerly

Ottoman Arab territories.

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The significance of the Khilafat movement, however, lies

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less in its supposed pan-Islamism than in its impact upon the (1925). Reprint. Delhi: Deep Publications, 1974.

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educated Indian Muslims and ulema over the religious symbol of the khilafat (caliphate). This leadership included the Political Mobilization in India. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Ali brothers—Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali—newspaper

Islam and the Muslim World

391

Khirqa

Qureshi, M. Naeem. Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A dynasty in Urgench, a city in the north of Khiva, today Study of the Khilafat Movement. Leiden: Brill, 1999. situated in Uzbekistan. In 1619, following a catastrophic drought, the capital of the khanate was moved to Khiva. By Gail Minault the late seventeenth century the effective reign of the Yadigarids began to decline, and their successive khans were left as protégés of influential Uzbek clans. During this period the unvarying assaults by Turkmen tribes, in addition to the KHIRQA endeavors at subjugation by Peter the Great of Russia in 1719, and by Nadir Shah of Persia in 1740, accelerated the A khirqa is a wool cloak, often patched (muraqqa a). Sufis process of disintegration of the khanate. In 1804, Inaq Iltuzer wore the khirqa as a sign of having embarked on the Sufi path deposited the latest Yadigarid khan and established the Qungrats dynasty. from at least the eighth century. By the eleventh century Sufis Following their earlier unsuccessful attempts to had developed ways of transmitting spiritual knowledge and conquer the khanate, the Russians eventually (1873) occupied authority: Sufi authors describe the binding of a disciple to a Khiva and imposed a protectorate status on the khanate. The master through an oath (the akhdh al- ahd or the bay a), protectorate status lasted until 1920 when, with the aid of Red Army, the era of the khanate of Khiva came to an end and (silsila), the inculcation (talqin) of a method of prayer (dhikr), Khiva became the capital of the newborn Khwarezm People's and the bestowal of the khirqa from a master to a disciple. Soviet Republic. In 1924 Khiva was incorporated into the

Investiture with the khirqa had an initiatic aspect. A disciple Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan. could be given the khirqa at the beginning of his training with a shaykh, in which case the khirqa indicated that the disciple In the khanate of Khiva, the khan was the absolute suhad been invested with the means necessary for progressing preme ruler in all affairs. During the early period of its along the path. The bestowal of a khirqa could certify that the formation, the khanate was divided between the male associnovice had been trained by a master who could attest to his ates of the ruling dynasties, each enjoying the military supspiritual fitness and preparedness. The silsila and the khirqa port of various leading tribes. However, following the served the same purposes as the chain of authority (isnad) and establishment of Qungrats dynasty, the administrative hierthe certificate of permission (ijaza) in ulema circles: They archy was systematically developed. Below the khan was the certified that the Sufi had studied and trained under an divan-begi or prime minister, who was followed by the kushauthoritative master, whose spiritual pedigree could be traced begi, who was in charge of military affairs, and finally the back to the Prophet, and they gave him the authority to mehter, who ran the civil administration of the khanate. transmit a particular spiritual way.

Furthermore, the khanate was divided into a capital and twenty districts, known as begliks; each beglik was governed by See also Clothing; Khilafat Movement; Tasawwuf. a hakim or local governor. The nomads' chieftains, usually bypassing the hakims, were directly accountable to the khan.

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On the eve of the twentieth century, the population of the KHIVA, KHANATE OF khanate of Khiva was estimated at 700,000. A majority of the

people worked in agriculture, either as tenant farmers, share-croppers, or slaves. Cotton, wheat, and fruits were the main agricultural products. Cattle breeding was common among the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, to the south of the Aral Sea and along the lower course of the Amu Darya River. The Turkmen. The Sarts chiefly engaged in foreign trade, the main ethnic groups living in the khanate were Uzbeks, which was mainly with Russia and Iran.

Turkmen, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, and Sarts, the latter being the original inhabitants of the region. During the Soviet era, the city of Khiva, like the other old khanate capitals, lost its political importance.

The first ruler of the khanate was Sultan Ilbars, who had a Shaybanid Uzbek connection. He founded the Yadigarids See also Central Asian Culture and Islam.

392

Islam and the Muslim World
Khomeini, Ruhollah

BIBLIOGRAPHY the Indian subcontinent from about the thirteenth century onward.

Hambly, G. Central Asia. London: Weidenfeld and More particularly, it included certain groups, pre-dominantly from Gujarat and Cutch, who retained strong ethnic roots and caste customs while sustaining their History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva. Muslim religious identity under continual threats of persecution. In Oxford, U.K.: Central Asian Research Centre & St. the nineteenth century, the Isma ili imam (office of Antony's College – Soviet Affairs Study Group, 1959. the imam) became established in India and a program of Soucek, S. A History of Inner Asia. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

institutions began. These changes led to differences of opinion among Khojas. While the majority of the Khojas remained Isma ili, one group became Ithna Ashari and a smaller number adopted Sunnism.

In the context of the overall policy of the Isma ili imam of KHO I, ABO L-QASEM the time, Aga Khan III, of consolidating the Shi a Isma ili (1898–1992) identity of his followers, the ethnic connotation of being

“Khoja” became diluted over time and a wider sense of self-Sayyed Abo l-Qasem Musavi, Grand Ayatollah, was born in identification as Isma ili Muslims began to emerge. With the Khoi, Azerbaijan. He was one of the well-known Shi ite increasing recognition of the diversity of the worldwide maraje (sources of emulation). His book *Ajvad al-Taqrirat* Isma ili community itself and the positive value of the pluralist (The best interpretations) is one of the more important texts heritage represented within each of the traditions, the Khojas in Shi ite seminaries. His other book, *Al-Bayan* (Explananow regard themselves as an integral part of the larger

tion), is a comprehensive text on Qur an commentaries. He community, to whose development they make a strong taught at the highest level of seminaries in Najaf, Iraq. He contribution.

also instituted the Al-Khu i Foundation with many branches around the world, including London and New York. The Khoja Ithna Asharis, while seeking to develop rela- Kho i was apparently the undisputed marja of Iraq and tions with the larger Twelver Shi a community, retain their gained ground among the Shi ite people of Iran, Lebanon, own organizational framework.

India, and other parts of the Muslim world. Kho i was a The Khojas live today in East Africa, the Indian subcontitraditionalist of the old school and disagreed with the notion of clerical rule, or the Islamic state under the rule of the jurist nent, Europe, and North America and show a strong (velayat-e faqih), as put forward by the Ayatollah Khomeini. commitment to values of Muslim philanthropy in their entrepreneurship and contribution to societies in which Kho i had good relations with the shah of Iran and they live. received the Iranian queen shortly before the Islamic revolution of 1979. After the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, Kho i, See also Aga Khan; Nizari; South Asia, Islam in.

having observed absolute silence during the Iraq-Iran war (1980–1988), published an anti-Saudi fatwa prohibiting the

Azim Nanji

“recourse to the non-believers against Muslims “and inviting the latter “to resist to the enemies of God, who seek to attack Islam.” This was reportedly issued under great pressure from Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. KHOMEINI,

RUHOLLAH

(1902–1989)

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Iran, Ruhollah Khomeini became one of the most influential
Eslamieh, 1974.

theologians of the twentieth century. A prolific writer and
charismatic speaker, Khomeini inspired millions of Iranians
Majid Mohammadi
to rise up against the Pahlavi regime and establish Iran as a
truly Islamic republic.

KHOJAS

Khomeini was born in 1902 in Khumayn, into a family of
Shi ite clerics. As a child and young man, he learned Arabic
Derived from the Persian khwajah, a term of honor, the word and
studied Islamic law, and by 1923 he was a student in the
Khoja referred to those converted to Nizari Isma ili Islam in holy city
of Qum. Here Khomeini dedicated nearly forty

Islam and the Muslim World

393

Khutba

years to the study of traditional shari a, as well as mysticism, against
author Salman Rushdie for having written a novel that
gnosticism, ethics, and philosophy. contained
passages offensive to his view of Islam. Khomeini
died in June 1989, still hugely popular among the people who
By 1944, Khomeini had grown increasingly angry at the looked to him
as Iran's spiritual leader. His funeral was
secularization of Iranian life under Reza Shah Pahlavi. He attended by
over one million mourners.
continued to teach at Qum, but also began his prolific career
of political writings. Over the next two decades he collected See also
Iran, Islamic Republic of; Muhammad Reza
disciples, whom he taught to relate their study of the shari a to Shah
Pahlevi; Revolution: Islamic Revolution in Iran.
all aspects of public and private life.

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Algar, Hamid. "Imam Khomeini: The Pre-Revolutionary
leading anti-Pahlavi protests in Qum. Horrified by the vio-
Years." In Islam, Politics, and Social Movements. Edited by
lence of the government's response, he became the leading E.
Burke III and I. M. Lapidus. Berkeley: University of
religious figure opposing the regime. Exiled for his outspo-
California Press, 1988.
ken views, he ultimately went to Iraq (1965), settling in the Arjomand,
Said A. The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic
holiest of Shi ite cities, Najaf. Through his writings, how-
Revolution in Iran. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

ever, Khomeini's views were widely disseminated throughout Brunner, Rainer, and Ende, Werner, eds. The Twelver Shia in Modern Iran, denouncing the shah and his allies in the United States. Times: Religious, Cultural, and Political History. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

In 1978, a variety of anti-Pahlavi forces—leftists, mer-Khomeini, Ruhollah. Islam and Revolution. Translated by chants, and ulema—rose up in open revolt, inspired by Hamid Algar. Berkeley, Calif.: Mizan Press, 1981. Khomeini's vision of a new future for Iran that eliminated the corruption of the shah's regime. Finally, in January 1979, the Nancy L. Stockdale shah fled Iran and Khomeini returned from exile to lead the revolution. In March 1979 a referendum established the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Khomeini became its spiritual leader.

KHUTBA

In opposing the shah, Khomeini had taken the title of The sermon, or khutba, serves as the primary formal occasion for public imam, legitimizing his leadership by associating himself with preaching the Islamic tradition. Sermons occur regularly, Holy Imams of Iranian Shi ism. Surrounding himself by a as prescribed by the teachings of almost all legal schools, at coterie of former students, he created a revolutionary govern- the noon (zuhr) congregation prayer on Friday, the weekly ment dedicated to restoring Islam to the center of Iranian life. day of assembly, which it is incumbent upon all free and He created new national institutions predicated on the teach- addition, able adult male Muslim residents to attend. In similar sermons are called for on the two festival days, or in cated property of the previous rulers to pay for his reforms. Although he called for an elected governing body, all political although these sermons are expected to contain features relevant offices were reserved for clerics. In an attempt to shake off to the celebrations or the natural phenomena at hand. For Western influences, he supported the 1979 occupation of the instruct instance, on id al-fitr the preacher is charged to United States embassy, holding its staff hostage, and thereby touching off a world crisis. id al-adha he is to include remarks specifying rules for the sacrifice.

In 1980, Iraq invaded Iran with United States support. Sermons The war, which lasted eight years, became increasingly un- pronounced or related types of religious oratory may be popular, and Khomeini ultimately agreed to sign a cease-fire.

in a variety of settings and at various times, but
 In its aftermath, Khomeini continued his attempt to create a the term
 khutba, abbreviating the more ample expression
 truly theocratic state, suppressing dissenters, including those khutba
 al-jum'a, usually refers only to the address delivered in
 who practiced minority variants of Islam. the mosque
 at these weekly and annual rituals. Other occasions of preaching may be
 described as a lesson (dars) or an
 As ruling jurist of the new, theocratic Iran, Khomeini admonition
 (wa'z), and their formats would differ accordingly.
 grew increasingly vehement in putting down dissent, ordering mass executions of
 prisoners who had run afoul of his The khutba is believed to have
 its origins in the practice of
 revolutionary courts. Isolated from the West by his anti- the prophet
 Muhammad, who used to speak words of exhor-
 American rhetoric and from the Soviet Union for his insis- tation,
 instruction, or command at gatherings for worship in
 tence on the centrality of religion in his government, he the mosque,
 which consisted of the courtyard of his house in
 further incensed outside observers when, in February 1989, Medina.
 However, the word khutba with this technical meanhe issued a fatwa (a judgement
 carrying the sentence of death) ing does not appear in the Qur'an. But one
 passage that

394

Islam and the Muslim World

Khutba

explicitly alludes to the Friday noon prayer summons believ- to a few
 central locations, but are common in mosques of all
 ers to "the remembrance of God" (dhikr Allah) [Q. 62:9], an sizes
 and conditions, as well as being dispensed through
 expression that some commentators have regarded as denot- newspapers
 and broadcast on radio and television. Moreover,
 ing the sermon. a formidable
 market of sermons circulated on cassette recordings has emerged in recent
 decades, providing an especially
 Building on this precedent, the khutba has been closely appealing medium
 for dissident preachers who are denied
 associated with authoritative discourse in several important access to
 official channels.
 ways. Initially, for example, the delivery of the Friday sermon
 was restricted to the caliph himself, or his official representa-
 Finally, the khutba has drawn traditional authority from its
 tives such as provincial governors. Eventually, however, the conformity
 to a classically defined structure and rhetorical
 task was delegated to others, chosen for their learning and style.
 Recommendations regarding preaching arise, for ineloquence, who then spoke in

the ruler's name. From this stance, in certain hadith, such as the well-known dictum: relationship, the practice emerged that the preacher (khatib) "Make your prayers (salat) long and your sermon (khutba) was obliged to include within the sermon an explicit mention short." But the recognized legal sources also specify set of the sovereign, normally in the form of a blessing upon him. features and formulas for the validity of a khutba's performance. This aspect of the sermon resulted in a political function for ance. First, a Friday sermon must consist of two parts, khutba as it became, notably in periods of great tension and sometimes referred to as two sermons, between which a pause instability, the moment for signaling a change of regime, a occurs. Second, within the sermon, a preacher is obliged to shift in loyalty, or a call for rebellion. pronounce the praise of God, blessings upon the Prophet, and prayers on behalf of the congregation. Third, he is to In modern times, the naming of a ruler in a Friday sermon exhort his listeners to virtue, such as warning of judgment, has largely fallen into disuse, except perhaps on patriotic and to recite from the Qur'an. occasions, although the established bond between the pulpit and political legitimacy has not disappeared. This deeply Sermons were also to be delivered in classical Arabic, a rooted relationship helps to account for the shape of contro- linguistic requirement that not only assumed substantial training on verses in many Islamic lands, where governments may vari- the part of preachers if their sermons were to ously, through financial subsidies or censorship, seek control consist of original compositions, but a notable degree of education on over preachers, while some who contest this assertion in the the part of listeners, especially non-Arab Muslim of reform or resistance may resort to sermons as limits, if the sermons were to be fully intelligible. Not surprisingly, this expectation of the khutba contributed to the growth of a literary genre consisting of model sermons, such as those Another important way that sermons have expressed their by the renowned Ibn Nubata (d. 984), which were committed authority derives from the physical context framing their to memory by some preachers and then recited with little presentation. Traditionally, as defined by classical legal adaptation. However, preaching in colloquial languages, while treatises, Friday congregational prayers were restricted to often retaining certain Arabic expressions, has become in urban centers and normally to one major mosque in each city. increasingly common. This, in turn, has led to disputes be-

Such a site designated as a masjid jami , that is, a “Friday Mosque” or a “cathedral mosque,” would typically be distinguished by its central location, extraordinary dimensions, and by the audience.

monumental architecture. This facility would also contain a number of symbolic furnishings indicative of its exalted elements of Islamic learning and piety in stature, the most demonstrative of which was a ritual pulpit or minbar. Like many modern

times, the sermon has been the object of concerted efforts at reform and revitalization. These efforts have led to a renewed scholarly interest in the history of the khutba and a widening enthusiasm regarding its use.

frequently impressively built and adorned, that the sermon was proclaimed, and only the preacher would occupy it. See also Arabic Language; Ibadat; Minbar (Mimbar); Likewise, a number of fixed rubrics were to accompany the Religious Institutions. Masjid;

khutba. These specified such details as the preacher’s dress, his posture, a sequence of standing and sitting, and the directive that he speak while leaning on a bow, a sword, or a staff. In the contemporary Islamic world, many of these BIBLIOGRAPHY Antoun, Richard T. Muslim Preacher in the Modern World: A Jordanian Case Study in Comparative Perspective. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1089.

archaic specifications may no longer be observed, while other culturally appropriate elements have been adopted. Most Berkey, Jonathan P. Popular Preaching and Religious Authority notably, both in largely Islamic lands and elsewhere, Friday in the Medieval Islamic Near East. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Islam and the Muslim World

395

Khwarazm

A mullah delivers a sermon, or khutba, in Termez, Uzbekistan. The majority of religious schools require a weekly khutba on Fridays, the Muslim day of assembly. All able male adults are expected to attend. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Gaffney, Patrick D. The Prophet’s Pulpit: Islamic Preaching in Mut azilite controversy, of which al-Kindi appeared to have Contemporary Egypt. Berkeley: University of California

affinities with Mu tazilism.

Press, 1994.

Wensinck, A. J. "Khutba." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2d ed.

A significant contribution of al-Kindi is his assimilation

Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. and

appropriation of Greek science and philosophy, writing

nearly two hundred and fifty treatises on philosophy and

Patrick D. Gaffney science, of which less than forty are extant.

Examples of this

assimilation are his adoption of such Aristotelian concepts as

the act/potency, form/matter, substance/accident relations,

and the four causes. One also finds hints of Neoplatonism in

KHWARAZM See Khiva, Khanate of his

discussion of the "one" and the "many" in his *On First*

Philosophy and his subsequent positing of the One True

Being. Still al-Kindi did not blindly follow the Greeks,

especially when Greek philosophy contradicted the Qur'an.

Thus, notably, he rejected the eternity of the world, a doc-

KINDI, AL- (801–866)

trine held by most Greek philosophers and most other

Islamic falsafa (e.g., al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and Ibn Rushd).

Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq al-Sabbah al-Kindi, also known

as "the philosopher of the Arabs," was born around 801 and

Al-Kindi's scientific achievements included work in mathematics, optics,

around 866. He belonged to the courts of the matics, optics,

medicine, and music. Again, although Greek

caliphs al-Ma'mun and al-Mu'tasim, but lost influence at the

scientists such as Hippocrates, Euclid, and Ptolemy influenced his life during

the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil. Al-enced him, his work shows

originality, especially in optics and

Kindi flourished during the period of both the Arabic transla-

medicine.

tion movement of Greek philosophical and scientific texts, of

which he played a limited role as a translator, and the See

also Falsafa; Mu'tazilites, Mu'tazila.

396

Islam and the Muslim World

Knowledge

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The

nonobservational dimension of scientific knowledge

Ivry, Alfred. *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics: A Translation of Ya'qub Ibn* employs

concepts in a syntax depicting logical and mathe-

Ishaq al-Kindi's *Treatise "On First Philosophy"*. Albany: State matical

axioms of the model used in scientific theory. Here,

University of New York Press, 1974.

knowledge is

achieved primarily by carrying out an analysis of

Jolivet, Jean, and Rashed, Roshdi. "Al-Kindi". Vol. 15, suppl. concepts and making deductions of conclusions from premises according to valid rules of logic, thus preserving a value of correspondence of truth that continues, unbroken, from the premises to conclusion. Muslims contributed to the development of logic through the discussion of temporal modalities, including the modalities of necessity, impossibility, and contingency. Within these discussions, these modalities, along with temporal indexes, were relevant in evaluating the truth value of statements.

The concept of knowledge in Islam is generally designated by a small number of Muslims, such as Abu Hamid Ghazali (d. 1111), two Arabic terms that have overlapping meanings but different connotations, *ilm* and *ma rifa*. *Ilm* designates knowledge, René Descartes, followed the views of ancient Greek skeptics, edge, the "science or study of" a field such as the Qur'an, who held that neither perception nor analysis provides cerprophetic traditions (hadith), grammar, dialectical theology tainty. In spite of such occasional skepticism, philosophers (kalam), and astronomy. It also denotes the knowledge of subsequent to Aristotle, including Muslims as well as Jews God in particular. *Ma rifa* acquired two different meanings, and Christians, followed Aristotle's classification of scientific secular knowledge on the one hand and gnosticism (secret knowledge into three kinds: theoretical (in which the subjectknowledge) on the other. This latter sense was particularly matter of knowledge is not related to the inquirer), practical characteristic of the language of tasawwuf (Sufism). The (where the inquirer is involved in the inquiry), and productive mystical Islamic vision of knowledge expresses the celebrated (which aims to produce useful entities).

Arabic proverb that "He who knows [has the gnosis of] his soul also knows [has the gnosis of] his God."

Whereas, in Aristotelian philosophy, there are three categories of scientific knowledge, there are five kinds of theoretical inquiries, or sciences. First, are the dialectical religious even richer complexity of breadth and depth. For example, sciences, such as *kalam* (speculative theology) and *fiqh* (discishi r also translates as knowledge, but usually in the special plined interpretation of the sources of the sacred law). Next is sense of learning or knowing something intuitively. One of

philosophy, understood as a study of being and a study of the primary meanings of shi r is “poetry.” Fiqh means to causes. Here subjects of inquiry are unrelated to physical understand or comprehend something, to have knowledge of bodies (things) in definition or examples. The next type of something, particularly legal knowledge. The chief antonym speculative inquiry is analysis, to which belong the disciplines or opposite of ilm is jahl, which connotes ignorance, but also of mathematics, logic, and music. Here the subjects of inquiry includes the concepts of boorishness and cultural crudeness. are not related by definition, but are conceptually related to Islam teaches that the time before the revelation of the physical bodies. Finally there are the natural sciences, such as Qur an was a dark age of ignorance of knowledge of God. physics proper, physics of motion, astronomy, meteorology, This era is called the Jahiliyya. zoology, botany, and psychology. Here, both definitions and The Traditional Sense of Knowledge examples are related to bodies. Finally, there are the practical The key sense of knowledge, in both Persian and Arabic, sciences, which include public management (with religious then, is the one attributed to ilm. This term is related to the laws and politics as subdisciplines), and household manage- ment. Persian danish, the Latin scientia, and the Greek episteme. In Subdisciplines of the latter include the science of the ordinary English, this term refers to the concept of scientific household, civics, which concerns one’s duty as a citizen, the knowledge. By adopting this sense of knowledge for the science of the self, which includes the various senses, and the sciences, the subsequent Jewish, Christian, and Muslim science of the soul. epistemologies formulated natural science as having two major constituents: (external) sense experience and analytic Among all of the aforementioned sciences, the subdiscipline conception. According to this epistemology, external senses of practical science known as the science of the soul is most provide the knowledge of the surface of bodies. Both sense relevant to epistemology. Like those of its Western counterdata and analytical (mathematical and logical) axioms are parts, Islamic epistemologies follow Aristotle’s tripartite doconstituents of an axiomatic system, which provided the trine of the classification of the souls into vegetative, animal, genesis of contemporary notion of a “model.” Such a system and rational types. Two kinds of intelligence, the passive and uses scientific laws to both explain and predict nature. the active, mark the rational soul. The passive intellect

Knowledge

This painting from a thirteenth-century Seljuk Turkish manuscript in Arabic called “The best Maxims and Most Precious Dictums of Al-Mubashir” depicts a philosophical debate between master and students. THE ART ARCHIVE/TOPKAPI MUSEUM ISTANBUL/DAGLI ORTI

abstracts conceptual features from the sensible, such as the and
 expressed by service to humanity in imitation of Imam
 symmetry between two figures; whereas the active reason Husayn and
 Isa (Jesus).
 receives by intuition the first principles of science. Muslim
 philosophers and theologians, like other medieval monothe- Three
 Senses of “Imagination” and a Creative Vision
 istic theologies, added a religious, spiritual dimension to the of
 Knowledge
 active intelligence. Traditional
 epistemology divides the senses into the five
 external senses (sight, touch, taste, smell, and hearing), and a
 Al- aql (reason, intellect) has many functions in Islamic set of
 “internal senses,” such as memory. Muslims extend the
 thought. In theology and law it is usually contrasted with Greek
 theories of internal sense, which included common
 tradition (naql or sam). While a majority of epistemologies of sense and
 the notion of memory as “sense imagery,” into
 physical sciences follow the Aristotelian model, in the mysti- refined
 accounts of “intentional” memory and three special
 cal as well as the post-Ibn Sina (Avicenna, b. 980, d. 1037) senses of
 imagination. In this usage, a psychological notion is
 traditions, Muslims go beyond the peripatetic (that is to say,
 “intentional” if it fails the so-called rule of extensionality.
 Aristotelian) model. For example, the Muslim instrumental This rule
 can be exemplified in the following way. Suppose
 theory of knowledge emphasizes the intentional, pragmatic, “John
 thinks he loves Mary” and “Mary is a spy”; it does not
 practical, and normative senses of knowledge. Moreover, it follow that
 “John thinks that he loves a spy.” A number of
 also encompasses an account of knowledge as wisdom, which
 philosophers hold that intentional notions cannot be exincludes but goes beyond
 discursive science by seeking norms, plained by a materialistic,
 reductionist psychology. Because
 and thus partakes of the search for the secret of the good life. Muslim
 philosophical psychology followed an experiential or
 For the religious devotee, the best life is lived in imitation of a
 phenomenological method, it did not use materialistic
 the lives of the prophets, like Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, causes to

explain a number of psychological notions.

398

Islam and the Muslim World Knowledge

In this light, new Muslim theories of imagination ex- has fallen in
love. This person begins to comprehend her or
tended beyond the passive, reproductive type to embrace his
transformation from a self-involved individual to an entity
creative and productive types of images experienced, in both who is part
of a union with a partner in the context of love,
waking and dream states, variously characterizing it as: (a) marriage,
and family. To the members of such a couple, their
imagination providing cognitively significant icons, (b) im- child is a
living testimony to their intended union through
agination providing sacred and mystical insights, and finally marriage.
(c) an intentional sense of imagination with pragmatic and
prehensive significances (when the meaning of an event is In
Islam, revelation and sacred insights are provided to a
different for every person, i.e., love). privileged
few, such as the prophets, imams, mystics, and
Ayatollah-jurists. These images imparted are not of particu-
The first sense of iconic imagination points to the creative lar objects,
which are available through the senses, but of
role assigned to visions and dreams, and follows an earlier societal
and meta-legal dictums, from the Qur'an and other
tradition, exemplified in the Hebrew Bible. It is the sense of sources,
delineating religious social law (shari'a) and formal
Joseph's celebrated interpretation of the pharaoh's dream,
jurisprudence. It is the third sense of imagination, as an
where a specific dream has a social significance. The cogni-
intentional sense of imagination with pragmatic and prehensive
tive import of this interpretation points to an iconic imagery
significances, that signals a radical departure of Islamic episthrough a
natural revelation. This medium (the dream) con- temology from the
confines of mainstream, realistic, discurtains insights about future events,
mediated by an agent, the sive epistemology. A paradigmatic case of this
type of
pharaoh in this case, who is not a prophet; instead, he or she is
epistemology is the notion of prehensive imagination (wahn), as
a spokesperson who can be understood in the role of the illustrated
by the example of a sheep running away from a
religious archetype of the messenger. Consequently, in addi- wolf,
providing a symbolic representation of apprehension
tion to its psychological and therapeutic significance, the
(realization) of fear.
iconography of mystical and religious symbolism and rituals

contains cognitive information about the actual world. Muslim philosophers took the Aristotelian notion of active reason, extended it, and incorporated it into their mystical framework. The most celebrated of these kinds of symbolism is the light motif, employed by Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus, all distinguishing faculties of the human soul are passive and three of whom use light to symbolize self-realization and active faculties of reason. Passive reason expresses the soul's mystical progress. Plotinus takes this symbolism the furthest, ability to abstract non-sensible relations from experience, for using an allegorical or symbolic type of theology to express example, in observing the topological symmetry between two the emanation of the word from the One (which is supra-figures. In such an operation, the mind does not create a new being) in the language of illumination (he also uses the datum in the actual world, but has the ability to abstract analogies of a fountain of water and the reflection in the relations of particulars observed by the senses. A majority of mirror). In a similar vein, the Qur'an depicts God as the Light the Muslim philosophers who followed Aristotle did not of the Heavens and the earth. Following from this, the share the Platonic view that interpreted mathematical and illumination philosophy of Suhrawardi depicts the ultimate being (God) as the Light of Lights, with the rest of the world as suprasensible realities independent of human being its emanation. Other symbolism includes drowning in few philosophers, such as Shihab ad-Din Suhrawardi the water (recalling the fish as a symbol of Christ in Christian and Mir Damad (d. 1631) adopted the realist iconography), and the flight of the birds toward the heavens. In taking mathematics to be re-cognition of actual In Islamic carpets, four-footed animals depict the body, the and not intellectual abstraction from particulars. tree symbolizes the various phases of life-experience, and a philosophers postulated that, unlike passive bird depicts the soul. Other ways of symbolically depicting active intelligence demonstrates an ability to intuit the mystical way of self-realization include parables that tell principles of science, such as the premises of Euclid of awakening (attaining puberty) and stories of birds caught in geometry. They held that, as these axioms are derived by by hunters. deduction, we can derive knowledge of arithmetic, various types of geometries, and other analytical sciences, which These examples illustrate various different dimensions of frameworks that are used in the empirical sciences.

other forms

minds. A

(d. 1234)

ontology

entities

Most Muslim

intellect,

the first

can geometry.

provide the

the Islamic notion of knowledge. To begin with, the primary sense of knowledge used in science is to explain experience Theological Knowledge as an Activity and to predict the future, in order to produce a technology The celebrated theologian Abu Hamid Ghazali (1058–1111) that will control nature for useful projects. In contrast, the proffered that philosophy should begin with an inquiry into how aim of the present iconographically related experience trans- creation. creatures should imitate the Divine will in the act of forms a person through dealienation—through the recogni- tion that an individual participates in a larger social or the theoretical axiom of the ancient Persian Zoroastrian spiritual context. Consider the case of a young person who religion, according to which believers, by positive living—for

Islam and the Muslim World

399

Knowledge

This painting depicts Ibn al-Muqaffa trapping birds in a net, from the fourteenth-century Persian manuscript of the Tale of Kalila and Dimna. The term *ilm* is the primary type of knowledge in Persian and Arabic; its English translation refers to the concept of scientific knowledge, but in the Islamic tradition it also indicates knowledge of Allah. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL LIBRARY CAIRO/DAGLI ORTI

example, being engaged in farming, begetting children, de- the refinements of Muslim epistemologies, it is necessary to veloping cities, and creating social order—adopt a perspec- use the frameworks of post-peripatetic Western philosotive that denies the evil force (Ahriman). Evil here is understood phers. Recent Muslim investigators such as Nader El-Bizri as the denial of life and the privation of all existence. use the conceptual frameworks of philosophers such as Gottfried von Leibniz (1646–1716), who held the nexus In this tenor, Ghazali outlined a list of mystical virtues, of metaphysics is monads as energy; Martin Heidegger which are both epistemic and ethical. They include archetypal (1889–1976), who began his metaphysics by the temporal recall (memory), exuberance, intimacy, and a taste for life. concept of “being-in-the world”; Alfred North Whitehead Such a doctrine moves ontology from an investigation of (1861–1947), who proffered a process instead of a substancesubstances to the pursuit of the good will. Ghazali posits that event metaphysics); and Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970), who facts and values are interrelated. His thought also upholds an clarified the notion of “scientific model.”

instrumental theory of knowledge, rejecting the so-called spectator theory, which places the mind of the agent outside Mystical Knowledge as an Authentic of the object of knowledge. In contrast, Ghazali's instrumental Hermeneutic Dealienation theory of knowledge mixes ethics with a practical sense of It is revealing that Ibn Sina, who was one of the most knowledge. significant Muslim philosophers, wrote an Arabic version of Plato's Symposium, wherein he shared with the Greek philosopher Up to the last thirty years of the twentieth century, most the vision that love is the salvation of the human investigators approached Islamic philosophy from the stand-soul. For Plato, the highest knowledge is a confrontation with point of Aristotlian thought. This approach imposed a lim- the Absolute Good, a stance that is analogous to the notion of ited rendering of Islamic epistemology in the peripatetic, Shahada (being an authentic witness to God's gifts—unique static context of the discursive knowledge of external senses existence, guidance, and creation) as presented in Islamic and axiomatic system. However, to take account of some of mystical theology. In addition, Ibn Sina's version shares with 400

Islam and the Muslim World

Knowledge

Plotinus's vision a view of the mystical journey as a return to experiences, as well as by its psychosomatic features, such as the origin and the ground of all existence. habits and unconscious behaviors.

For Ibn Sina, three main phases of this journey are Philosophical Knowledge as an alienation, love, and union. In the first phase, a person Immediate Encounter with "Being" individuates his or her personality by building a castle, a wall Ibn Sina and a number of his successors challenged the of privacy, that protects and distinguishes the person from peripatetic model of knowledge by adopting the phenomenoother. Soon, this castle or wall of protection imprisons the logical method, in which ontology is not separated from person and alienates him or her from the rest of humanity and epistemology. Here, philosophy begins with the world as it is nature. In the next phase, by falling in love, a person tran- revealed in experience. Accordingly, Ibn Sina, Nasir al-Din scends his or her egocentric perspective to form a relation of Tusi (d. 1274), Mulla Sadra (b.1571–1640), and others reintimacy, leading to the

opening up of an authentic encounter placed the substance-event language of ontology with an

with others. This is a phase that is often depicted through the intentional phenomenology of the mind's direct encounter

archetypal role of the beloved, who acts as a mediator figure, a with "being" (wujud, hasti). Subsequent, ontology proceeds

logos, or through the role of a prophet, who links the alienated by an application of "being" to three modalities (impossibility to its source. Finally the last phase is a mystical union ity, contingency, and necessity), which then results in impossibility between the person, symbolized as a river that flows toward possible entities (such as a round square), necessary entities

Divine-nature, which is the origin, arche, as well as the (namely the Necessary Existent), and contingent entities

completion of the person. This union is often depicted as a (such as an entity of humanity, a unicorn, or a chair).

drop of water joining a river that returns it to an ocean.

In the next phase, the mind encounters the subject of being-in the world—experience. This entity is not a Cartesian substance, but rather a field of experience. It is similar to distinct but interrelated dimensions of knowledge that can be the phenomenal self, or the notion of "a transcendental unity illustrated in the common pedagogy used to teach a foreign of apperception," as it is termed in the philosophy of Immanuel language. The teacher instructs the pupil to perform external Kant (1724–1804). It is also analogous to Martin Heidegger's naturally imposed tasks, such as memorizing a set of words, using (1889–1976) notion of "dasein." Unlike Aristotle and, later, verb-conjugation flashcards, practicing writing exercises, and René Descartes, (1596–1650), Kant, David Hume (1711–1176), repeating sentences in conversation courses. The pupil and Heidegger, as well as a number of other Western thinkers, maintain a certain level of knowledge in vocabulary and rules of

ers, reject the view that a human soul is a substance.

grammar. Having reached this stage, the pupil can now

recognize the content of a conversation and a written French The

third phase is an inquiry for the inner-essence (dhat)

communication. In a similar sense, the more persons in love of the self.

This notion differs from another sense of (common) experiences, like cooking and traveling together, vision) essence (mahiyya) shared by other members of the same

iting each others' parents, and working on common tasks, the species.

For example, it is common to say that an essence of a

more they "prehend" each other's personality and are able to

child's mother, like the essence of any human, is her possession of a rational soul; crucial decisions such as marriage.

but for the child, there is another, existential sense of “essence” (expressed by the Arabic-Persian This notion of “prehension,” as used in the philosophy of ‘dhat’), which concerns the peculiar dependence of a specific Alfred North Whitehead, signifies an epistemic, non-conscious child to a particular mother. In Persian mystical poetry, God, state of immediate-intimacy and intuition, is also expressed or one’s mother, is depicted as “the existence of my existby the Arabic-Persian term, hal, which refers to the role of the ence,” or “the cause of the actualization of my life.” The mystical master in directing his disciple. For example, a mystics seek a connection with this sense of essence. The person believing himself to be pious is directed to walk into a nature mystics add a last phase to this process, namely a bazaar carrying bloody pig meat on his shoulder, which search for a dealienation or the unity of existence (wahadt almakes people lose their respect for him. After such an experi- wujud). Here we come back to the celebrated Arabic proverb, ence, he loses his pride and is able to reflect authentically on that “he who knows [gnosis] his self-soul, also knows [gnosis] the ground of his soul. Such tasks lead to self-knowledge as his God.” well as to self-strength, as the disciple learns that his happiness should not depend on gaining the approval of the In the primary sense of knowledge as “scientific inquiry,” common people. In the Sufic tradition, knowledge is thus Muslims philosophers followed the Greek tradition as outassociated with goodness, as in becoming a better person, and lined by Aristotle. In addition to a few innovations in logic, in learning to live in harmony with nature. It is a process of such as temporal and modal types of logic, the Muslim dealienation, enabling people to cope with responsibilities contribution to epistemology is found in secondary senses of outside of parental protection as well as with problems, such knowledge. These include a phenomenological intentionality, as aging, and fates like death. In addition, knowledge is the development of the pragmatics of an instrumental theexplainable in both theoretical terms and through practical ory of knowledge, creative theories of imagination, and

Islam and the Muslim World

401

Komiteh

iconography. The crown of Islamic epistemology, however, members of the the revolutionary committees received forlies in a unique application of the notion of unity (tawhid), mal ranks in the police staff, based on their experience. which integrates persons with God, or the ultimate being of

philosophers. Similarly, Judaism and Christianity seek an authentic encounter with the Divine, but Islamic mysticism seeks an identity beyond any duality. It follows the theme that the soul seeks no “otherness” from the One.

See also Ghazali, al-; Ibn Sina; Mulla Sadra; Tasawwuf; Theology; Tusi, Nasir al-Din.

KUNTI, MUKHTAR AL- (1729–1811)

Al-Shaykh Sidi-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti was born in 1729

BIBLIOGRAPHY near Arawan

north of Timbuktu. He was a descendant of a

Corbin, Henry. *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ramified Arabic-speaking tribe, the Kunta, that has* highly

Arabi. Translated by R. Manheim. London: Routledge become widely dispersed over the Southern Sahara, from and Kegan Paul, 1970. Mauritania to

the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in Eastern Mali and be-

Ha iri, Mehdi. *The Principle of Epistemology in Islamic Philoso- yond. The Kunta tribe claims descent from noble origins,*

phy: *Knowledge by Presence*. Albany: State University of specifically from the celebrated Qurashite Muslim com- New York Press, 1992. mander Uqba

b. Nafi al-Fihri, who was the stepbrother of

Morewedge, Parviz. *The Mystical Philosophy of Avicenna*. Amr b.

al- As al-Sahmi, the first governor of Muslim Egypt.

Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Institute of Advanced

Theology of Bard College, 2002. According

to the so-called ta rikh, Kunta Sidi Ali, a

Rahman, Fazlur. *Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy*. descendant

of Uqba b. Nafi , married the daughter of Muham-

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. mad b. Kunta

b. Zazam, who was chief of the Ibdukal (also

called Abdukal), a subgroup of the Lamtuna Berbers, alleg-

Rosenthal, Franz. *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1970. edly in the early fifteenth

century. Their son, Muhammad,

married into another Lamtuna group, as did also his son,

Ahmad al-Bakka i. Ahmad al-Bakka i then had three sons of Parviz Morewedge

his own, from whom all the later branches of the Kunta were derived.

After the death of Sidi Ahmad-al Bakka i in the second half

KOMITEH of the

sixteenth century, a quarrel broke out between two of

his sons, which is said to have caused the Kunta to split into

The Komiteh-ha-ye Enghelab, or Revolutionary Committee groups. The Western Kunta lived in and around the

tees, were created immediately after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in February 1979. The Komiteh subdistrict Kunta lived in and around Azwad, the area of the Sahara

tuted for some of the governmental institutions that no longer functioned after the shah was deposed, such as social services, security, and police. The Komiteh were more widespread for some of the governmental institutions that no longer functioned after the shah was deposed, such as social services, security, and police. The Komiteh were more widespread

young man, Sidi al-Mukhtar gained a wide spread and active in cities than rural areas and were located in

as greatly gifted, intellectually, and as an outstanding captured police centers, in the houses of former government Muslim scholar. When only

twenty-five years old he was officials, and in some public places such as the parliament.

title of Shaykh al-tariqa al-Qadiriyya, making him a Before the establishment of the Revolutionary Guard Corps leader within the Qadiri order of Sufis. In this

(Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enghelab) in 1979, these committees attracted many students, who came to study in the

were responsible for eliminating counterrevolutionary elements established at al-Hilla in Azwad. His camp at al

ments within Iran. During the Iran-Iraq War, the revolution rapidly became not only the center of studying the

ary committees served on the front alongside Iran's Army, teachings, but also the center from which a new

Besiege and Revolutionary Guard Corps. In cities, they suborder was spread throughout the Sahara regions.

fought against the narcotics trade and worked as agents of the suborder bore the name of Sidi al-Mukhtar, and its

judiciary and security systems. The members of these committees came to be known as al-Mukhtariyya.

mittees were mostly uneducated, undisciplined revolutionaries. Al-Kunti achieved a high degree of social and political

After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini and during the first among the active political players in the Sahara

period of Ali-Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's presidency, Iran's He succeeded in healing the rift between the eastern

police, gendarmerie, and revolutionary committees were branches of the Kunta, and he did much to help

merged, and a new organization, called the Disciplinary peaceful settlement between the Tuareg chiefs

Force (Niru-ye entezami), was established. With this change, warrior groups in the area. He also mediated

While a

reputation

ing Muslim scholar. When only

given the

spiritual

position he

zawiya he

Hilla

Qadiriyya

Qadiri

This new

followers

influence

arena.

and western

conclude a

and Arab

Kunti, Mukhtar al-

between the leadership of the city of Timbuktu and the Mauritania
and in Hausaland in northern Nigeria, by the
Tuaregs, who were known to harass that city on several successive
shaykhs of the Kunta tribe.

occasions, most notably in 1770–1771, when a siege of the
town was lifted only after his intervention. See also
Africa, Islam in; Tariqa; Tassawuf; Timbuktu.

Al-Kunti furthered the use of peaceful means in spreading BIBLIOGRAPHY
the Islamic faith among infidel groups in the Sahara. He also Batran, A.

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suborder. The wird, a phrase-patterned devotion used by the
Mukhtarriyya order, became widely propagated in south

Khalil Athamina

Islam and the Muslim World

L

LANGUAGE See Arabic Language; Persian

Language and Literature; Urdu Language,

Central concepts in law

Literature, and Poetry

fiqh understanding, law

usul al-fiqh sources of law: Qur'an, hadith (sayings of the Prophet); ijma (consensus of schools and community); qiyas (reasoning by analogy)

ilm knowledge, especially of law, the learning of the alim (pl. ulema)

taqlid imitation; following the established teachings

LAW

ijtihad independent judgment of qualified legal scholar (mujtahid)

shari'a the way, the total corpus of Muslim law and belief

fatwa advisory opinion on a matter of law given by a mufti

The emergence of Islamic law originates in a definition of (jurisconsult)

human deeds as understood from a specifically Islamic view-

qada court judgment made by a qadi (judge) on the basis of shari'a

point. This could only be developed over time, as notions of

SOURCE: Lapidus, Ira M. A History of Islamic Societies. New York:

good and bad evolved according to the interpretation of the Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Qur'anic verses, Prophetic sayings, and the Islamic legacy as a whole. The evaluation of the goodness or badness of deeds Key concepts of Islamic law.

according to the Islamic point of view was called fiqh (understanding), and the person holding the qualities of knowledge

and competence to produce opinions in this respect was In

the second century of Islam, a theoretical foundation

called faqih (the knowledgeable who understands well). The for juridical thought evolved, leading to a proper consideration of human

actions within an Islamic religious tutored legal system. At this

point, fiqh came to concern itself

context was encouraged by sayings of the Prophet, such as with codifying this theoretical understanding, while still

dealing with issues relating to the proper conduct of worship

"He whom God favors with good, God makes him the one (ibadat). To complement the now more narrow scope of fiqh,

who understands in religion (faqih)," (Bukhari, Sahih, I, 25)

a broader legal context, embodied in the concept of religious

and "there may be some narrators who may narrate the words

law (shari'a), extended the formal Islamic legal order to all

to some of the receivers who may be able to understand better aspects of societal life.

(afqah) than the narrators themselves" (Tirmidhi, Sunan, V,

34). In the Prophetic era and years immediately following,

Beginning with the initial concept of fiqh, Islamic law

fiqh was not specifically about practical human deeds, but

organizes the understanding and, thus, definition, of human

covered a general range of issues that were of religious deeds

along a continuum. At one end are those behaviors concern, such as general religious knowledge and the under-deserving of the utmost prohibition, and at the other end are standing of the sacred texts. However, the day-to-day practices subject to the utmost imperative injunction. At the time of Islam at this early stage of development was still being the very center point of the continuum are found the behaviors worked out, and fiqh came to be employed for the creation of behaviors deemed to be neutral, neither prohibited nor enjoined. legal definitions and interpretations of proper behavior. Over Thus, the prohibited and the enjoined share the same quality of time, the role of fiqh was gradually narrowed to the consideration of being mandatory, whereas acts falling between these two extremes become a matter of scholarly opinion and are and public concerns. therefore less binding.

Law

In evaluating the potentially infinite range of human expanded, giving rise to two schools of juridical thought, one deeds, criteria of judgment (dalils) were needed. There are centered in Medina, the other in Kufa. The scholars of Medina two sources of these: the Qur'an and the prophetic sunna. Medina included Rabi' al-Ra'y (d. 753) and al-Zuhri (d. 742), who were early proponents of the pro-hadith school the Prophet himself, who said, "I have left for you two (hadith refers to sayings of the Prophet). Leading scholars in principles; should you stick to them you will never err" Kufa included al-Nakha'i and his disciple Hammad Ibn Abu Sulayman (d. 738), followed by Abu Hanifa Nu'man Ibn al-Means the sole criteria offered by the Prophet. They were Thabit (d. 757), who favored the reasoning approach. These legal trends supplemented by the practice of shura, for example, which are also known, respectively, as ahl al-hadith (the people of the hadith line) and ahl al-ra'y (the people of the running the affairs of the community. In addition, judges pro-reasoning line). They were also called the schools of Hijaz and of Iraq, respectively, making reference to their geographical domains. Moreover, legal decision-making had to be carried out within the larger context of Islamic tradition. Finally, the evolution of Islamic law was influenced by politics, war, and The

line of distinction between these two early trends in other societal events, which variously endorsed, transformed, legal thought was found in their perceptions of the hadith. or replaced traditional practices. All these factors provided For the school of Hijaz, hadith was the actual legacy of the Prophet, and the framework within which the development of Islamic solutions to society and law occurred during the time of the Prophet and, for Medina, social problems. This approach was well suited later, the prominent Companions (the immediate successors of the Prophet). practice which provided a strong Islamic culture of starting from the exemplary Prophetic era. By contrast, Iraq was relatively new to Islam. In addition, Iraq was something of a gate for the eastward advancement of Islam, in the first century of Hijra, which covers the age of the and thus was host to many travellers passing through, each with a Prophet and largely that of the Companions. The significant competing understanding of the life of the Prophet. This gave rise to multiple hadith, leading to doubt about the accuracy of the narrations. To overcome such doubts, reasons were therefore conservative in their application of ing was applied. Thus, Abu Hanifa of Iraq understood hadith through the Prophet's sayings when substantial legal matters were at stake. On the other hand, the Companions' era was a time in Dhabt was, in his view, the precise understanding of the juristic which trends of legal thought and methodology were initiated for the forthcoming generation of Islam's leading thinkers. The narrator himself therefore needed to be faqih in order to understand the precise content of what he narrated. Here, the significance for the development of Islamic knowledge and practice, but of reasoning prevails over the literal transmission of the these were complemented by the work of other competent figures who were appointed to fulfill juridical and administrative duties elsewhere. Although Medina stood as the center of political power in Islam during served in Iraq, and Mu'az Ibn Jabal and Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, followed, the era of the Prophet and in the thirty years that it was later transferred to Syria. There it remained

century, in addition to the ruling political authorities, there for the entire duration of the Umayyad reign, and it was in Syria where others living throughout the expanding Muslim world were the prominent and influential jurist Abd al- who made substantial contributions to juristic thought. Among Rahman al-Awza i (d. 764) built his legal career in association with the Hijazi trend of law. Al-Awza i is famous for his work, Zubayr (d. 716), Ubeydullah Ibn Utbah (d. 717), and Abu called al-Siyar, but this text has been lost to later generations. Bakr Ibn Abd al-Rahman (d. 713) in Medina; and Alqamah Nonetheless, it is known that this lost work marked the beginning of Ibn Qays (d. 682), Shurayh Ibn al-Harith (d. 679), Masruq with a literature that developed later and that dealt with Ibn al-Ajda (d. 683), and Ibrahim al-Nakha'i (d. 714) in Kufa. issues of war and peace. It also influenced the work of Abu Yusuf, one of the prime disciples of Abu Hanifa of Iraq. By the turn of the first century of Islam, the political Abu Yusuf wrote al-Radd ala siyar al-Awza i (The response to the Siyar of authorities had already pursued two main policies relating to al-Awza i), and from it one can glean not only Abu the use of the textual sources of Islamic law. First, the Yusuf's counterinterviews but also al-Awza i's original theses. standardization of Qur'an began under the reign of Abu Bakr and was later finalized under the reign of Uthman. Second, Abu Yusuf's treatise provides insights into interregional activities the Umayyad caliph, Umar Ibn Abd al-Aziz, encouraged the and the flourishing state of legal thought. Medina, collection of the sayings of the Prophet. In the early decades the birthplace of the Islamic society, had a special advantage of the second century, scholarship regarding Islamic law was for traditional Islam and remained a main center of gravity for

406

Islam and the Muslim World

Law

Derivation of a Shar'i legal decision

God

Qur'an sunna (practice of Muhammad)

hadith (report) ijma (agreement)

ilm (learning)

of the ulema

qiyas (analogy) isnad

(reporters) (the learned)

ijtihad (inquiry, or, independent judicial
[ra'y (private judgement)] reasoning) by a
mujtahid

fiqh (jurisprudence) of a faqih

shari'a (the way of the faithful)

fatwa (advisory decision) of a mufti

qada' (court judgment) of a qadi (judge)

SOURCE: Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974.

Visual explanation of how legal decisions are made.

the Islamic legal scholarship. Medina's dominance in this
an overarching, ecumenical system of legal thought. In Shafi'i's
field is expressed in the concept of *amal ahl al-Medina* (the
point of view, the Iraqi concepts were inaccurate or inconsistent practice of the
Medinese people), which served as an example tent, while
the Medina-based Hijazi school was too regionally
of proper practice throughout the Islamic world. Jurists were
specific. The diversities in legal thought that arose through
thus enjoined to follow the Medina example when seeking a
these interregional argumentative dialogues gradually paved
better understanding of Islamic laws. The vital role attributed
the way for the evolution of a supra-regional system of legal
to Medina attracted the scholarly attention of several impor-
thought, an evolution inspired by Shafi'i's leadership.
tant jurists, such as Shaybani (d. 804), and Shafi'i (d. 819),
who eventually argued against it. Shaybani, who was a key

In the first half of the second century, the Iraqi-led legal
jurist of the Iraqi school, studied the hadiths called *al-*
trend was mostly identified with Abu Hanifa and, thus, with a
Muwatta', Malik's collection of mainly legal content. In his
more free use of reason. He recognized three sources of
own work, Shaybani often mentioned the disagreements of
Islamic law: the Qur'an undisputedly came first, followed by
the Iraqi jurists with the views presented by Malik. Further-
the hadith of the Prophet and then the *ijma'*, which is the
more, Shaybani compiled an independent work called *al-*
consensus of the Companions. Abu Hanifa had a relatively
Hujjah ala ahl al-Medina (The argument against the people of
cautious and restrictive attitude toward accepting hadiths,
Medina).

giving greater weight to the juristic contents of the sayings
than to the literal understanding of the words themselves. He

Shafi'i, too, had studied the Medinese and the Iraqi treated the diverse opinions of the Companions as various notions of law. He took a position against both, arguing for options that needed to be evaluated before choosing one from the elimination of regional concepts and promoting instead among them. He held that the methodological key to this

Islam and the Muslim World

407

Law

N Early schools of law

Founding father	Region	School
Hanbali school	al-Awza'i (d. 744)	
Syria	Awza'i	
Abu Hanifa (d. 767)*	Iraq	Hanafi
Baghdad		
Malik b. Anas (d. 795)*	Medina	Maliki
Cairo		
al-Shafi'i (d. 820)*	Egypt	Shafi'i
Bahrayn	Delhi	Ibn Hanbal (d. 855)*
Iraq	Hanbali	
Dawud b. Khalaf (d. 883)	Iraq	Zahiri
Shafi'i school	Medina	O

m *These schools became Sunni madhhabs (orthodox schools of law).

Mecca

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Societies. New York:

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Ya

1988.

SOURCE: Lapidus, Ira M. A History of Islamic

Cambridge University Press,

Early schools of law.

0 500 1,000 mi.

Law and Jurisprudence:

0 500 1,000 km

Spread of the Schools

Hanafi school

In about

750 C.E., the Umayyads were overthrown by the

Maliki school

Qaramitah (Shi'a) school

Abbasid

revolution, and the center of power in the Muslim

Zaydi (Shi'a) school

world moved

from Damascus to Baghdad. The new regime

Sack of Mecca, 927

City

sought to bring a new order to Islamic society. This need for

change was most

felt by Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. 757), the chief

advisor to the Abbasid caliph Abu Ja far al-Mansur, who

Law and jurisprudence 816–963. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

diagnosed an intolerable state of disorder in the judiciary and

decried the injustices that the people were suffering. Ibn al-

Muqaffa asked the caliph to take control of the matter by

evaluation was a methodology called qiyas (analogical reason-

imposing consistency in judicial administration and a cohering), which required

that a jurist look to previous cases for ent system for the

application of laws. He further urged the

precedents when determining the outcome of a current case.

caliph to codify the law, making it possible to perpetuate the

Through this method of qiyas, the jurist could establish

legal system. In addition, he advised the caliph on the selecconnections

between the present and the past and thus

tion of the team of jurists who should be assigned these tasks,

produce systematic juristic opinions, but it sometimes failed,

making a strong case for the use of Iraqi scholars over those

when similar cases could not be found, or their similarities

from other regions.

were only superficial. At such times, Abu Hanifa would

abandon qiyas and instead employ free reasoning, or istihsan.

The Abbasid regime followed the recommendations of

He described his approach to legal thought in the follow-

Ibn al Muqaffa , and in time managed to overcome the

ing terms.:

reluctance of famous jurists to serve the government that had

long characterized the scholars of the Iraqi school. Abu Yusuf

What comes from the Companions [in disagreement] was

appointed to the newly created post of qadi al-qudat (chief

we do not abandon altogether. . . [we chose from

judge) and was granted discretionary power over the adminisamong their varying

opinions]; and what comes from tration of the entire

judiciary. First among his tasks was the

the Successors we ignore them. (Ibn al-Qayyim, grand

project of codifying the laws and policies of the new

I Lam, IV, 123)

judicial and fiscal order, thus demanding a degree of textual

orientation never previously confronted by the Iraqi school of

This statement shows Abu Hanifa's lack of interest in the law.

Abu Yusuf's thought on finance is contained in his Kitab

narrated opinions of the Successors of the Companions. It

al-Kharaj (The book of taxation), which was written during also demonstrates his confidence in the reasoning abilities of the reign of Caliph Harun al-Rashid. (Abu Yusuf's other main jurists of his own generation. This confidence in the reliability of free reasoning allowed Iraqi jurists to override textual or and al-Radd ala Siyar al-Awza i).

systematic limitations. Iraqi jurists also opposed the Umayyad political power based in Syria, which meant that they were Muhammad al-Shaybani, another preeminent disciple of not employed by the government and thus did not have to Abu Hanifa, was also employed by the new Abbasid regime, compromise their methodology to suit the practical limitations that such political affiliation might impose. However, though lower in rank than Abu Yusuf, was a more prolific this freedom from political constraint would not last for long. writer, and thus achieved more real advances for the Hanafi

408

Islam and the Muslim World

Law

School of law. His main works, known collectively as Zahir al- content, that was paramount in determining the legitimacy of riwaya (The reliable narrations), consist of the following the narrations and recitations of the sunna. This approach titles: al-Asl, al-Jami al-kabir, al-Jami al-saghir, al-Siyar al- contradicted the Medinese perception of the sunna which was kabir, al-Siyar al-saghir, and al-Ziyadat. In general, these more concerned with Medina tradition and practice as it works cover a wide range of religious-legal issues, such as reflected the legacy of the Prophet, and it differed from prayer, tax, marriage, divorce, commerce, and punishment, previous Iraqi legal trends, which judged the authenticity of with the exception of al-Siyar al-kabir and al-Siyar al-saghir, hadiths on their content as distinct from their sole letter. which are thematic of laws of war and peace. Also, these Shafi i's literalist understanding had an enduring impact works that represent early Hanafite legal thought were col- upon the Hafanite legal thought. For instance, Abu Bakr allected by al-Hakim al-Shahid al-Marwazi (d. 955) in the tenth Jassas (d. 980) of the Hanafi School was forced to attempt to century and presented under the title of al-Kafi. They were distinguish among the words of the Prophet, conceding that later reinterpreted and elaborated upon by Sarakhsi (d. 1090) at least some of the Prophet's utterances were divinely reunder the title of al-Mabsut. Shaybani's work, as well as vealed or inspired,

whereas others reflected his “ordinary” or Sarakhsi’s commentary, discloses the evolution of law in Iraq, more humanly derived opinion.

starting with the free use of reason as championed by Abu Shafi i’s approach to the ijma is perhaps the most polemic Hanifa and his predecessors and moving toward greater of all. In the Shafi ite view, the ijma should mean the textual orientation and structural regulation. This trend to consensus of the entire umma (community), and this is not ward the institutionalization of juristic principles can be possible unless it is with the participation of each and every attributed to two factors: the accession of leading post-Abu Muslim individual. This perception of ijma contrasts with Hanifa Iraqi jurists into the official power circles and, later, to the perception held by the Medinese jurists, who restricted the indelible impact of al-Shafi i (d. 819).

their understanding of ijma to the consensus of the scholars Al-Shafi i came to dominate the next phase of the evolu- of Medina, as it was reflected in the practice of the Medinese tion of Islamic legal theory. He limited the legitimate sources people. It also contradicted earlier Iraqi perceptions of ijma , of juristic knowledge to four: the Qur an, the sunna, ijma , which called for the consensus only of the jurists of the Iraqi and qiyas. He utterly rejected the principle of istihsan that had legal trend. However, Shafi i’s arguments were more explicit been advanced by Abu Hanifa. Shafi i’s approach to each of itly directed against the views of his nearer contemporaries, the four approved sources emphasized the development of a the Iraqi jurists of the post-Abu Hanifa period.

centralized perception of Islamic law, and rejected the valid- Shafi i’s argument boils down to the claim that true ity of regional variations that contradicted this unitary conconsensus of all Muslims or even merely of all jurists on a ception of the law. Moreover, in his work titled al-Risala, he juristic personal opinion (ijtihad) cannot be reached. At best, argued that the only language suitable for Islamic scholarship it can only be apparent, because a verbalized consensus could was Arabic: “[T]he entire book of God came down in none easily mask silent disagreements. In his view, the only viable but the Arabic language” (Shafi i, Risala 40). ijma is to be found in the already existing acceptance, by each and every Muslim, of obligatory matters such as belief in the Shafi i’s emphasis on Arabic as the language of the Qur an necessity of prayer. Obviously, this conception of ijma is meant that translations of the Qur an into other languages better suited to theological purposes governing elements of were not equivalent of the Qur an. From this it follows that

faith than to legal ones, which are more concerned with not only scripture and scholarship, but also the prayers of the matters of behavior.

faithful, must be in Arabic, for the language was held to be an essential element. This position was in outright contrast with Shafi i's refutation of the ijma of all jurists may be valid on that of Abu Hanifa, who approved of the recitation of the grounds of logic, but it renders the concept irrelevant for Qur an in Persian in prayers. As Shafi i's literalist approach legal purposes. Nonetheless, both al-Jassas and al-Sarakhsi were gained ascendancy, Abu Hanifa's disciples were forced to forced to contend with its implications. They responded by reinterpret their mentor's position (that prayer in Persian was dividing the ijma into two main types. The first follows permissible) as exclusive and temporary, applicable only in Shafi i's formulation, including all Muslims, whereas the certain exceptional cases until people could learn the proper second refers specifically to consensus among the jurists alone. Arabic recitation of the Qur anic verses.

Shafi i's approach to the qiyas rests in his rejection of Shafi i's sunna of the Prophet was twofold. He considered istihsan. The legitimacy of qiyas arises from the fact that it relates the further sacralization of the Prophet, whose sayings were new cases to previous ones. In this retrospective process, divinely inspired, and held that the authenticity of the say- the qiyas ultimately draws the jurist back to the prime sources ings' transmission through narrators was directly dependent of juristic knowledge: the Qur an, the sunna of the upon the literal faithfulness of their narrations. In other Prophet, and the ijma . On the other hand, the Shafi ite school of words, it was the letter of the narration, rather than the legal thought considers istihsan as disconnection

Islam and the Muslim World

409

Law

Aral

Sea

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Black Sea

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Cordoba

Almeria Bougie

Ma

Nishapur

Qayrawan
 z a n d e r a n
 M e d i t e r r a n e a n
 Fez Tlemcen
 Sea Damascus Baghdad
 Isfahan
 Morocco Tripoli
 Gaza Kufa Wasiè
 Benghazi Barqa Al Hira
 Cairo Basra Shiraz
 N
 Mada'in
 Medina
 Re
 (Birthplace of Malik)
 dS
 ea
 Spread of the Schools
 0 300 600 mi.
 0 300 600 km
 Hanafi school
 Malik's pupils
 From Medina
 Shafi'i school
 Arabian
 From Qurtuba
 Sea
 From Salamiyya
 City

Law and jurisprudence: Spread of the schools. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

from the letter of these three recognized sources of knowl-
 use of ta lil (reasoning) in shar (legislation with religious
 edge because, in contrast to qiyas, it involves the use of free
 overtones). The Zahiri School, zealously defended and sysreason without
 reference to the legitimate origins of law. tematized by

Ibn Hazm, thus insists that human reason

Also, there can be no legitimacy accorded to the free use of
 cannot be part of decision-making in religious law.

reason when consensus is restricted to the scope of the nus
 (the sacred texts), as in Furud and Muharramat (which are

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855), an admirer of Shafi i for his
 held to stem from a divine origin), the sunna of the Prophet
 emphasis upon the hadith, became an inspiring source for a
 (considered to be divinely inspired), and the Qur an. Yielding

distinctly hadith-oriented trend of law called the Hanbali School. Ibn Hanbal is famous for his nonconformist position of istihsan, and the Hanafite School eventually replaced the against the official pressure of the “rationalist” Abbasid reterm istihsan with the designation “hidden qiyas” to signify qiyas (particularly of al-Ma mun and al-Mu tasim), which that istihsan was just another type of qiyas.

ordered him to speak in support of the theological belief that the Qur an was makhluq (created). Ibn Hanbal was a re-Shafi i rejected istihsan because it was the product of the suspected hadith scholar, but he was not particularly famous as a human mind, rather than deriving from the nusus. This jurist. Indeed, the hadiths he presents in his main work, al-Musnad, attracted the attention and admiration of Dawud al-Isfehani (d. 883), because of the distinction it drew between their narrators. However, his position, and his focus on divine and human decisions. Eventually, Dawud noticed that hadith, helped inspire a certain pro-hadith line of legal qiyas, too, involved human reasoning. Thus, he took a radical thought.

step further than the Shafi i, rejecting the qiyas in addition to the istihsan. This line of legal thought is known as the Zahiri The Hanbali School of Law in proper terms was systematized in the great work of Ibn Qudame (d. 1223), al-Mughni. that legitimacy in religious law is confined to the literal scope

Prominent scholars belonging to this legal school include and contents of the nusus and the ijma that are in agreement such jurists as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350). The Hanbali line of legal thought still narratives of the acts and practice of the Prophet, devoid of holds enormous influence throughout most of Gulf region, interpretation. This line of thought is sharply opposed to the and in Saudi Arabia, in particular.

410

Islam and the Muslim World

Lebanon

Shafi i’s role in the development of Islamic legal theory Tastan, Isman. The Jurisprudence of Sarakhsi with Particuwas decisive in challenging the regional schools of law and lar Reference to War and Peace: A Comparative Study in their diverse methodologies, and in motivating them to Islamic Law. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of

evolve their concepts and terminology toward a centralized Exeter,
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 Islamic legal thought. In the formative period of Islamic law, Tastan,
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 the Medinese legal trend had been basically expressed by the Kaynagi ve
 Niteligi." Islami Arastirmalar 8, no. 2
 Muwatta of Malik and further substantiated by the volumi- (1995):
 115–121.
 nous work of Sahnun (d. 854), al-Mudawwana, which focused Tastan,
 Osman. "Islam Hukukunda Literalizm: Anahatlariyla
 on the concept of Medinese practice. Meanwhile, the Iraqi Mukayeseli
 Bir Analiz." Islami Arastirmalar 9, nos. 1–4
 legal trend evolved from being primarily rationalistic into (1996):
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 Hanafi School of Law, in line with the prevalent Shafi ite
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 Osman Tastan
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 Shafi i, provide the minimum of the compulsory criteria to be
 satisfied for any legal trend to take place within the context of
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 bridge University Press, 1997. gave Mount
 Lebanon a semiautonomous status within the
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 empire, and succeeded the Imara (1516–1842),
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 lines in an elected twelve-member body, the
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 1971–1972. Druzes, two
 Greek Orthodox, one Greek Catholic, one
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 Sunni). Abolished by the Ottomans in 1914, the
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 gave Mount Lebanon over fifty years of politi-
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 the confessional system was the Shi ite com-
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 Mahdi Hasan al-Kaylani al-Qadiri. Beirut: Alam al- state in 1926,

a right that had been denied under Sunni
Kutub, 1983.

Ottoman rule.

Islam and the Muslim World

411

Lebanon

Although the 1932 census showed a slight Christian ma- Political
parties-turned-militias exercised power in areas unjority, the demographic
structure in post-1920 Lebanon was der their control along with
several non-Lebanese parties
radically transformed with the enlargement of the Mutasarrifiya directly
involved in the war: the PLO until 1982–1983, Syria
to include territories with a Muslim majority. The Maronite before and
after that date, Israel in the south from 1978 to
community, for example, decreased from over 60 percent of 2000, and
the Islamic Republic of Iran since the early 1980s.
Mount Lebanon's population to nearly 30 percent in post-
1920 Lebanon, while the Sunni community increased from The
fifteen-year war ended with another act of war, when
about 5 percent in Mount Lebanon to nearly 25 percent after Syrian
forces joined units of the Lebanese army to oust an
1920. Similarly, the Shi ite community increased from about interim
premier, General Michel Aoun, from office. An-
5 percent in Mount Lebanon to nearly 20 percent after 1920. other
development was the political settlement embodied in
Beginning in 1937, the custom of the Maronite presidency the
Document of National Understanding, commonly called
and Sunni premiership was established while the Shi ite the Ta if
Agreement, which was signed on 22 October 1989
speakership continued to be contested until 1947 between by
Lebanese deputies in the Saudi city of Ta if. One compothe Shi a, the Greek
Orthodox, and the Greek Catholic nent of the Tai f Agreement
dealt with political reforms, the
communities. other with
sovereignty. While the Ta if Agreement preserved
the custom of the Maronite presidency, the Sunni premiership,
Independence was achieved in 1943 not only because
and the Shi ite speakership, it greatly diminished the power
Lebanese from different communities opposed French rule
of the president and enhanced that of the prime minister, the
but also because leaders, particularly those of the two influencouncil of
ministers, and the speaker. Ta if also called for the
tial communities, the Maronites and the Sunnis, reached an
abolition of political confessionalism according to a staged plan.
understanding on the basis of the National Pact. An unwritten agreement, the
National Pact confirmed the distribution
As for sovereignty, the Ta if Agreement called for the

of government office along confessional lines and sought to redeployment of Syrian troops to specific areas two years situate Lebanon's foreign policy on an equal distance beafter the incorporation of Ta if's provisions into the constitutween East, that is, the Arab world and particularly Syria, and tion in September 1990, and for the withdrawal of Israeli West, particularly France.

forces from the south in accordance with the 1978 United Nations resolutions 425 and 426. Israel withdrew its forces in (pan-Arab populist movement led by Egyptian president May 2000 but Syrian troops did not redeploy. Ta if also introduced Jamal Abd al-Nasser) in the mid-1950s during the height of cold war politics in the region, Lebanon witnessed a Beginning in May 1991, Lebanon and Syria signed a series of bilateral six-month armed conflict in 1958. Lebanon quickly recov- Syria agreements that tied Lebanese affairs ever closer to in the political, security, economic, cultural, and comlarge-scale administrative reform, political stability, and eco- mercial arenas. Since 1990, the political decision-making process in nomic prosperity, especially under President Fouad Chehab Lebanon has been very much in Syrian hands. The Shi ite (1958–1964). community was greatly affected by the war and by regional developments that unfolded during the war years. It Once again, regional developments shaped the course of underwent drastic political change: from the control of tradi- Lebanese politics: the Arab defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli tional leaders prior to the war, to the reformist platform of war and the emergence of a militant Palestine Liberation Imam Musa al-Sadr, the founder of the Amal Movement in Organization (PLO). From 1969, when Lebanon had to sign the mid-1970s, to the radical Islamist agenda of Hizb Allah an agreement with the PLO (the Cairo Agreement) that since the mid-1980s. In a period of two decades, Shi ite allowed the PLO's military action against Israel from Lebanopolitics have been greatly radicalized. Backed by Syria, Iran, ese territory, until the outbreak of war in 1975, political crises and the Lebanese government, Hizbollah—the only Lebanand armed conflict hinged on the PLO's armed presence. ese party that was not disarmed after the war—led the war Confrontation between Lebanon's raison d'état and the PLO's raison de révolution was bound to occur, just as it did in against Israel in south Lebanon in the 1990s and is today the most Jordan in 1970–1971. But unlike Jordan's authoritarian state,

mobilized and active political-cum-military organiza-
Lebanon's openness, confessional democracy, and consensual tion in
the country.

politics did not enable the state to contain the PLO and to

The withdrawal of Israeli forces from the south has

stop PLO-Israeli warfare in south Lebanon.

reactivated the debate on the presence of about twenty-five

War broke out in April 1975 and ended in October 1990. thousand

Syrian troops in the country. Although the sectar-

It evolved in five phases; the most violent were the first and ian

divide is deeper in postwar Lebanon than prior to the war,

last two years of the war and the 1982 Israeli invasion a

politically significant Christian-Muslim consensus emerged

of Lebanon. The war crippled government institutions, in

2000–2001 on the need to implement properly the Ta if

factionalized the army, and widened the sectarian divide. Agreement

and to establish balanced relations between

412

Islam and the Muslim World

Liberation Movement of Iran

Lebanon and Syria. Consensus was confirmed by the formali-

equality, and progress. Islamic liberalism forms one strand of

zation of the reconciliation between Christians and Druzes, Islamic

modernism, which also encompasses modern values

following the historic visit of the Maronite patriarch, Cardi- that are

not associated with the liberal tradition, such as statenal Nasralla Sfeir, on

5 August 2001, to areas that were building and scientific

authority.

displaced during the war. The government's response to

these positive developments was a massive crackdown on

Islamic liberalism emerged in the mid-nineteenth century

Christian activists in August 2001. But the casualty this time as a

response to the hypocrisy of European liberalism, which

was not only the growing intersectarian opposition to the was

introduced to the Islamic world by the highly illiberal

Syrian-backed Lebanese authorities but to the country as a means of

imperial conquest. Since that time, conservatives

whole: government institutions, the rule of law, and the have

consistently accused Islamic liberalism of being overly

economy with a public debt that rose from over \$1 billion in

enthralled with European traditions. Yet Islamic liberalism's

1990 to over \$25 billion in 2001.

self-understanding centers on Islamic traditions, including

the sacred sources that require or allow liberal practices and

See also Fadlallah, Muhammad Husayn; Hizb Allah; the

precedents in Islamic history for tolerance and peaceful

Sadr, Musa al-.

coexistence. In the late twentieth century, a new form of Islamic liberalism added the argument that human interpretation of

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revelation is inherently fallible and pluralistic. In

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view, the repression of Islamic liberalism is an illegitimate

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exercise in hubris, because no mortal can presume to

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Islamic

liberalism has generally been a minority position in

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Islamic world. Its representatives have sometimes fared

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elections are free and fair, though more frequently

Press, 2000. liberalism

has been stymied by hostile responses of tradition-

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LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN

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The Liberation Movement of Iran (Nehzat-e azadi-ye Iran),

or LMI (also called Iran Freedom Movement, or IFM), was

Farid el Khazen established as a liberal Islamic opposition in May 1961.

Its twelve founders, including Mehdi Bazargan, Ayatollah Mahmud Taleqani, and Yadollah Sahabi, presented it as LEXICOGRAPHY (ARABIC) See Grammar Muslim, Iranian, constitutionalist, and Mosaddeqist; that is, and Lexicography they claimed the ideological legacy of Mohammad Mosaddeq's National Front. In 1963 the shah banned the LMI and imprisoned its leaders for a number of years.

LMI gained power during the Iranian revolution in 1978 LIBERALISM and 1979.

Its members formed the core of the postrevolutionary provisional government and on 5 February 1979, Mehdi Islamic liberalism may be defined as a movement to reconcile Bazargan was appointed prime minister of the provisional Islamic faith with liberal values such as democracy, rights, government by Ayatollah Khomeini. He resigned in protest

Islam and the Muslim World

413

Libraries

after the occupation of the American embassy in Tehran on 4 monuments and patronized scholars and poets—to acquire November. reputations as cultivated rulers. Libraries of elegant manuscripts and learned treatises were thus appropriate possessions for kings Though formally banned by Khomeini in 1988, the LMI and those who imitated them, and it was not was generally tolerated, but not allowed to participate in uncommon for Islamic rulers, military officers, and high elections. It openly criticized the doctrine of velayat-e faqih officials to have well-earned reputations for literary taste and (i.e., the rule of the religious jurist) as well as the scholarship. Third, books were central to Islamic religious executions, torture, and the ban of parties and free media. life. Despite a stress on oral learning in medieval Islam, books Although its members are mainly academic veterans of the were necessary to record the masses of traditions of the opposition to the shah, since the 1990s LMI has also appealed Prophet, legal rulings, information concerning transmitters to the young who admire Mosaddeq—the only democrati- of religious lore, and linguistic lore that were the raw material cally elected prime minister of Iran. The left wing of the LMI of the Islamic sciences. Even the oral transmission of knowledge represented by Ezzatollah Sahabi, who, in 1992 founded edge usually involved the production of a dictated book, so the magazine Iran-e farda. that studying

a book involved producing a copy of it. Fourth, medieval Islamic bureaucrats were accustomed to use books: After the death of Bazargan in 1995 and under its new encyclopedias of useful information, literary manuals useful chairman, Ebrahim Yazdi, the movement became more caufor producing elegant official documents, literature for amusetious. Nevertheless, in spring 2001, the revolutionary court ment, and such things as manuals of occult sciences. Finally, ordered an end to all LMI activities. Although charged with the Islamic law of waqf, charitable endowments, allowed conspiring against the Islamic system on 13 November 2001, Muslim bibliophiles to donate their books to the libraries of Yazdi was not touched by the authorities. But more than mosques and madrasas with reasonable hope that their collectthirty other members were sentenced to jail by the revolutions would be maintained intact. tionary court on 27 July 2002, among them Ezzatollah Sahabi. They were charged with a series of crimes, including The earliest Islamic libraries were the collections of Qur ans seeking to topple the country's government. The trials were that accumulated in mosques. Qur an reading was an imporheld behind closed doors. tant Islamic devotional practice, and both

copying Qur ans

and donating them to mosques were acts of piety. Larger

See also Bazargan, Mehdi; Iran, Islamic Republic of.

mosques often acquired more diverse libraries, mostly through gifts. When a mosque was built or renovated, the donor often

BIBLIOGRAPHY gave a

collection of books as the basis of the library. Biblio-

Chehabi, Houchang E. Iranian Politics and Religious Modern- philes and

scholars, particularly those who taught in a parism. The Liberation Movement of

Iran under the Shah and ticular mosque, often willed their books to the

mosque

Khomeini. London: Tauris, 1990. library. Books

copied in class were often given to the mosque

library. To this day, many of the most important collections

Claudia Stodte of Islamic manuscripts are in mosque libraries—for example,

al-Azhar in Cairo and Suleymaniyyeh in Istanbul.

There are records of royal libraries as early as Umayyad

LIBRARIES times, the

earliest associated with the scholarly Umayyad

prince Khalid b. Yazid. The zenith of Islamic royal libraries

Several factors contributed to the prevalence of libraries in was in the

Abbasid period. The Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r.

the medieval Islamic world. First, manuscript books were 813–833)

founded the Bayt al-Hikma, the house of wisdom,

relatively cheap. Papermaking technology arrived in the center for translation from Greek, Syriac, and Islamic world in the eighth century, providing Muslims with which was the basis of a caliphal library that a material cheaper than the papyrus used previously in the survived for more than a century. The Umayyad royal library Middle East and far cheaper than the parchment and vellum at Cordova, founded by al-Hakam II (r. 961–976), was supmade from animal hides used in medieval Europe. Moreover, posed to have had 400,000 manuscripts. The greatest of the the Arabic script with its cursive forms and many ligatures royal libraries was that of the Fatimids in Cairo, founded in could be written much faster than the medieval versions of 1004 by the caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021). It survived, the Roman alphabet. Second, the medieval Islamic world was despite some vicissitudes, until it was ordered closed by a literate culture. Men and even women of the upper and Saladin in the late twelfth century and its collections were middle classes were almost always literate. Both religious and dispersed and partly destroyed. The royal libraries sometimes secular literatures were popular, and scholarly and literary had aggressive programs of commissioning both the copying attainments were respected. Islamic rulers, constantly hungry and the composition of books. Both the Abbasid Bayt alfor legitimacy, collected books for the same reason they built Hikma and the Mogul royal library in Delhi commissioned

414

Islam and the Muslim World

Libraries

extensive translations, in the latter case often of Sanskrit the family home over many generations. Examples include Hindu literature of all sorts. Most of the great illustrated and the al-Husayni, al-Khalidi, and al-Budayri libraries in Jerusailluminated Islamic books are the product of royal commissions. lem, each of which dates from the eighteenth century.

There were also public libraries known as dar al- ilm, Destruction and Dispersal of Libraries

houses of knowledge. These were more or less public librar- Islamic chronicles mention the destruction of many libraries, ies, often established for sectarian purposes. These institu- either deliberately or, more commonly, accidentally. Apart from a few tions played a role in the establishment of madrasas, Islamic places and times, warfare was endemic in the Islamic seminaries. With the rise of madrasas in the eleventh century, Islamic world and took its toll. Few surviving libraries in the

their libraries became increasingly important. Islamic world predate the older Istanbul libraries. While the story that the Muslim invaders burned the library of Alexandria has long been known to be false—it had been destroyed in Roman times—the sack of cities did often result in the destruction of libraries. Medieval accounts mention libraries containing hundreds of thousands or even millions of books, notably the royal libraries of Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordoba. Individual scholars are mentioned whose libraries consisted of some thousands of books. The higher numbers are scarcely credible. Istanbul, Iraq were destroyed during the Mongol invasion. The Islamic library in Tripoli was destroyed when the city was sacked by the Franks during the First Crusade, beginning in 1095. The American invasion of Iraq in 2003 apparently resulted in the destruction of much of the collection of the National Library in Baghdad. collections dating from Ottoman times, some four centuries old, yet in 1959 a careful survey indicated that there were only about 135,000 Islamic manuscripts in the city, the largest Sometimes the destruction was ideologically motivated. collection containing about ten thousand manuscripts. It Mahmud of Ghazna burned the heretical works in the library of the wazir Isma'il b. Abbad and confiscated the rest. The books on libraries contained tens of thousands of manuscripts and that philosophy and the natural sciences in the library of al-Hakam II wealthy individual scholars and bibliophiles possessed libraries in Cordoba were burned by the orthodox during his ies of several thousand volumes—collections dwarfing any- son's reign. The mass destruction of Arabic books was part thing in Europe at the time. of the Catholic kings' program to suppress Islam in Spain, including the burning of Arabic books in Granada at the order of At their finest, Islamic libraries were large, well-organized Cardinal Cisneros. There also was a curious tradition of scholars destroying their own built facilities for book storage and tion of scholars destroying their own books at their death, either to reading, professional staff, regular budgets and endowments, suppress embarrassing or incomplete works or to catalogs, and even lodging and stipends for visiting scholars. avoid unauthorized transmission of hadith and other texts Public access varied, depending on the nature of the libraries, that ought to be transmitted orally. but established scholars could generally gain access to most

collections. Books were usually stored on shelves or in cabinets. Finally, lack of supervision led to the decay of many books, stacked on their sides with a short title written on the upper and lower edge of the book to aid in finding it. damp and insects, the latter a particular menace in (Traditional Islamic bookbindings do not usually contain the title or author.) Catalogs were either bound handlists, the waqf documents donating the books, or lists posted on the doors of the cabinet. Collections were organized by subject. destruction of libraries in wartime was not always, or Avicenna describes visiting the royal library in Bukhara, for usually, deliberate. Books were valuable, and thus were example, where rooms were devoted to different subjects. stolen than destroyed. There is a report that when Paper, pens, and ink were sometimes furnished for the use of Constantinople fell to the Ottomans, the sultan ordered the patrons. Greek manuscripts in the city collected for the palace library, and there can be no doubt that the size and Smaller collections had less elaborate facilities. Most mosques and madrasas had libraries. Private libraries and individual books were often donated to such institutions as many of the Islamic manuscript collections in waqf, endowment, and the terms of the gift would be carefully recorded on the flyleaf. Donated collections were often kept Islamic manuscript collections in Russia are the as separate units. There were also family libraries. In a society where professions were often hereditary, some families produced scholars and clerics generation after generation for library were dispersed after the 1857–1858 centuries. Not uncommonly a library would accumulate in many of the finest items ended up in London.

Islam and the Muslim World

415

Literature

Libraries in the Modern Islamic World and periodicals poses particular difficulties for With some exceptions, the library situation in modern Islamic

monographs

academic

libraries in the poorer Islamic countries, and the countries falls short of the glories of the medieval period. lack of such materials is one of the most difficult problems

Some premodern libraries have survived and prospered. In faced by academics in the Islamic world. The increasing Ottoman Turkey a stable bureaucratic tradition and internal importance of computers and electronic resources is an additional stability meant that most of the old waqf libraries survived as world can burden that few academic libraries in the Islamic functioning institutions until they were taken over by the afford.

modern Turkish state. Several of the larger Ottoman libraries in Istanbul are still functioning, and the collections of most of Elementary and secondary school libraries are generally weak or the smaller libraries have been gathered in a central library in nonexistent. Public library systems are also usually inadequate the Suleymaniyyeh mosque. Al-Azhar University in Cairo and rarely have much priority in competition for scarce has a library that has functioned for centuries in one form or public resources. Public libraries exist in major cities, another. but much less commonly in provincial cities or small towns.

Translations of foreign works are relatively scarce. Cultural Most of the libraries of the Islamic world are of more factors sometimes hinder progress. Where public libraries exist, recent date. These may be divided into two classes: libraries fees, or there may be restrictions on circulation, subscription of traditional type founded in the nineteenth and twentieth the case educational requirements that hinder free access, as is centuries, and Western-style libraries founded by colonial world has for the best public libraries in Pakistan. The Islamic administrations or modern independent Islamic states. not yet had its Andrew Carnegie, endowing mass self-education through free public libraries. As a result, for- Even after the occupation of most of the Islamic world by eign institutions such as the British Council still play a significant European colonial powers and the establishment of modern role in providing library facilities, despite their existing nation states in the Islamic lands, libraries continued to be being built only in the largest cities. The new Alexandria Library established that, despite occasional appurtenances of modern deserves in Egypt in emulation of the ancient library libraries and the prevalence of printed books, were indistin- able to mention, though it is far from clear that it will be achieve its goal to become a world-class research library. ries earlier. The libraries of the Muslim rulers and nobility of

princely states in British India were royal libraries of the old sort—for example, the Raza Library in Rampur, based on a collection started by the Rohilla Nawabs of Rampur in the eighteenth century, and the Salar Jung Museum Library in Hyderabad, Deccan. New mosques and madrasas had libraries indistinguishable from those of previous centuries, apart from the inadequacies of its treatment of Islamic and Middle East from the presence of printed books. A notable example is the Mar'ashi library in Qom, founded by a bibliophilic grand ayatollah in the mid-twentieth century, which emerged as a major library after the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

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- The colonial period marked a major change, with the introduction of European-style libraries intended to promote the diffusion of modern knowledge and to support the new systems of education and, to a lesser extent, to support modern industry. At the top of the pyramid are national libraries, supported by depository laws and national bibliographies. In some cases, such as Egypt and Iran, these libraries emerged from earlier royal libraries and are themselves important repositories of Islamic manuscripts. In other cases, such as Pakistan, they are new foundations rivaled or overshadowed by older university and traditional libraries. The introduction of modern educational systems led to the creation of school and university libraries. University libraries are well established across the Islamic world, though in general only a few of the older universities have really major libraries: Istanbul University, American University of Beirut, and Punjab University in Lahore, for example. Many newer universities
- There techniques. has posed Dewey Atiyeh, George Word and Nadim, al-. Muslim New York: Pedersen, French. Rosenthal, John Walbridge LITERATURE Language

have very limited library facilities. The high cost of foreign Literature,
and Poetry

416

Islam and the Muslim World

M

MADANI, ABBASI (1931–)

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Burgat, Francois, and Dowell, William. *The Islamic Movement*
Algerian Islamic activist and opposition leader, Abbasi Madani
in North Africa. Austin: Center for Middle Eastern Studwas born in 1931 in Sidi
Uqbah, in southeastern Algeria. An ies, University of Texas
at Austin, 1993.

early member of the National Liberation Front (Front de
Ciment, James. *Algeria. The Fundamentalist Challenge*. New
Libération Nationale, or FLN), Madani was imprisoned
York: Facts on File, 1997.

throughout the eight-year war against the French. After the
independence in 1962, Madani joined the Qiyam (Islamic

Claudia Gazzini

values) association and took a critical stance against the
socialist and secular orientation of the FLN. He received a
religious education, then studied philosophy and psychology,
and in 1978 received a Ph.D. in education in Britain. Madani

MADHHAB

upheld the ideas of Algeria's reformist movement and criticized the state's
secular policies, calling for Islamic revival and Lexically, the term
madhhab denotes a "way of going," and by
the Arabization of the predominantly francophone educa-
extension a "manner followed," an "ideology" or "movetional system.

ment." Most

commonly, the term and its plural (madhahib)
refer to the different "schools" of Islamic law.

Madani ascended the political ladder during anti-FLN
riots in October 1988. The following year he founded the
The classical Sunni schools of law emerged in the late
religiously inspired Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique
ninth and early tenth centuries C.E.; they were built on the
du Salut, or FIS), which quickly became the opposition party,
legal opinions of certain local authorities from the late eighth
representing the vast majority of the urban poor. Madani's
and early ninth centuries. By the late tenth and early eleventh
first electoral victory came in June 1990, during Algeria's first
centuries, the legal opinions of scholars identified as "followmultiparty
municipal elections, and subsequently he emerged ers" (ashab)
of people like Malik b. Anas, Abu Hanifa, and alas the potential successor to
the then-president Chadli Shafi i were condensed into

compendia that represented the Benjedad. In May 1991, Madani called for an indefinite perspectives of the five main schools: Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i, general strike to protest against a new electoral legislation, Hanbali (following Ahmad b. Hanbal), and the Zahiri (but was arrested soon thereafter. During his incarceration, following Da'ud b. Khalaf). The followers of local authorities military intervention against FIS's success in the first round such as al-Awza'i, Sufyan al-Thawri, and others, did not of the December 1991 national elections resulted in the materialize into institutionalized schools of law beyond the party's ban and years of civil violence. He was freed in tenth century though their opinions continued to play a role July 1997. Madani endorsed the beliefs of many Islamic in the legal theory of the other schools. modernists who call for an Islamic solution to the crisis of modernity and, through the FIS, brought Islam to the fore- Following the eleventh century, each school continued to front of Algerian national identity. develop distinct legal theory while maintaining constant interaction and dialogue with the other schools. Divisions See also Islamic Salvation Front; Political Organiza- among the schools were often characterized not only in terms tion; Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa. of general approaches to the authoritative sources (usul) and

Madrassa

methods of interpretation, but also in terms of legal rulings on specific issues or practices. MADRASA The Hanafi madhhab is sometimes called the "followers of Madrasa, is an Islamic college, literally a "place of instruction" (ashab al-ra'y), denoting a perception of their greater "instruction," especially instruction in religious law. In medieval reliance on logic and reasoning, as opposed to the label usage the term referred to an institution providing intermedi- "followers of the hadith" (ashab al-hadith) applied to the ate and advanced instruction in Islamic law and related Shafi'i and Hanbali madhahib. Other schools, such as the subjects. This contrasted with elementary schools, which Zahiri madhhab, were known for their eschewing of reason provided basic Qur'anic instruction, and nonreligious instruction logic, relying instead on the "literal" interpretation of tions, which provided instruction in such subjects as mediauthoritative sources. The Maliki madhahib asserted its au- cine. In modern usage the term usually applies to schools thority as a continuation of the practices that originated with offering Islamic religious instruction at any level. The madrasa the prophet Muhammad at Medina. It was not uncommon, can be

considered as a building, as a legal entity, and as an institution. As a rule, the medieval madrasa served male students who were past the elementary level and “Hanfash” because he was first a Hanbali, then a Hanafi, and who intended to acquire credentials as ulema, religious scholars. Elementary schools and schools offering vernacular or practical education were usually known by other names. schools lacked innovation and fluidity, being too reliant on Description and Architecture

imitation of earlier legal opinions. Much of the postclassical A typical Islamic madrasa contained rooms for students, a scholarship did take the form of commentaries (shuruh) upon earlier texts, and in both premodern and modern times there prayer hall, and classrooms and would likely also contain a were attempts to codify the “law” of a particular madhhab. residence for one or more professors, a library, and sanitary facilities. The epistemological and methodological structure of Islamic It was usually attached to a mosque, and large mosque jurisprudence (fiqh) in conjunction with changing social circumstances, such as those in Istanbul, might contain several madrasas. The typical Middle Eastern madrasa was a examination of the authoritative sources. Each madhhab has square building of one or two stories surrounding a courtyardits own distinct means for authorizing such change and for yard. The student rooms opened onto the courtyard, and if linking new legal opinions with past precedents. the madrasa had two stories, the student rooms might be on the upper floor with classrooms and service rooms on the ground floor. In addition to the Sunni madhahib, there are Shi ite madhahib ground floor. Sometimes the central courtyard was replaced by a domed central hall. In their architecture madrasas are closely of certain Shi ite imams. The best known of these Shi ite linked with other kinds of Islamic public buildings, madhahib is the “Twelver” or “Imami” Shi i madhhab that was notably mosques and caravansaries. There is, however, a great deal established after the greater occultation of the twelfth imam of variation in the design of madrasas. Some of the earliest in 941. The Twelver Shi ite madhhab is characterized by earliest surviving madrasas have few student rooms or none, perhaps greater juristic authority and formal hierarchy but conforms perhaps because they served little more than a neighborhood,

in many ways to the principles governing the shape of the
in contrast to great royal foundations that drew students from
Sunni madhahib.

far away. Many madrasas, especially in Egypt, contain the

See also Abu Hanifa; Ibn Hanbal; Kalam; Law; Malik mausoleums

of their founders, with the madrasa proper being

Ibn Anas; Shafi'i, al-; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver). almost an

afterthought. In crowded cities a cramped or

irregular site often resulted in modification of the traditional

BIBLIOGRAPHY plan. The

fact that a madrasa's prayer hall might serve as a

Chamberlain, Michael. Knowledge and Social Practice in Mediaeval neighborhood

mosque sometimes resulted in the addition of

val Damascus, 1190–1350. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge a minaret

and the separation of the student rooms from the

University Press, 1994. rest of the

madrasa. When, as in the great Ottoman mosque

Melchert, Christopher. The Formation of the Sunni School of complexes,

the madrasa was closely associated with a mosque,

Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997. the prayer

hall shrank to make room for other facilities.

Stewart, Devin J. Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite When a

madrasa was intended for more than a single legal

Responses to the Sunni Legal System. Salt Lake City: Univer- school,

separate teaching facilities were provided for each

sity of Utah Press, 1998. professor, so

that there are cruciform madrasas providing

Weiss, Bernard G. The Spirit of Islamic Law. Athens, Ga., and symmetrical

facilities for professors of each of the four Sunni

London: University of Georgia Press, 1998. schools of

law. Finally, a house or some other existing

building might simply be used as a madrasa without any

Brannon M. Wheeler special modifications.

418

Islam and the Muslim World

Madrasa

The Medieval Madrasa

descendants.

Second, a madrasa was less expensive to build

The madrasa appears as an institution in about the eleventh and endow

than a mosque, putting it within reach of those of

century and evolved from the informal schools that operated more modest

wealth or allowing a ruler to build a larger

in mosques or teachers' homes. Islamic education was usually number of

institutions. Finally, a madrasa could be an idea distinctly personal and

informal matter, and prior to the rise logical tool, a way to help Islamize

newly conquered territory of the madrasa, as is still often the case, religious

scholars tries or to combat the influence of a rival sect. would teach in a convenient mosque, perhaps teaching more advanced students, or controversial subjects, in their homes. Curriculum and Instruction

It was customary for medieval Muslim students of the religion education was intended to teach the student ious sciences to travel extensively to study with well-known deduce religious law from the authoritative Islamic teachers, and teachers also often traveled long distances texts. The students who went through the whole course were seeking opportunities to teach, receive patronage, and further qualified to be judges and religious scholars, but most stutheir own studies. A well-known hadith attributed to Muham- dents doubtless dropped out earlier, becoming mosque imams

mad says, “seek knowledge, even in China.” A mosque, or pursuing secular careers with the added prestige of a however, was not a suitable place for professors or significant religious education. The method of instruction was scholastic numbers of students to live for long stretches, so by the tenth- and dialectical: intense debate about the interpretation and century khans, inns, were being built adjacent to mosques. difficulties of a set of standard textbooks. Students came to the madrasa

The first great burst of madrasa construction occurred in the knowing the Qur an by rote and a fair amount of Arabic. eleventh century in the Seljuk empire and is associated with Students studied Arabic, logic, and the core subjects of the the name of the great wazir Nizam al-Mulk, who founded a Islamic religious sciences: fiqh (Islamic law), Qur an number of madrasas known as Nizamiya, the most important interpretation, and the hadith, sayings of the Prophet. Better students of which, the Nizamiya in Baghdad, became one of the went on to study usul al-fiqh (jurisprudence), along with some greatest educational institutions in the Islamic world. What- theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and ever Nizam al-Mulk’s philanthropic goals may have been, he sometimes medicine. probably also intended his madrasas to combat the threat posed to Sunni Islam by various forms of more or less Modern

Developments revolutionary Shi ism. The institution of the madrasa soon The arrival of modern educational institutions was a major challenge to the madrasas. Colonial administrators, nationalform of institution of higher learning. It was not the only ists, and Islamic reformers alike dismissed the scholastic form of educational institution; there were also Qur anic madrasa education as out-of-date. Traditional sources of

schools for younger pupils; Sufi monasteries; hospitals; ob- income
dried up. Talented students sought new opportuniservatories; vernacular schools
for the children of merchants, ties in modern universities and professions.
Islamic revivalists
shopkeepers, and artisans; and various forms of private tui- complained
of the rationalist character of the traditional
tion for the children of government officials. madrasa
curriculum and its neglect of core religious subjects.
Postcolonial governments sometimes attempted to close or
Legal Status co-opt
madrasas, fearing that they might become centers of
A madrasa was legally a waqf, a charitable endowment. The opposition.
This was the case in Turkey, where Ataturk
founder would donate property, from whose proceeds the closed the
madrasas, and Indonesia, where the government
madrasa was built and maintained. The income from the tried to
reduce the influence of the madrasas, known there as
endowment supported one or more professors, various ser- pesantrans,
by controlling the curriculum, giving teachers
vants and functionaries, and the students, who received room, government
salaries, and establishing rival institutions. In
board, and perhaps a small stipend. The founder's instruc- many
cases, standards of instruction and numbers of students
tions governed such matters as the legal school to which the declined
precipitously, though in most places the major
professor would belong. The extensive legal literature relat- institutions
survived. The attempts of the Pahlavi regime in
ing to madrasas deals with predictable problems of defining Iran to
control the madrasas failed, creating bitter opposition
an adequate stipend, absentee professors, stipends for stu- to the
government among the ulema.
dents who did not live at the madrasa, financial shortfalls, and
responsibility for maintenance of the facilities. Madrasas as The
Islamic revival of the late twentieth century has
institutions did not issue degrees or diplomas. The closest resulted in
the revival of madrasas in a number of countries.
counterpart to the Western degree was the ijaza, the license The Iranian
revolution of 1978–1979 was organized by ulema,
to teach a particular book or subject issued by an individual so after the
establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran the
teacher. Madrasas had several advantages for donors. First, Iranian
madrasas, especially in Qom, received a huge influx of
whereas the founder of a mosque had very little control after new students
and financial support. Saudi Arabia, through
its establishment, the founder of a madrasa had a good deal of both its
government and wealthy individuals, has subsidized
discretion in the terms of the endowment, so that in practice madrasas in

many countries, thus increasing the influence of
one could use the endowment of a madrasa to support one's
Saudi-style Wahhabi literalist Islam at the expense of both

Islam and the Muslim World

419

Madrasa

In Jammu, India, Muslim children read the Qur'an at a madrasa, a religious
Islamic school. Hindu groups have criticized Indian madrasas for
preaching Islamic fundamentalism. In Pakistan, poor families often send their
sons to one of the tens of thousands of madrasas established
by Islamic groups, in part because room and board are free. AP/WIDE WORLD
PHOTOS

rationalist and mystical approaches to Islam. In the subcontinent, varies
tremendously and is, in general, quite poor. Finally,
nment the major Islamic revivalist movements have competed
immigrant Islamic communities in Europe and North America through their educational
institutions since the nineteenth century. In Africa, Islamic groups have begun establishing
their own religious schools,
century. The most important of these was the Deoband
usually on the model of Sunday schools but sometimes as
movement. Its founders established a large educational complex
independent parochial schools. There are no schools training
plex in Deoband, near Delhi, devoted to propagating a
outside of the Islamic world. ulema
revived, hadith-oriented Islam. The Deobandis thus opposed
The madrasas have not kept their monopoly on training
not only the new European-style education system of British
ulema. Increasingly, advanced Islamic education is taking
India and the modernist Islamic Aligarh Muslim University
place in modern universities. In the late nineteenth century
but also the traditional Islamic religious education of India
the University of the Punjab in Lahore began granting
associated with the Firingi-Mahall educational complex in
Islamic clerical degrees. There are now faculties of theology
Lucknow, which was strongly rationalist and also closely
in many universities in Islamic countries producing Islamic
associated with Sufism. Religious competition through
legal scholars and religious leaders. Finally, it is not uncommon that madrasas have been
particularly pronounced in Pakistan, where
mon for more talented madrasa students to go on for graduate studies. Various Islamic groups
have established tens of thousands of
ate degrees in secular universities in fields such as Arabic,
madrasas on the elementary, secondary, and university level.
Islamic studies, and philosophy.
The Taliban (lit. "students") movement in Afghanistan in the

late twentieth century was an outgrowth of madrasa training
also Aligarh; Azhar, al-; Deoband; Education. See

in Pakistan. These institutions are appealing to poor families,
both because of the prestige of Islamic education and because,
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unlike the usually inadequate government schools, the madrasas Eccel,
A. Chris. Egypt, Islam, and Social Change: Al-Azhar in
provide room and board and charge no fees. Their quality
Conflict and Accommodation. Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1984.

420

Islam and the Muslim World

Mahdi, Sadiq al-

Makdisi, George. The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in of some
seventy years, during which a series of four deputies
Islam and the West. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University was said to
have consulted with him. After that time, the
Press, 1981. Mahdi, or

Hidden Imam, entered the greater occultation that
Metcalf, Barbara D. Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, is still
in force, remaining alive but not meeting with repre-
1860–1900. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University
sentatives. The fact that Shi ite religious scholars are believed
Press, 1982. to continue

to receive his blessings and guidance gives them a

Mottahedeh, Roy P. The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and greater
charisma and authority than their Sunni counterparts.
Politics in Iran. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983. Shi ite

political theory traditionally declared all temporal
Sufi, G. M. D. Al-Minhaj, Being the Evolution of Curriculum in power
illegitimate in the absence of the imam, only recently
the Muslim Educational Institutions of India. Lahore: Shaikh allowing the
concept of a caretaker government of religious
Muhammad Ashraf, 1941. authorities

(wilayat al-faqih) that underlies today's Islamic

Tibawi, A. L. Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Moderniza- republic
in Iran.

tion into the Arab National Systems. London: Luzac, 1972.

Claimants to the role of the Mahdi have not been absent
from Islamic history. The first was Muhammad al-Hanifiyya
John Walbridge

(d. 700), son of Ali from a wife other than Fatima, whose role
as the Mahdi was promoted by al-Mukhtar (d. 687). Although
al-Mukhtar was killed and his movement crushed, ideas that

MAGHAZI See Military Raid Muhammad

al-Hanafiyya did not die and would one day

return continued to circulate and later attached themselves to

subsequent imams. More recent claimants have arisen in both Shi'a and Sunni contexts, including Muhammad Mahdi of Jaunpur in India (d. 1504), whose followers continue as a MAHDI separate Muslim sect, the Mahdavis, and the Sudanese Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmad (d. 1885), who rose against the British. The Mahdi, meaning "the guided one," is the honorary title of the expected deliverer or messianic figure in Islam. Although temporary Islamist or Sufi movements may occasionally evoke the anticipated return of the Mahdi as a means of and Shi'a hadith collections mention it among the prophetic encouraging millenarian expectations among their followers. traditions concerning crises (fitan). These traditions often In Shi'a Islam, expectation and eager anticipation of the Mahdi's return is a central theme of piety and discourse. figure who will come at the end of time to combat the forces of evil led by the one-eyed Dajjal. This righteous individual is See also Fitna; Hadith; Imam; Mahdist State, Mahdiyya; said to be one who "will fill the earth with justice after it has Religious Beliefs; Shi'a: Early; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver). been filled with injustice and tyranny." The Mahdi's coming will lead the forces of good in a final apocalyptic battle, where

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the good will triumph. Jesus will also return to earth at this Blichfeldt, Jan-Olaf. Early Mahdism: Politics and Religion in the time, according to some reports, and fight alongside the Formative Period of Islam. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985. Mahdi or rule after him. All of these events are predicted to Sachedina Abdulaziz, Islamic Messianism. Albany: State University of New York, 1981. Judgment Day.

In Twelver Shi'ite Islam, due to the community's minority Marcia Hermansen status and continuing sense of persecution and injustice, the Mahdi symbol developed into a powerful and central religious idea and became combined with the figure of the last of the twelve Imams, Muhammad al-Mahdi, who is believed to MAHDI, SADIQ AL- (1936-) have disappeared around 874. He was born in Samarra, son of Hasan al-Askari and the lady Nargis. He is also known as the Sadiq al-Mahdi is a Sudanese political leader and intellectual, ruler of the time (sahib al-zaman), the one who will restore and a descendant of the nineteenth-century Islamic revolutionary (qa'im), and the awaited one (al-muntazar). tionary known as "the Mahdi,"

Muhammad Ahmad. Sadiq received a traditional Muslim education as well as a modern Lists of the qualities of the expected one were drawn up, one, graduating from Oxford University in 1957. When his including his name being Muhammad, his descent from the father, Siddiq al-Mahdi, died in 1961, Sadiq became the head Prophet, his appearance (zuhur) or rising, his rule (for either of the Mahdist-supported Umma Party. He was prime minisseven, nine, or nineteen years), and his mission to restore ter of Sudan from 1966 to 1967, and following the military justice on earth. After the last imam disappeared as a child, coup by Ja far Numayri in 1969, Sadiq went into exile. He Shi ite sources identified a lesser occultation (disappearance) returned to Sudan during a national reconciliation in 1977,

Islam and the Muslim World

421

Mahdist State, Mahdiyya

but was jailed for his opposition to Numayri's 1983 decrees that a countrywide revolt would follow his calls was never imposing a form of Islamic law on the country. Following the realized. This political failure was offset by success in the overthrow of Numayri, Sadiq al-Mahdi was again prime sphere of religious influence. Much support for the Mahdi minister (1986–1989), and his government was overthrown was based on the belief that he was a divinely inspired figure. by Islamist military officers in 1989. He was a leader in the The religious dimension of his mission was perhaps more movements of opposition to the Islamist regime but, at the significant than its political impact. beginning of the twenty-first century, Sadiq al-Mahdi engaged in efforts to reconcile government and opposition. He The Mahdiyya was an indigenous northern Sudanese has written numerous books advocating effective ijihad (in- phenomenon, but the Mahdi modeled himself and his movedependent reasoning) in understanding Islam's message in ment on the early Islamic community of the Prophet of Islam the contemporary world. He is an advocate of democracy in in the Arabian Peninsula. His followers were called ansar an Islamic context and has provided a contemporary under- (helpers), just as the Prophet's supporters in Medina were standing of what messianic leadership (the mission of the named. The Mahdi preached jihad against the infidels, col- Mahdi) means in the modern world. lected zakat (tax on wealth) instead of the range of colonial taxes, and strove to impose shari prohibitions and punish- BIBLIOGRAPHY ments. His

successor, who was appointed when the Mahdi
 Sidahmed, Abdel Salam. Politics and Islam in Contemporary was on his
 deathbed, was given the title khalifa (caliph), as was
 Sudan. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. the
 Prophet's successor. Indeed, Khalifa Abdullahi was named
 khalifa al-Siddiq, the latter term usually associated with the
 John O. Voll first caliph of Islam, Abu Bakr.

For the first two years of his mission, the Mahdi was
 confined to the province of Kordofan, but soon his forces
 MAHDIST STATE, MAHDIYYA began to
 spread slowly to the north along the Nile River.
 Thereafter his supporters increased and brought large parts
 The Sudanese Mahdi became known in the eastern Sudan of the west
 and east of the country under their control.
 (bilad al-Sudan) in June 1881 when he began to dispatch Important
 towns such as El-Obeid, the main city of Kordofan,
 letters to local leaders proclaiming himself the Expected fell in
 January 1883, and the defeat of the expedition of
 Mahdi. He was Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah and about Colonel
 William Hicks at Shaykan in September of the same
 forty years old. He had been a member of the Sammaniyya year
 bolstered the movement tremendously.
 sufi tariqa in the north of the country, but due to dissatisfaction with one of
 his teachers he moved to the Nile River The already weak
 government in Cairo was unable to do
 island of Aba, south of Khartoum. There he established much to stem
 the tide of the Mahdi's success, and the British,
 himself with a small band of followers, among whom was his who had
 recently occupied Egypt (in 1882), were hesitant to
 future successor, Abdullahi ibn Muhammad. act. When
 General Charles Gordon was dispatched to the
 Sudan, he was sent with contradictory instructions: to restore
 The Sudan was then an Ottoman-Egyptian colony, and "good
 government" and to evacuate the colony. When he
 the regime was known locally as the Turkiyya. By the 1870s, reached
 Khartoum he wrote to the Mahdi, offering him the
 however, the colonial state was thoroughly neglected by the sultanship of
 Kordofan. The Mahdi rejected the offer, for he
 rulers based in Egypt, creating opportunities for revolt. The had much
 bigger ambitions that transcended mere political
 administration and significant sectors of the colonial econ- authority,
 especially when that authority was confined to an
 omy had substantial European participation right up to the isolated
 province.
 level of governor. A few Sudanese were part of the government but most of the
 indigenous peoples resented their In October 1884 the Mahdi

arrived on the banks of the Nile River
foreign rulers. The exclusion of Muslim Sudanese from
opposite Khartoum and laid siege to the capital. In
leading roles in the colony, but the inclusion of non-Muslim
January of
the following year Khartoum fell to the Mahdists.
Europeans, also disturbed pious Muslims such as the Mahdi.
Instead of
installing himself there, the Mahdi established a
Slavery was under attack by the British, and abolition threat-
new capital,
called Omdurman, opposite the old one. There
he died in
ened the livelihoods of many northern Sudanese slave traders.
June 1885. His body was buried and a tomb was
These slave-traders threw their weight behind the mahdist
built over
his gravesite. But the Mahdi's tomb was destroyed,
movement. and his body
disinterred in the reconquest of the Sudan by Sir
Herbert Kitchener in 1898.

The Mahdi came to address what he and his followers
thought was an oppressive authority, and one that was contra- The reign
of the Mahdi's successor, Khalifa Abdullahi,
vening Islamic precepts. They challenged this situation and
opened with
the new state's armies engaged on multiple
fronts: in
believed that a movement would emerge throughout the land
the west to pacify the state of Dar Fur, on the
to overthrow the regime. The Mahdi's calculation, however, Ethiopian
marches against the Christian state, and on the

422

Islam and the Muslim World

Mahdist State, Mahdiyya

The tomb of the Mahdi at Omdurman, Sudan. The original tomb, along with much of
the city, was destroyed in 1898 when the Anglo-Egyptian
forces of Lord Kitchener defeated the Khalifa and thus ended the Mahdist state
in Sudan. GETTY IMAGES

Egyptian border. Against the Ethiopian fighters the Mahdists killed
or wounded, whereas the Anglo-Egyptian losses numwere successful, but elsewhere
they met defeat. The Khalifa bered fewer than fifty dead and four
hundred wounded.

also had to deal with a number of pretenders, "false mahdis"
who sought to claim his position. Furthermore, internal This
was the end of the Mahdiyya, but its influence did not
schisms surfaced between various layers of supporters who end there
nor in the Sudan. Rather, it spread throughout the
were dissatisfied with the Khalifa's policies. The ashraf, from Bilad
al-Sudan. Right into the late 1920s the new colonial
the Mahdi's own kinsmen, were dissatisfied with the hegem- state
had to deal with smaller mahdist revivals undertaken by

ony of the Ta aisha, the Khalifa's clan. There were also a local spiritual leaders (called fekis in the Sudan), often done in the name series of ecological challenges, including bad harvests and the name of Isa (Jesus). The religious idea in these uprisings was that epidemics that led to famine between 1889 and 1990. As a nabi Isa (prophet Jesus) would appear after the death of the result, by the early 1890s the Khalifa's armies were easily of the Mahdi, to herald the end of time. beaten in numerous engagements. Their final defeat came at the hands of Lord Kitchener, beginning in August 1897 and In its short history the Mahdist state was able to put in place the continuing until the last battle at Karari, outside Omdurman, foundations of a coherent and workable administrain September 1898. Thousands of Sudanese fighters were tion. There was a judiciary, and judgments were based on the

Islam and the Muslim World

423

Mahr

classical Islamic methods of juristic thought, although the paid at the time of marriage, and the "deferred" portion, Mahdi also sometimes relied on his own intuition as the which is payable only if the husband divorces his wife, or dies. If a man Mahdi, a man with divinely inspired authority. There was a dies without paying his wife's mahr, it is considered bayt al-mal (roughly, a Department of Finance or Treasury) as a debt to be paid from his estate. which kept detailed records, taxed the subjects, and distributed wealth. The state minted its own coins for the local There is a general and implicit agreement among the different economy. In addition there was the military. schools of Islamic law that mahr is a corollary of the exchange element of the marriage contract. Classical jurists Under the Khalifa, the administration that had been put in often speak of it as a price/compensation (awad, sometimes iwad) that place by the Mahdi lost its reputation and drifted into corrup- tion. The Khalifa, for instance, acquired a private army for and the man pays for the exclusive right to the sexual productive faculties of a woman, analogous to the price himself and a separate share of the bayt al-mal. However, the paid in the contract of sale. Modern writers, however, regard mahr as an state under the Khalifa was not as wholly corrupt as it has means of expression of honor for a woman's worth and as a sometimes been judged, although it did divert from the after providing her with economic security during and marriage. The rules regulating mahr negate this view: It

relied on local personnel and expertise and generated a huge body of correspondence, declarations, and other written material that has made it possible for historians to study this rare example of an African Muslim millernarian movement at the same time, she can refrain from sexual and state. submission unless she receives her mahr in full. is linked aspect of becomes marriage; at

See also Africa, Islam in; Islam and Other Religions; the uniformity among all schools of Islamic law Mahdi; Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdullah; Zar. Despite on the definition of mahr and the rules governing it, Muslim societies vary greatly as to its practice. In some countries, like Morocco, the bulk of the mahr is paid to the father of the

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bride, who uses it to provide her with a trousseau for her Holt, P. M. The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881–1898: A wedding, and the deferred portion is nominal. In other Study of Its Origins, Development and Overthrow. Oxford, countries, like Iran, no transfer of wealth takes place at the U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1958.

time of marriage and mahr becomes payable only if and when Holt, P. M.; and Daly, M. W. A History of the Sudan: From the divorce occurs: It is seen as a safeguard, and a woman can Coming of Islam to the Present Day, 5th ed. Essex, U.K.: effectively use her mahr as a negotiating card to obtain either Longman, 2000.

a divorce or custody of her children in the event of the Trimingham, J. Spencer. Islam in the Sudan. London: Oxford breakdown of the marriage. The value and practice of mahr University Press, 1949. also varies

with social class, and with the wealth of the families. As marriages are usually arranged by the parents of Shamil Jeppie the spouses, they often agree on the amount of mahr. In many cases, a woman has no control over her mahr, as the entire amount is received by her father who might use it to secure brides for his sons. Throughout the Muslim world, more- MAHR over, there

are a number of customary payments and exchanges made on the occasion of marriage, which bear little

Mahr is a gift that the Muslim bridegroom offers the bride or no relation to the formal legal requirement of mahr.

upon marriage. It is also called sadaq, an Arabic term that implies “friendship.” In English, mahr has commonly been See also

Divorce; Law; Marriage.

translated as “dower.” Mahr is an integral part of every Islamic marriage contract: there can be no marriage without it. It becomes the exclusive property of the bride after Muhammad Jawad. Marriage According to Five Islamic Law. Tehran: Department of Translation wishes. The exact amount of mahr is often agreed upon prior Publication, Islamic Culture and Relations Organizato marriage and is specified in the contract—mahr al-musamma tion, 1997.

(definite mahr). If the amount is not specified, the bride is

Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. Marriage on Trial: A Study of Islamic entitled to mahr al-mithl (average mahr), which is determined Family Law; Iran and Morocco Compared. London: I. B. on the basis of her personal qualities, her family position, and Tauris, 1993.

the prevailing mahr among her people. Mahr can also be divided into two portions, the “prompt” portion, which is

Ziba Mir-Hosseini

424

Islam and the Muslim World

Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir

1962 declared the nation to be a monarchy. Ministerial

MAITATSINE See Marwa, Muhammad

responsibility to parliament had been the main bone of contention between the executive branch of government and parliaments under constitutional monarchy, and parliaments had usually lost the contest. Securing meaningful accounta-MAJLIS bility of

the executive became even more difficult under the republican constitutions of the postcolonial era, which weak-

The term majlis (assembly) has been used for elected parlia- ened the rights provisions by their commitment to the idements in the Near and Middle East since the 1860s. The first ologies of socialism and nationalism and gave the presidents

modern constitution in the Muslim world, proclaimed by the emergency powers and the right to rule by decree.

bey of Tunis in 1861, provided for a grand assembly, but it

was to be selected by the king and was intended for the The Gulf

states other than Kuwait gained their indepensupervision of administration and adjudication. The first dence from Britain in the 1970s with

constitutional docuelected majlis, which was inaugurated in Egypt in 1866, was ments, but usually without elected parliaments, except for

purely consultative, but the Ottoman parliament was given Bahrain and, more recently, Qatar. Oman promulgated a

some legislative power a decade later. The Ottoman parlia- constitution

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Schools of

and

marriage and is specified

Family

Tauris,

in 1991, and Saudi Arabia in 1992—sixty years after it had first been promised. A Palestinian parliament was set up in accordance with the 1993 Oslo Accords. With rare exceptions, Near and Middle Eastern parliaments have redissolved, however, in less than two years. The ruler of Egypt maintained weak institutions, and have not succeeded in taking the effort came to naught with the British occupation of governments. Egypt later that year.

See also Modernization, Political: Constitutionalism; The next wave of constitutionalism in the Middle East Political Organization.

began with the revolution of 1906 in Iran, which forced the shah to proclaim a constitution that included a parliament with full legislative power. The Iranian National Consultative Assembly (Majles-e Shura-ye Melli) was elected in the same year. After the Islamic revolution, Iran was declared an Islamic Republic, but its new constitution of 1979 retained the majlis, and it was only after it met in 1980 that the majlis changed its name to the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

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In 1908, the Young Turks revolution forced the sultan to restore the Ottoman constitution. A year later, the constitution was amended to make ministers fully responsible to the MAJLISI, MUHAMMAD BAQIR

parliament. After the Kemalist revolution, the last Ottoman (1627–1698)

parliament was dissolved by the sultan in 1920, and was replaced by the Grand National Assembly (Buyuk Millet Baqir b. Muhammad Taqi Majlisi, known as the Mejlisi) of Turkey, which passed the republican constitution of 1924. Iranian

Muhammad

second

Twelver Shi'ite jurist of the late seventeenth century.

Acting as the prayer leader and shaykh al-Islam of Isfahan

In the period between the two world wars, constitutional monarchies with elected parliaments were established in under the Safavid monarchs, Shah Suleiman (r. 1666–1694)

and Shah Sultan Husayn (r. 1694–1722), he suppressed independent Egypt (1923) and in Iraq (1925) and Jordan philosophy and Sufism and reestablished clerical authority under (1928) under the British mandate. In 1938, the emir of his leadership. He devoted great efforts to the collection and Kuwait proclaimed a five-article constitution. It included an translation of Shi'ite hadith from Arabic into Persian to assembly whose president was to have executive authority benefit the laity. He opposed the conventional reliance on ity, but the assembly was soon dissolved and the experience- Arabic as the main medium of instruction and publication for ment abandoned. A new Kuwaiti constitution was promulgated religious scholars and emphasized the need for doctrinal and gated in 1962. legal works in Persian, which could be accessible to the Republican constitutions came to force in Syria and public. He fervently upheld the concepts of “enjoining the Lebanon in 1943, Egypt in 1956, Tunisia in 1959, and Algeria good” and “prohibiting evil” and renewed the impetus for and Yemen in 1962, whereas the Moroccan constitution of conversion from Sunnism to Shi'ism. His legal method drew

Islam and the Muslim World

425

Makassar, Shaykh Yusuf

upon both the akhbari (traditionist) and usuli (rationalist) schools, as such accepting both the authority of Shi'ite MALCOLM X (1925–1965) traditions and the role of reason in arriving at a legal opinion. An extraordinary orator, a self-taught intellectual, and a He is mostly known for his monumental work, a Shi'ite deeply spiritual man, Malcolm X was one of the most prominent African American political and religious leaders of the civil rights era. After being released from prison in 1952, Rula Jurdi Abisaab where he had become a follower of Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm worked as a minister for the organization, most successfully in Harlem, New York. By the late 1950s, Malcolm had become Elijah Muhammad's chief MAKASSAR, SHAYKH YUSUF representative, helping to build the movement into black America's most visible Muslim group. Famous for his fiery (C. 1626–1699) rhetoric, he was dubbed “America's angriest Negro” as he sought to convert blacks to Elijah Muhammad's separatist Traditional Makassarese sources report that Ali (Shaykh)

Islam. Malcolm also gained national attention as a critic of Yusuf was born in 1626 to a princess of South Sulawesi and pro-integration civil rights leaders. In 1964, however, Malraised in the palace of the king of Tallo. He studied under colm left Elijah Muhammad's movement and made the hajj, some of the most prominent Arab Muslim scholars in Sulawesi the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, an occasion during which he before traveling to continue his education in Banten, Gujarat, publicly embraced Sunni Islam and distanced himself from the Yemen, Mecca, and Syria. In Damascus he was inducted Elijah Muhammad's teachings. He also visited West Africa and became into the Khalwatiyya order of Sufism, which he worked to an advocate of pan-Africanism, the movement spread in Southeast Asia after returning from the Mid- that called for the cultural and political unification of black dle East. persons around the world.

In 1664 he settled in Banten where he taught various Until his brutal assassination in 1965, Malcolm worked as both a branches of the Islamic sciences. In 1682 the sultan's son rose Sunni Muslim missionary in the United States and as against his father's authority with the backing of the Dutch founder of the Organization for Afro-American Unity, which East India Company. Shaykh Yusuf took up an opposition espoused black solidarity. The Autobiography of Malcolm X campaign that he pursued for over a year until his capture by (1965), which was coauthored by Alex Haley, was published shortly the Dutch. He was imprisoned in Batavia and later exiled to after his death. Today, Muslims continue to debate the meaning Sri Lanka, where he continued his role in advocating resist- of Malcolm's life, often disagreeing about whether ance against the Dutch via correspondence with the Muslim Malcolm overemphasized the importance of racial identity in communities of Indonesia. In 1693 some of these communi- his quest for black liberation.

cations were intercepted, and he was thus re-exiled to the See also American Culture and Islam; Conversion; Cape of Good Hope. He arrived there on 2 April 1694 and Farrakhan, Louis; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam. became a founding figure of the Muslim community in South Africa, where he remained until his death. In 1705 the ruler of

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Makassar petitioned for the repatriation of Shaykh Yusuf's DeCaro, Louis A., Jr. On the Side of My People: A Religious Life remains, and today his tombs in both Sulawesi and South of Malcolm X. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Africa remain active centers of pilgrimage. Since the 1980s
Haley, Alex, and Malcolm X. The Autobiography of Malcolm X.
Shaykh Yusuf has become an increasingly popular figure in
Reprint. New York: Ballantine, 1987.

both Indonesia and South Africa, where Nelson Mandela
hailed him as a hero in the history of struggles against
Edward E. Curtis IV
oppression.

See also Africa, Islam in; Southeast Asia, Islam in;
Tariqa. MALIK, IBN
ANAS (C. 708–795)

BIBLIOGRAPHY Malik Ibn
Anas, who was born between 708 and 716 C.E., was
the most famous jurist from Medina by the time of his death
Feener, R. Michael. “Shaykh Yusuf and the Appreciation of
in 795. Malik composed one of the first books of Islamic law,
Muslim ‘Saints’ in Modern Indonesia.” Journal for Islamic
Studies 18–19 (1999): 112–131. the
Muwatta .

Malik studied with several experts on Islamic tradition
R. Michael Feener (hadith), some of whose parents knew the Prophet. He was
426

Islam and the Muslim World
Ma mun, al-

renowned for his knowledge of hadith, but his teachings were led to a
protracted and destructive civil war and eventually to
unique for his championing of the practice (sunna) of the the
defeat and death of al-Amin. Al-Ma mun stayed in
inhabitants of Medina. Malik attracted students from all over Khurasan
for several more years after the civil war, before
the Islamic world, and the Muwatta was taught in all medie- moving
back to the Abbasid capital, Baghdad, in 818. The
val centers of learning, especially Egypt, Baghdad, North civil war
was an episode of major proportions: The long siege
Africa, and Spain. of
Baghdad and the unrest that followed its fall to al-Ma mun’s
troops left large parts of the city in ruins; and the killing of al-
Under the caliph al-Mansur in 762 and 763 Malik was Amin, the
first time in Abbasid history that a caliph had been
punished for his support of Muhammad b. Abdallah, an Alid murdered,
cast a long shadow over the victorious caliph’s
pretender to the throne. But later in life the Abbasid caliph
legitimist claims.
Harun al-Rashid tried to make the Muwatta the basis for a
unified code of law. The sources agree, however, that these

Al-Ma mun's reign is also noted for the distinctly propolitical intrigues were aberrations, and that Malik lived a Alid policies he pursued.

The Alids, the descendants of the simple life devoted to teaching, surrounded by a close group Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661), of devotees who collected his opinions on every conceivable considered themselves to be the rightful claimants to the subject.

caliphate, and saw not just the Umayyads (661–750) but also the Abbasids as usurpers—claims viewed unfavorably by The Muwatta has survived in several versions and incaliphs from both houses.

While still in Khurasan, al-Ma mun, cludes hadith from the Prophet and his Companions as well in an unprecedented move that startled and dismayed many as legal opinions of Malik and other famous scholars from in his Abbasid clan, had in 817 nominated Ali b. Musa al-Medina. It is organized in chapters and covers all aspects of Rida (d. 818) as his successor. This was justified by the caliph ritual and social life. It is still part of the required curriculum on grounds that al-Rida—"the acceptable one," whom the of many Islamic universities today, especially in North and later Twelver Shi a reckon to be their eighth imam—was the West Africa where the Maliki school (one of the four madhhabs person most qualified for the political leadership of the of Sunni law) predominates. Several other books, some recommunity. The caliph also adopted the Alid green to cently uncovered, contain extensive collections of Malik's replace black as the official color of the Abbasids. And later in opinions not found in the Muwatta .

his career, he had Ali ibn Abi Talib publicly declared "the See also Africa, Islam in; Law; Madhhab. best"

person after the prophet Muhammad, thus denying the superiority of Muhammad's first two successors, Abu Bakr

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Umar, a point that was then evolving as a matter of dogma among the early Sunnis. Ali al-Rida mysteriously Goldziher, Ignaz. *Muslim Studies*. Edited by S. M. Stern and died before al-Ma mun's return to Baghdad, though the translated by S. M. Stern and C. R. Barber. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972. caliph

continued his pro- Alid stance until the end of his reign. Schacht, Joseph. "Malik b. Anas." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The episode, however, which left the most lasting impres- New ed. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb, et al. Leiden: E. J. sion on subsequent generations was neither the civil war nor Brill, 1962.

the caliph's pro- Alid sympathies. Nor was it even al-Ma mun's

explanations have been offered to explain this ultimately In most times and places minarets were built only with abortive venture into state sponsorship of a theological doc- mosques, but occasionally they were attached to other structrine, but it appears that the caliph's interest in asserting his tures, such as the Taj Mahal, a magnificent seventeenthposition as the arbiter of right belief, and in thereby checking century tomb at Agra in India, which is surrounded by four the increasing influence in society of the populist scholars of towers. Muslim architects have built minarets out of brick or hadith, had much to do with the institution of the Mihna. stone or even wood; they have left them plain or covered

them with tiles and carving bearing geometric, arabesque, and epigraphic motifs. They have placed them either singly, or in pairs, to flank a doorway or a facade, or in groups of four or more to surround an important building, such as the brother al-Mu tasim (r. 833–842). The Inquisition continued sanctuary around the Ka ba in Mecca. The origins of the under him as well as under the latter's successor, al-Wathiq minaret have been sought in the monumental columns and (r. 842–847), and was finally brought to an end—along with lighthouses of the late antique Mediterranean lands, the the political influence of the Mu tazila—during the reign of ziggurats of ancient Mesopotamia, and the stupas and comal-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861). The debate on the theological memorative columns of India, but it seems most likely that controversies the Mihna had brought to the fore, as well as on the minaret was wholly an Islamic invention of the ninth the controversial caliph who had instituted it, continued for century, meant to draw attention to the mosque as a center of many centuries.

religious life.

See also Caliphate; Fitna; Mihna; Mu tazilites, Mu tazila;

See also Adhan; Architecture; Masjid.

Succession.

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MANICHEANISM

1998.

Manicheanism was a gnostic religious movement founded by Hibri, Tayeb, el-. *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Harun Mani* (c. 216–274 or 276), an Iranian religious figure who

al-Rashid and the Narrative of the Abbasid Caliphate. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999. believed that he had received divine instruction from a spiritual “Twin.” The Twin revealed to him “the mystery of light and of darkness” and “the battle which darkness stirred up” when its demons attempted to invade the kingdom of light and entrapped light particles in material bodies. In 240, Muhammad Qasim Zaman the Twin commanded him to become the apostle of a new religion and church. The Manichean community was composed of the Elect, whose rituals and strictly regulated behavior helped liberate light particles, and the Auditors, who led less austere lives and provided the Elect with nourishment. At its simplest, a minaret (Ar. manar(a), mi dhana, sawma a) is To this essentially dualistic religion, and in an attempt to a raised structure attached to a mosque from which a muezzin create a truly universal faith, Mani and his followers deliberates the call to prayer, known in Arabic as the adhan. ately added elements drawn from other religions they encountered, including Mithraism, Christianity, and Buddhism. Minarets give a distinctive “Islamic” look to the skylines of cities in the Muslim world and indicate from afar the presence of a mosque below. Minarets are commonly tall and slender for his far-ranging missionary activities but aroused towers—sometimes polygonal or square but most often cylindrical—supporting one or more balconies for the muezzin. Mani won the support of the Sassanian ruler Shahpur I (239–270) who eventually persuaded Bahram I (271–274) to the Kartir, In some parts of the Muslim world, notably Upper Egypt, imprison Mani. Mani either died in prison or was executed. East Africa, and Kashmir, minarets were either unknown or Manicheanism was thereafter ruthlessly suppressed both in took a more modest form. the Sasanian East and the Christian West.

428

Islam and the Muslim World

Mansa Musa

The Muslim conquests temporarily ended persecution and made much use of the imagery of light. There is, however, no of Manicheanism in the land of its birth. The Umayyad direct evidence linking the revolt to Manicheans, and the governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf (d. 714), apparently

dietary and sexual practices attributed to the rebels sought to accord Manicheans protected (dhimmi) status and certainly non-Manichean. were

to regulate the affairs of their community through an archegos based in Ctesiphon (Mada in). Efforts were also made to Mani

and Manicheanism are mentioned in numerous Islamic

heal the sectarian schism that had developed between the historical and literary texts. They sometimes depict Mani as a

Mesopotamian Manicheans and those in the east (known as prototypical arch-heretic, but he is also often treated as

the Dinawariyya). The Abbasid caliphs, however, were in- a genuine religious leader and, especially in Persian creasingly intolerant of religious diversity, and al-Mahdi works,

remembered as an acclaimed artist (as he was in fact the

(775–785) and al-Hadi (785–786) carried out a systematic founder of the rich Manichean tradition of illustrated manuscripts

purge of individuals suspected of zandaqa. This term was and fresco paintings).

virtually a synonym for Manicheanism, and it is claimed that See also

Islam and Other Religions.

those accused of zandaqa had to prove their innocence by spitting on a portrait of Mani. Yet only one of the victims of

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this campaign has been shown to have actually been a Decret, François. *Mani et la tradition manichéenne*. Paris: Manichean proper; the Abbasid repression was rather di-Seuil, 1974.

rected against Manichean tendencies in Islam and more Flügel, Gustav. *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*. Leipzig: generally against nominal Muslims suspected of holding Brockhaus, 1862.

Persianizing, dualistic, syncretistic, subversive, free-thinking, or atheistic ideas. It did make the practice of Manicheanism Henning,

Walter B. “Persian Poetical Manuscripts from the time of Rudaki.” In *A Locust’s Leg: Studies in Honour of* more difficult and led to a new migration of Manicheans from S. H. Taqizadeh. Edited by W. B. Henning and E. Yar-Iraq to Central Asia. According to al-Nadim, the last leader of shater. London: Percy Lund, Humphries, and Co., 1962

the Manichean community in Iraq fled to Khurasan in the Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts* time of al-Muqtadir (908–932). He further indicates that he from Central Asia. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993.

had personally known some three hundred “Zindiqs” in Baghdad during the time of the Buyid emir Mu izz-al-Dawla Lieu,

Samuel N. C. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey*. Manchester, U.K.:

(946–967), but this number had dwindled to less than five a
Manchester University Press, 1985.
quarter-century later.

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Manicheanism was strongest in eastern Iran and Central Muslim
Culture. Edited and translated by Bayard Dodge.

Asia, where Sogdian merchants served as able missionaries New York:
Columbia University Press, 1970.

for the faith. Its position was strengthened when, in about Vajda,
Georges. “Les Zindiqs en pays d’Islam au début de
762, it became the official religion of the Uighur khaghanate. la
période abbaside.” Rivista degli Studi Orientali 17

According to al-Nadim, the “ruler of Khurasan” (presumably
(1937–1938):173–229.

one of the Samanids) wanted to follow the Abbasid lead and Widengren,
Geo. Mani and Manichaeism. Translated by
exterminate the Manicheans in his kingdom but was re- Charles
Kessler. New York: Holt, Rinehart and
strained by the threats of the Uighur khaghan (“lord of the
Winston, 1965.

Tughuzghuz”) to retaliate against the Muslims in his lands. A
Manichean text in Parthian from this period shows that

Elton L. Daniel

Manicheans were attempting to assimilate the terminology
and concepts of Islam, just as they had in the case of other
religions. From the tenth century onward, Sufi missionaries,
(? –1337)

MANSA MUSA

including al-Hallaj, actively proselytized among the Manichean
and Turkish communities. By Mongol times, Manicheanism
most famous emperors of the medieval Western
had been supplanted in Central Asia by either Islam or
kingdom of Mali, Mansa Musa reigned from about
Buddhism. 1312 to

One of the

Sudanic

1337. He extended the kingdom of Mali by bringing
under its suzerainty many non-Mandingo people of the

An unresolved question is the extent to which Manicheans
sources, including the Arabic author al- Umari

Sahel. Many

and Manichean tendencies (mixed with neo-Mazdakism) may
(1301–1394), described Mansa Musa as a pious Muslim, and
have been involved in anti-Abbasid revolts in Central Asia. It as one of
the medieval rulers whose contribution to the spread
is suggestive, for example, that the famous revolt of al- of Islam in
the Western Sudan was the most significant.

Muqanna (c. 777–783) took place in Sogdia and was supported by the Turks; he
and his followers were known as One of the most noted events of
Mansa Musa’s reign was

“wearers of white” (reminiscent of the traditional garb of the his

pilgrimage to Mecca in 1312. On his way, he visited Egypt (Manichean Elect), believed in the transmigration of souls, during the reign of the Mamluk sultan, Nasir b. Qala'un.

Islam and the Muslim World

429

Maqassari, Taanta Salmanka al-

Mansa Musa, it has been reported, was accompanied by political affairs of the Shi'a. His success changed the institution of thousands of peoples and camels laden with gold. He gave the position of marja al-taqlid, politicizing it and making disobeying huge quantities of gold to the sultan of Egypt. His stay in the orders of the supreme jurist similar to treason. After Egypt was one of the main events of the year 1312. He Khomeini died in 1989, there were political and religious distributed so much gold that the price of this precious metal disputes among the Shi'a over the role of the marja al-taqlid. dropped. Perhaps because of the notoriety he gained by this This dispute contributed to the declaration by the Iranian government, pilgrimage, Mali started to appear in maps drawn by European cartographers. (a former close associate of Khomeini) was the single marja al-taqlid when the then undisputed marja Ayatollah Khomeini died. This Mansa Musa's reign supported a flowering in Malian move was undoubtedly linked to the need to scholarship and architecture. He commissioned al-Sahili, the establish the position of "leader of the revolution" (rahbar) in Iran. Andalusian poet and man of letters, to design mosques and Ayatollah Khomeini's position as the Marja al-taqlid other buildings in Mali. Mansa Musa attracted scholars and has, however, remained a matter of dispute.

brought back books of Islamic jurisprudence to the libraries Mali. He also began sending students to Islamic universities See also Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); Taqlid; Ulama.

in North Africa. He built Qur'anic schools, and established the Friday congregational prayer in Mali.

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Robert Gleave
Ousmane Kane

MARRIAGE

MAQASSARI, TAANTA SALMANKA

AL- See Makassar, Shaykh Yusuf In Muslim
societies marriage is a contract regulated by a code
of law rooted in religious precepts—the shari a. The relations
between the precepts and the law are complex, the interpretations of the law
vary considerably, and the social practices of
marriage constitute a major part of the rich cultural diversity
MARJA AL-TAQLID of the Muslim
world. Moreover, marriage rules and customs
have been central to ongoing debates over issues of moder-
Marja al-taqlid (Persian Marja -e taqlid) literally means “the nity and
women’s status in Islam, starting with the anticolonial
source of imitation.” Marja al-taqlid is a title given to the and
nationalist movements of the early twentieth century.
highest-ranking cleric within Twelver Shi ism. The concep- The
codification and reform of shari a rules governing martion of a single leading
scholar who both directs and leads the riage in the first part of the
century, and the more recent
ulema was not absent in Shi ism, but the marja institution did emergence of
Islamist movements and their demand for a
not emerge until the nineteenth century. The first universally return to
shari a, have highlighted the ideological dimension
recognized marja was the influential mujtahid Murtada al- of the legal
regulation of marriage.
Ansari (d. 1864). He was followed by a series of scholars
whose level of support as marja varied, and a number of Marriage
in Islamic law is based on a strong patriarchal
scholars at the same time could be put forward as “sources” ethos,
imbued with religious ideals and values. It is one of the
(maraji) simultaneously. There is no formal means whereby a few contracts
that straddles the boundary between the two
marja is selected: it seems he emerges as the “most learned” main
categories: ibadat (spiritual/ritual acts) and mu amalat
(a lamiyya). There is also much dispute of the level of his
(social/private acts). In spirit, marriage belongs to ibadat, in
authority (as a spokesperson, or as an authority to be obeyed that Muslim
jurists define it as a religious duty. In form, it
by other scholars and the community). In 1979, Ayatollah comes under

the category of mu'amalat, is defined as a civil contract, and Khomeini led a revolution in Iran arguing that a single contract, and is patterned after the contract of sale, which has served as "supreme jurist" should control both the religious and the served as a model for other contracts. In this respect, there is

430

Islam and the Muslim World Martyrdom

no difference among the various schools: all share the same family, and the stigma usually attached to both polygamy and conception of marriage. If they differ, it is to the extent to divorce. which they translate this conception into legal rules. With the emergence of modern nation-states and the creation of In its legal structure, marriage (nikah) is a contract of modern legal systems in the early part of the exchange, with fixed terms and uniform legal effects. Its twentieth century, the juristic rules of marriage were selective components are the offer (ijab), which is made by the actively reformed, codified, and grafted onto a unified legal woman or her guardian (wali), the acceptance (qabul) by the system (as in most Middle Eastern and Asian Muslim countries), and the payment of dower (mahr or sadaq), a sum of tries) or were left intact to be applied by Islamic judges (as in money or any valuable that the husband pays or undertakes to most African and Persian Gulf countries). Turkey was the only state pay to the bride before or after consummation. With the only state in the Muslim world to introduce a Western code contract, a wife comes under her husband's isma (dominion to replace juristic rules, though these continued to govern and protection), entailing a set of defined rights and obligations marriages in rural areas and among religious groups. In most Muslim countries during the twentieth century, as women's access to by moral sanction. Those with legal force revolve around the access to education and work, and consequently their aspirations twin themes of sexual access and compensation, embodied in tions for equality, increased, so did the gap between juristic the concepts of tamkin (submission) and nafaqa (maintenance and social notions of marriage widen. On the whole, until the rise of nance). Tamkin—defined as unhampered sexual access—is rise of political Islam in the 1970s, marriage was acquiring a more the husband's right and thus the wife's duty; whereas nafaqa— more egalitarian legal structure in the Muslim world. More defined as shelter, food, and clothing—is the wife's right and recently, the patriarchal juristic model has been widely reasthe husband's duty. A wife is entitled to nafaqa only after asserted. Despite

wide-ranging variations and changes in praconsummation of the marriage, and she loses her claim if she tice, the jurists' notions continue to dominate both the reality

is in a state of nushuz (disobedience). of marriage

in contemporary Muslim societies and debates

about the issue. Not only do most Muslims believe the juristic

The contract establishes neither a shared matrimonial conception to be

divinely ordained, but it informs the legal

regime nor identical rights and obligations between the rules in

most Muslim countries.

spouses: The husband is sole provider and owner of matrimo-

An image of a young Muslim couple in traditional wedding

nial resources and the wife is possessor of mahr and her own

attire appears in the volume two color insert.

wealth. The only shared space is that involving the procreation of children,

and even here the wife is not legally com- See also Divorce; Gender; Law;

Mahr.

pelled to suckle her child unless it is impossible to feed it

otherwise. Likewise, only a man can enter more than one

marriage at a time (four permanent contracts in Sunni schools

Abd Al Ati, Hammudah. *The Family Structure in Islam*.

of law; and, in Shi a law, as many temporary ones as he desires

Indianapolis: American Trust Publication, 1977.

or can afford). Only the husband can terminate each contract

El Alami, Dawoud. *The Marriage Contract in Islamic Law*.

at will: He needs no grounds and neither the wife's presence

London, Dordrecht, and Boston: Graham & Trotman,

nor her consent. Wives can, however, through the insertion 1992.

of stipulations in the contract, modify some of its terms and

Anderson, J. N. D. "The Eclipse of the Patriarchal Family in

acquire, for example, the right to choose the place of resi-

Contemporary Islamic Law." In his *Family Law in Asia and*

dence or to work, or the delegated right to divorce if the Africa.

London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968.

husband contracts another marriage.

Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. *Marriage on Trial: A Study of Islamic*

Family Law: Iran and Morocco Compared. London: I. B.

Muslim jurists claim that this construction of marriage,

Tauris, 1993.

based on their readings of the sacred texts, is divinely or-

Nasir, Jamal J. *Islamic Law of Personal Status*. 2d edition.

dained. But marriage as lived and experienced by Muslims

London: Graham & Trotman, 1990.

involves a host of customary obligations and social relationships that have

always gone far beyond juristic constructions.

Ziba Mir-Hosseini

Some of these are rooted in the ideals of the shari a and enjoy

BIBLIOGRAPHY

its moral support, though they are not reflected in legal rulings. In Muslim societies, marriage in practice not only creates a matrimonial regime but takes a wide range of forms, MARTYRDOM varying according to customary practices, individual inclinations and characters, the social origins (rural/urban, class) of The idea of martyrdom in Islam is rooted in the fact that from the partners, and their economic resources. Men's unconditional legal rights to divorce and polygamy are often checked the beginning of the religion, Muslims died in the struggle to establish tional legal rights to divorce and polygamy are often checked establish and expand the Islamic state, and their deaths in the in practice by social mores, the pressures of the extended course of this struggle were remembered and celebrated. The

Islam and the Muslim World

431

Martyrdom

Qur'an encourages martyrdom by assuring believers that the earliest ideas of martyrdom in Islam. Accounts of the death is illusory: "And say not of those slain in God's way, earliest Muslim martyrs reflect this context. The martyrs 'They are dead'; rather they are living, but you are not aware" most celebrated in biographies of the Prophet are those who (2:154). threw themselves into battle with courage and abandon. Ibn Ishaq's account of the Muslim victory at Badr (623/624 C.E.), God also promises ample rewards to those who die fi sabil for example, is peppered with accounts of martyrdom. In one Allah, "in the way of God": account, Umayr was eating some dates when he heard the Prophet promise Paradise to any who died in battle. At this he immediately flung the dates aside and threw himself into the Count not those who were slain in God's way as dead, battle exclaiming, "Is there nothing between me and entering but rather living with their Lord, by Him provided, Paradise save to be killed by these men?" Another Muslim, rejoicing in the bounty God has given them, because no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow, Asim, asked Muhammad, "What makes the Lord laugh with joyful in blessing and bounty from God, and that God joy at His servant?" Muhammad answered, "When he plunges leaves not to waste the wage of the believers. (3:169–171) into the midst of the enemy without mail." At this Asim threw off his mail coat, plunged into the battle and was killed.

Other passages elevate death in the course of struggle for Incentives for this kind of battlefield martyrdom are Islam (e.g. 3:157–158, 4:74; 9:20–22; 47:4–6; and 61:11).

colorfully elaborated in the tradition literature. Martyrs are first of all spared from the normal pain of death. They then proceed directly to the highest station in Paradise, without waiting for the Day of Judgment, and without enduring the technical terms for martyr, shahid, and for martyrdom, interrogation in the grave by the angels Munkar and Nakir. Once in Paradise they share the place closest to the throne of God with the prophets, wear jeweled crowns, and are each given seventy hours (virgins of paradise). Martyrs are purified of sin in the ordinary sense of “eyewitness.” The extension of the meaning of shahid to martyrdom was likely a borrowing from Syrian Christians for whom the connection of martyrdom with an act of witnessing was deep rooted and reflected in linguistic usage. While fighting unbelievers on the battlefield has recarried the dual meaning of witness and martyr, and A. J. Wensinck and Ignaz Goldziher plausibly argued that the standings of martyrdom, conflicts within the Muslim community Arabic shahid is borrowed from the Syriac. Martyrdom was taken in new directions. Martyrdom was an especially potent ideal among some Kharijite Muslims who called This connection between martyrdom and witness made themselves shurat, or vendors, in reference to sense to Christians, for the Christian martyrs were those who Qur anic praise for those who sell their earthly lives in exchange witnessed by their manner of death to the reality of heaven for Paradise (4:74; 9:112). The idea of deliberately seeking and the inevitable victory of God. But for Muslims the connection was a stretch for the simple reason that the came to be especially associated with Kharijites. One Kharijite Qur anic idea of death in the way of God required no act of ideologue, for instance, exhorts his followers to strive against “the witnessing. Muslims were thus left with the uncomfortable Abode of unjust leaders of error, and to go out (khuruuj) from the Transience to the Abode of Eternity and join our believing, came up with a variety of creative suggestions: Martyrs are

convinced brothers who have sold (ba u) this world for the called “witnesses” because their souls witness Paradise, their next, and spent their wealth in quest of God’s good pleasure in deaths are witnessed by angels, they will serve as witnesses the final reckoning” (Lewinstein, 2002, p. 85). As this against those who rejected God’s prophets, Muhammad will this exhortation makes clear, the conflicts that provided the Kharijites be a witness on their behalf at the Day of Judgment, or their Kharijites with opportunities for martyrdom were not struggles will testify to their exalted status in the afterlife. The struggles against unbelievers, but struggles for justice and purity in the awkwardness of these suggestions, as Keith Lewinstein points the Muslim community. More importantly, martyrdom was not merely out, suggests that later Muslims had no idea why the two ideas not merely an inconvenient by-product of struggle for which the martyr came together and that the connection had to be invented to the martyr needs to be compensated, but a goal worth pursuing in explain linguistic usage. pursuing in its own right.

Early Islamic martyrdom, then, was an inevitable corollary The Shi’a and Martyrdom lary not of witnessing to the truth but of struggling on its Internal struggles within the umma also shaped the construction of martyrdom among Shi’ite Muslims, for whom the

432

Islam and the Muslim World Martyrdom

death of the Prophet’s grandson Husayn became the defining was to render the major benefits of martyrdom common currency, event of their history as a community. Husayn was martyred readily available to any pious believer. Several in 680 at Karbala in Iraq when his small band, accompanied characteristics of medieval Islam contributed to the trend: the pervasive by women and children, was attacked and massacred by the influence of Sufism with its characteristic focus on the spiritual army of the Umayyad ruler, Yazid. Shi’ite interpretations of value of an act rather than its externals, scholarly quietism in Karbala took Muslim ideas of martyrdom in completely new reaction to the militancy of the Kharijites and other directions. Husayn’s suffering and death came to be seen not other Islamic rebels, and the simple fact that opportunities for martyrdom in just as an individual contribution to the struggle against martyrdom in the struggle against unbelievers were severely diminished injustice, meriting individual reward, but as a deliberate

after the initial century of conquest. redemptive act of cosmic significance. By choosing martyrdom Husayn ensured the ultimate victory of his community Outside the definitions of martyrdom discussed in the and earned the place of mediator for his people. Martyrdom legal literature, an independent tradition of martyrdom was became such a central value for the Shi'a that all the Shi'ite kept alive among Sufis. The paradigmatic Sufi martyr was Ibn Mansur imams were held to have been martyrs, and the major ritual al-Hallaj (d. 922), who was crucified by Muslim authorities and devotional expressions of Shi'ism are celebrations of in Baghdad on the charge of blasphemy. Al-martyrdom.

Hallaj, along with other Sufi martyr heroes like Suhrawardi (d. 1168), Ayn al-Qudat (d. 1131), and Ibn Sab'in (d. 1269), Types of Martyrdom died the victim of his own inordinate love for the Divine, thus To celebrate martyrdom is not the same as to seek it, exemplifying the Sufi ideal of extinction in the Divine and however. Shi'ite scholars were happy to revere Husayn but acting out the tragedy of the mystic lover, caught between the they resisted the impulse to emulate him. In this they were conflicting demands of love and law. This style of martyrdom belonged to part of a broader scholarly tendency to dilute the value of the spiritual virtuosi, however. For the ordinary martyrdom. In the hands of mainstream scholars, both Sunni Muslim, the benefits of martyrdom are only experienced and Shi'ite, the category of martyr was enlarged to include secondhand, by visiting a martyr's shrine, or mashhad, or for many kinds of death, including drowning, pleurisy, plague, or Shi'a, by reenacting the passion of Husayn in ta'ziya celebratory drama. According to other traditions martyrs also include actions during the month of Muharram. those who die in childbirth, those who die defending their property, those who are eaten by lions, and those who die of Militancy and Martyrdom seasickness. A special category of martyr is made up of those The sublimation of the martyr ideal in pious devotion has who suffer the pangs of unexpressed and unrequited love, continued in Muslim societies, but the modern experience patiently keeping their passions concealed to death. The has also given some Muslims abundant reason to revive more trend culminated in the transference of the value of martyr- militant ideas of martyrdom. Modern Muslim treatments of martyrdom to other pious acts, so that death was no longer the most martyrdom have been intertwined with changing attitudes important prerequisite. The band of martyrs came to include toward jihad, and are shaped by reaction against the quietism

anyone who conscientiously fulfills his or her religious obligations of the medieval tradition. Whereas for medieval jurists both obligations, those who engage in the “greater jihad” against their jihad and martyrdom were spiritualized and internalized, the own evil tendencies, and, significantly, scholars who engage colonial experience suddenly gave the idea of militant struggle in the “jihad of the pen.” According to one well-known scholar, the new relevance. Thus a common early response to colonialism, the ink of the scholars will outweigh the blood of the martyrdom. The emergence of anticolonial jihad movements like Sayyid Ahmad in India. Nineteenth-century Muslim apologists and modernists like Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), Chiragh Ali (1844–1895), and Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905) departed from the medieval tradition in not go unnoticed by legal scholars. Thus battlefield martyrs a different way by reinterpreting jihad to accord with Western put in a special category as “martyrs in this world and the next” and are honored with special burial rites. The martyr’s to no more than the right of a state to defend itself against body, in most circumstances, is not washed; he is to be buried attack. The effect was to encourage a secularization of martyrdom whereby any soldier who died for his country could prayers over the martyr are necessary since he is automatically be counted a martyr. cally purified from sin. The lesser categories of martyrs are “martyrs of the next world” meaning, chiefly, that they are Against both the quietism of medieval scholars and the not eligible for special burial rites but must be satisfied with apologetics of modernists, revivalists have called for a return to militant jihad and a revival of the ideals of physical martyrdom. Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949), founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and a celebrated martyr in his own right, offers a stirring invitation to martyrdom:

Islam and the Muslim World

433

Marwa, Muhammad

Brothers! God gives the umma that is skilled in the
Hasan al-; Expansion; Husayn; Ibadat;
practice of death and that knows how to die a noble

See also Banna,
Imamate; Jihad;

Kharijites, Khawarij; Ta ziya.

death an exalted life in this world and eternal felicity in the next. What is the fantasy that has reduced us to

BIBLIOGRAPHY

loving this world and hating death? If you gird yourselves for a lofty deed and yearn for death, life shall be
Islam: A Study of

given to you Know, then, that death is inevitable, the Devotional Aspects of Ashura in Twelver Shi ism. The

and that it can only happen once. If you suffer in the Hague: Mouton, 1978.

way of God, it will profit you in this world and bring Banna , Hasan al-. Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949):

you reward in the next. (Hasan al-Banna, 1978, p.156). A Selection from the Majmu at Rasa il al-Imam al-Shahid

Hasan al-Banna . Translated by Charles Wendell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

For al-Banna and other revivalists, waging jihad is held to Goldziher, Ignaz. Muslim Studies. Edited and translated by

be an individual duty (fard ayn) of all Muslims. It is thus C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern. London: Allen &

incumbent on every Muslim to prepare him- or herself for Unwin, 1971.

martyrdom, and it is on the basis of this duty that al-Banna Husted, W. R. “Karbala Made Immediate: The Martyr

calls on Muslims to become skilled at dying and to master as Model in Imami Shi ism.” Muslim World 83

“the art of death” (fann al-mawt). Since all must die, the wise (1993): 263–278.

will learn how to get the most benefit out of the exchange (Q. Kohlberg, E. Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom. Amster-

4:74). Such advocacy of martyrdom echoes the ideology of dam: Noord-Hollandsche, 1997.

the Kharijites and comes close to encouraging the seeking out Lewinstein, Keith. “The Revaluation of Martyrdom in Early

of martyrdom, talab al-shahada, a practice condemned in Islam.”

In Sacrificing the Self: Perspectives on Martyrdom and Religion. classical scholarship. The recent pattern of suicide bombings Edited by Margaret Cormack. Oxford, U.K.:

sponsored by militant Islamic movements, many of them Oxford University Press, 2002.

offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood, fits comfortably into Massignon, Louis. The Passion of al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr

the framework of the call of Hasan al-Banna to be “skilled in of Islam. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.

the practice of death.” Rosenthal,

Franz. “On Suicide in Islam.” Journal of the American Oriental Society 66 (1946): 239–259.

Modern Shi'ite treatments of martyrdom have tended to run along parallel lines, emphasizing the ideological value of martyrdom. When an individual gives his or her life for a cause, according to Ali Shari'ati (1933–1977), this life becomes valuable in proportion to the value of the cause for which it is spent. A martyr expends his or her whole existence for an ideal, and that ideal is given life through martyrdom. Taleqani, Mahmud; Muttahhari, Murtaza; and Shari'ati, Ali. *Martyrs thus exchange their lives for something greater and Shahadat: Struggle and Martyrdom in Islam*. Edited by Mehdi Abedi and Gary Legenhausen. Houston: Institute for Research and Islamic Studies, 1986. Sufi poet Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–1273) to argue that martyrdom is part of a chain of sacrifice whereby the imperfect is perfected. Just as vegetation is eaten by a lamb and becomes flesh and blood, so a martyr loses his existence to partake in a higher cause.

Daniel W. Brown

These justifications for martyrdom are clearly modern in their emphasis on the ideological value of martyrdom. Such ideas have more than theoretical relevance. Modern conflicts in Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Chechnya, Iraq, and Iran have produced a large crop of martyrs, along with a huge volume of popular literature celebrating their deeds. Consequently, activist and militant forms of martyrdom tend to be the most visible and dramatic expressions of the idea in the revolt against the government in the northern modern Islamic world. The prominence of such militant forms should not, however, be allowed to obscure the continuous that he claimed revelatory knowledge, which

by Ali
Guidance,
University
Jihad and
Edited by
Institute
Wensinck,
Sijthoff,
MARWA,
Muhammad
Cameroon in
After he
millennial
province of
of Sudan in

ued importance of other enduring expressions of martyrdom supplemented, and even superseded, the teachings of the prophet in popular devotion and especially in Shi'ite ritual. Muhammad. In 1979, he apparently declared himself

434

Islam and the Muslim World

Marwan

a prophet greater than Muhammad. The movement, also Uthman, Marwan is believed to have written a letter order known as Yan Tatsine (the followers of Maitatsine), was ing the execution of the Egyptians concerned. It was the nominally Muslim but unorthodox, rejecting established au- discovery of this letter by the Egyptians that led to Uthman's authorities, both religious and secular. It had a strong element being besieged and murdered in his home in 656. This event of political protest in it, attracting mostly the urban poor, is remembered as "the battle of the house," or yawm al-dar. young men who had moved to the city and could not fit in Marwan was wounded while trying to protect Uthman. He with established groups. later fought in the Battle of the Camel with A'isha against Ali, for Ali would neither investigate nor punish the murderers of Marwan recruited from Qur'anic schools, rejecting the derers of Uthman. Later, Marwan swore allegiance to Ali, authority of all books aside from the Qur'an, including the but joined the ranks of Mu'awiya when Ali was murdered. hadiths. Followers kept their own mosques and schools. The He was appointed governor of Medina by the caliph Mu'awiya movement was hostile to women, many of whom were kidnapped and kept in Marwan's compound for months. Tensions 661 to 668 and again from 674 to 677. with the government exploded in a series of riots, apparently instigated by attacks that Marwan's followers made on members of the local Muslim community in December 1980 in 683, followed by Yazid's son, Mu'awiya II, who died a few months later. Kano (resulting in 4,177 deaths) and again in 1982 in Kaduna Meanwhile, the hostility provoked by Yazid and Maiduguri, after which the movement was suppressed. It during his brief caliphate, which saw the death of Husayn b. Ali, the was blamed for further uprisings in the early 1980s, which the battle of the Harra (a stronghold in Medina), and the government used as an excuse to increase state control. onslaught against Mecca, had brought Abdullah b. al-Zubayr Marwan was among those killed in the 1980 riots. great

popularity. Al-Zubayr was acclaimed caliph of the region extending from the Hijaz (a region in western Saudi Arabia) to Iraq. The Umayyads were thus forced to look beyond the Sufyanid family for a leader.

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At this point, frustrated by inadequate leadership, tribal Callaway, Barbara, and Creevey, Lucy. *The Heritage of Islam: loyalties that had been submerged by the uniting forces of Women, Religion and Politics in West Africa*. Boulder, Colo.: Islam emerged once again. The faction led by Ibn Bahdal, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. chief of the Kalbi clan, proclaimed Marwan caliph, while the Kastfelt, Niels. "Rumours of Maitatsine: A Note on Political faction led by al-Dahhaq b. Ways al-Fihri supported Ibn al-Culture in Northern Nigeria." *African Affairs* 88, no. 350 Zubayr. When the two factions met at the battle of Marj (1989): 83–90.

Rahat it was Marwan who won the day

Paula Stiles Marwan immediately consolidated his position: He married Fakhita bt. Abi Hashim, the widow of Yazid, vowing that the latter's son, Khalid b. Yazid, would be his successor. Once appointed caliph, however, he first replaced Egypt's Zubayrid MARWAN (623–685 C.E.) governor with his son, Abd al- Aziz. Then, reneging on his promise to Fakhita, he named his eldest son, Abd al-Malik, Marwan b. al-Hakam b. Abi al- As, Abu Abd al-Malik, the heir to the caliphate. Finally, having defeated Musab b. al-Akhnaf of the Marwanid branch of the Umayyads, reigned Zubayr, the brother of his rival caliph in Mecca, he sent his for several months in 684 and 685 C.E. He was one of the general, Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad, to capture Iraq. Companions of Muhammad and the cousin of Uthman b. Affan (r. 644–656), the third caliph of Islam. Marwan was Marwan died in 685, murdered by his wife, Fakhita, before appointed secretary to Uthman during his caliphate because Iraq was taken. His son, Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705), sucof his knowledge of the Qur'an and became the caliph's cessfully consolidated the Umayyad caliphate under the closest advisor. He probably encouraged the caliph to com- Marwanid banner.

pile the Qur'an. Much of Marwan's wealth came from the See also Caliphate; Succession.

rich plunder he obtained during an expedition to North Africa, which he invested in properties in Medina. Despite

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objection from many Medinans, Marwan influenced Uthman to appoint his brother, Harith b. Hakam, to oversee the market of Medina. Dixon, A. A. The Umayyad Caliphate 65–86/684–705. London: Luzac, 1971.

Hawting, Gerald. The First Dynasty of Islam. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987.

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Islam and the Muslim World

435

Masculinities

Kennedy, Hugh. The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. Further research analyzes how maleness is inculcated London: Longman, 1986. through

rituals such as circumcision which, in certain Muslim societies such as Turkey, may be a prepuberty ritual accompanied by public display and celebration, including dressing the boy in a military-type uniform. The cultural significance of male attributes such as beards and mustaches, which may also have a religious or political valence, is another dimension

MASCULINITIES

of the

Muslim embodiment of maleness. Variations in conceptions of the ideal masculine have also merited attention in

The academic study of masculinity has recently emerged as a terms of homosexual identities, black Muslim male embodiment parallel to feminist strategies of deconstructing historical, ment, the effect of colonialism and the colonial gaze on

cultural, class, religious, and other factors shaping notions of Muslim constructions of the masculine, and so on.

maleness. In the case of Islam and Muslim societies, elements See also Body, Significance of; Feminism; Gender; contributing to masculinities are normative pronouncements Homosexuality.

of the religion, the models of the Prophet and his companions, as well as philosophical, ethical, and social discourses BIBLIOGRAPHY and practices.

Cornwall, Andrea, and Lindisfarne, Nancy, eds. Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

higher” and gives him responsibility over females. Nonetheless, feminist scholars such as Asma Barlas have been trying to

Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East. London: Saqi Books, 2000.

ries of the sacred text, for example, in Abraham's breaking with traditional models of patriarchy through rejecting his

Marcia Hermansen

father's gods. The Prophet himself embodied traits of strength and gentleness, and served both as a warrior and tender

husband and father. Ali, the fourth caliph, as a heroic male figure embodies both military prowess and spiritual wisdom,

MASHHAD

whereas Umar, the second caliph, projects the harsh and

Mashhad is a major city of Iran, and the capital of Khorasan,

uncompromising enforcement of social control while disthe country's largest province with six million inhabitants. In

persing impartial justice.

1996, 2.25 million of the province's population lived in

Both pre- and post-Islamic Arabic cultures contain well-

Mashhad. It is

the country's most important pilgrimage site,

developed concepts of muruwwa, or manliness, combining

visited

annually by over thirteen million pilgrims from Iran

moral notions of integrity, fidelity, valor, chastity, and honor. and abroad.

The shrine of Ali b. Musa al-Rida (Reza) (764–818

C.E.), the eighth and the only imam buried in Iran, is in

In medieval Muslim societies and Sufi spheres, the ethical

Mashhad. The imam was buried in an orchard by the grave of code of futuwwa (Arabic) or jawanmardi (Persian) was enacted

the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid at Sinabad, a hamlet near

by societies or guild-like alliances of young men bonded

Nawghan, one of the districts of the city of Tus. The Mongol

around ethics of honor and companionship. A sort of Persian

assault in the early thirteenth century, followed by the attack

cult of male strength and chivalry is still performed in the

of the Timurid Miran Shah in 1385, were major blows that

zurkhana, or "house of strength," where gymnastic exercises

led to the gradual extinction of Tus, so much so that we find

are carried out to the background of the chanted national

no mention of it in the sources since the middle of the

epic, the Shahnameh.

fifteenth century. While Tus gradually disappeared, the hamlet

of Sinabad grew into a town, first called Mashhad-e Razavi

Contemporary studies of film and literature from the

and then Mashhad-e Tus, as large numbers of Shi a settled

Muslim world explore their themes of male competition,

there because of the imam's shrine, known for centuries as

violence, and coming of age in a highly gendered social world.

"Mashhad al-Razavi."

Certain tropes, such as the wily woman who deprives males of

virility and the constant need to preserve and control female shrine and its upkeep received the attention of Samanid, honor, play on male anxieties. Some anthropological and Ghaznawid, and Seljuk rulers who held the Alawid in reverliterary studies have highlighted the role of the wedding night ence despite their Sunni creed. Mashhad received special in Arab societies, where in traditional contexts male sexual royal attention during the reign of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh. performance and female virginity were expected and verified, He visited the imam's shrine for ziyara in 1406 and it was giving further clues into the psychological background of during his reign that the famous Gawharshad Mosque, comasserting male potency as a quasi-sacrificial blood ritual. pleted for his wife in 1418, and other buildings in the shrine

436

Islam and the Muslim World

Masjid

complex were constructed. After establishing Safavid control The Qur an contains over twenty references to masjid, in of Khorasan, Shah Abbas showed a special reverence for singular and plural, offering ample evidence for the impor- Mashhad and in 1601 made a pilgrimage on foot, having set tance of this space in the life of Muslims from the time of the out from Isfahan, to fulfill a vow. The shrine received greater Prophet, although its form and its significance have underpatronage during the reign of the Safavids and the Qajars, and gone extensive elaboration as the Islamic civilization took most of the inscriptions pertaining to the repairs and new shape and expanded. Thus a variety of related institutions construction are extant. A new plan for the extension of the have emerged that are embraced by this same term, normally shrine complex was put into effect in the years before the rendered as mosque in English.

Islamic Revolution in the course of which bazaars and houses in a large surrounding area were demolished. New construc- In the Qur an, the word most frequently refers to the tion is still occurring in the open space around the shrine. sanctuary at Mecca, al-masjid al-haram, indicating its uniqueness and centrality while several passages refer to the prac-

In the past the shrine's upkeep and administration of the tices prescribed for it as a site of cult and pilgrimage (e.g., enormous endowments pertaining to it lay with an adminis- 2:196, 9:28, 48:27).

trator (mutawalli), traditionally a sayyid from the descendants of Imam Reza appointed by royal decree. Since the Islamic The first masjid built by Muhammad consisted of the

Revolution, the appointment of the administrator lies within enclosed empty courtyard of his house at Medina. Not only the jurisdiction of the supreme jurist (valiye faqih). The shrine did his followers gather there for collective prayer and preach as an architectural complex consists of the central building ing, but for many other activities. As the effective seat of and its gilded dome, which houses the mausoleum and a one- government, it served as the center of civil and military thousand-year-old mosque (Masjid Balasar), twenty-three administration while also providing space for instruction, halls, several courtyards of different sizes, eight minarets, and social gatherings, and hospitality to strangers. During the two towers, each with its own particular history. It also Prophet's lifetime the establishment of other masjids for local maintains a major library, one of the oldest in Iran and dating use appears to have been infrequent as believers were encouraged from tenth century, with 26,400 manuscripts, 2,820 Qur'an aged to regard every place as available for the conduct of manuscripts, and over 300,000 printed books now kept in a prayer, although later, masjids began to arise quickly, starting newly built structure (inaugurated in 1995), as well as a with those locales where it was remembered the Prophet museum and several subsidiary buildings housing various had prayed. facilities. The Astan-e Quds (Holy Threshold), the establishment which manages the shrine complex and the related With the spread of Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula, endowments, is a huge conglomerate that administers, in new masjids arose, especially in the principal cities such as addition to a university, scores of academic, cultural, and Kufa, Basra, Damascus, and Cairo, which sought to reproduce economic institutions that play an important role in the life of reproduce the model of Medina. Thus the seat of government and the province. the space for collective prayer were closely conjoined. This architectural fusion of religious and secular functions, in Mashhad has a center of learning (hawzah ilmiyya) next conformity with Islamic teachings, was also represented in only to that of the Qom in size and importance. Leading the nature of leadership. In time, however, the caliphs and scholars of this hawzah have enjoyed a regional following as their governors in the provinces ceased to preside at public "sources of emulation" (marja al-taqlid). prayer and to preach themselves, relegating these tasks to pious scholars instead, although these two realms of authority See also Pilgrimage: Hajj; Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Shi'a: remained linked in Islamic theories of rule. Imami (Twelver).

Hence, the preaching of the sermon (khutba) at the Friday Rasool Ja fariyan noon prayer—which was initially restricted to one large central masjid in the major cities (a masjid of the type that came to be known as a jami , or Friday Mosque)—always entailed the installation of a minbar, a raised platform or MASJID pulpit, which symbolically associated the preacher as the spokesman of the legitimate ruler. Later historical transformations, The term masjid refers to the customary place for performing with profound effects on political organization and the obligatory ritual prayer (salat) in the Muslim tradition. social structure, redefined this relationship such that today a gathering The Arabic verbal root s-j-d from which the noun derives, may occur for the weekly congregational prayer and sermon denotes the action of bowing down or prostration. Its close ideal in almost any masjid. Nevertheless, the classical envisaging a unity of sacred and civil order not only continues worship, predate Islam and allude to sacred venues belonging to inspire many Muslims, but it is formalized as law in most lands with a majority Muslim population.

Islam and the Muslim World

437

Masjid

A street near the Iman Reza shrine in Mashhad, Iran. Over thirteen million people per year make the pilgrimage to this shrine. © BRIAN VIKANDER/CORBIS

In addition to the paradigm of Medina, a second key Islamic heartlands and its periphery, but in Europe and America, influence affecting the development of masjids derives from often achieving a distinctive synthesis of modern and the example of the sanctuary at Mecca. This affiliation authentic form. appears symbolically in the directional orientation of a masjid, namely the qibla, and in the placement of the empty niche or The rich history of Islamic intellectual life is also deeply rooted in mihrab, which believers face when praying. But it also resonates in numerous ornamental motifs, such as Qur anic calligraphy their social, political, and religious functions. Frequently under the and in certain expressive patterns of devotion, including tutelage of a teacher also fulfilling the role of the localized pilgrimage practices, that emphasize rituals of rev- local imam or designated prayer leader, masjids not only

erent recollection or dhikr, colorful festivals honoring saints, provided training for children, with a curriculum concenand a variety of spiritual exercises associated with Sufi teachings. trated on the memorization of the Qur an and the acquisition of basic literacy skills, but less formally these same institu- The construction styles and, to some degree, the uses of tions provided advanced instruction, legal counsel, and spirimasjids have been adapted creatively over the centuries to tual guidance to members of the community at large. conditions prevailing in the many settings where Islam was implanted and flourished. In the earlier period, many churches, A related development inseparable from masjids involves synagogues, and temples that were converted into masjids their pivotal place in the establishment and the flourishing of contributed significant influences to aspects of subsequent the great medieval centers of learning throughout the Islamic masjid design, helping give rise to highly distinct indigenous world. This capacity to provide and to maintain fruitful idioms exhibited in the size, the shapes, and the lines of settings for scholarship and inquiry owed much to the priviminarets, domes, facades, arcades, floor plans, portals, and leges traditionally accorded to masjids, which included varithe internal furnishings characteristic of such particular styles ous juridical protections of resources derived from donations, identified, for instance, as Arab, Andalusian, Persian, Mongol, patronage, or endowments. Although modern schools in the Mamluk, or Ottoman. More recently, a variety of notable Muslim world, including most universities, follow Western contemporary masjids have been erected, not only in the old curricular models, masjids retain their distinctive impact in

438

Islam and the Muslim World

Masjid

In New Delhi, thousands of Muslims pray at the Jami Masjid, also known as the Mosque of the Mogul emperor Shah Jahan, during Id al-Fitr (Festival of Breaking the Fast) at the end of Ramadan in 1999. The Mosque was built in 1650. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

the formation of religious professionals and others seeking to featuring the establishment of privately funded masjids, some deepen their knowledge of the tradition. locally sponsored, others affiliated with larger regional groupings or transnational organizations that may share resources

In today's world, most masjids have substantially reduced and provide important forms of assistance not readily otheror shed the wide range of practical involvements that once wise available. Many such

independent masjids, evincing
integrated them on multiple levels into the whole fabric of various
ideological orientations and seeking to recover the
society. Centralized bureaucracies under state authority have active
autonomy of masjids belonging to a prior era, have
generally taken over the tasks of education, social welfare, the come to
play a dynamic part in efforts to forge new bases of
administration of justice, or the maintenance of order, desig- public
participation, promote social improvement, religious
nating specialized institutions and personnel as responsible renewal,
and political reform.
for providing these services. In most cases, masjids have
likewise tended to restrict their work to a more explicitly See also
Ibadat; Khutba; Manar, Manara; Mihrab;
defined set of religious activities. This trend has been espe- Minbar
(Mimbar); Religious Institutions.
cially evident in traditional Islamic lands, where their construction and
supervision is typically funded and managed by

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a government ministry that appoints those who hold positions in masjids and
oversees their operations. Affes, Habib, et al. *La*
Mosquée dans la Cité. Paris: Éditions La
Medina, 2001.
However, this widespread movement toward the incorpo- Frishman,
Martin, and Khan, Hasan-Uddin, eds. *The Mosque:*
ration of masjids into national regulatory systems has been
History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity.
accompanied by an array of elite and popular responses
London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

Islam and the Muslim World

439

Maslaha

Joseph, Roger. "The Semiotics of the Islamic Mosque" Arab social
good of the Muslim umma (community), thus follow-
Studies Quarterly 3, no. 3 (1981): 285–295. ing Ghazali
and medieval jurists but for modernist purposes.
Pedersen, Johannes. "Masdjid" In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2d
ed. Leiden: Brill, 1960. For
Abduh, maslaha took precedence over the sources of
the law in cases of necessary social reform. He and other
Patrick D. Gaffney modernists took the concept of maslaha a step further
by
using it as an argument against prophetic traditions (hadith)
and religious practices that were difficult to justify in modern
times. Islamist critics of the modernists rejected the notion of
MASLAHA permitting

any principle other than those contained in the shari'a to take precedence over the sources of the law. Nonetheless, Maslaha is an Arabic term that, in law and social ethics, means the principle of maslaha remains of vital interest and "the common social good or welfare." Medieval jurists and discussion among Muslim jurists, theologians, and social theologians defined maslaha in contrast to its antonym, mafsada, in contemporary Islamic thought, which means "that which causes or constitutes a harm."

According to historical and legal texts, it was the second See also

Abduh, Muhammad; Ethics and Social Issues; caliph, Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644), who applied the Ghazali, al-; Law; Shari'a.

principle of pursuing public policies that contribute to the common good over those that do not, although he did not use

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the term maslaha, as such. The issue arose over the booty Kerr, Malcolm H. Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal taken by Muslim militias during the conquest of Iraq and Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. Berkeley: beyond during his reign: how should captured land be distributed? In many cases, material goods and property taken in battle were distributed among the warriors as payment for Richard C. Martin

their actions on behalf of Islam. The caliph Umar ruled that, in the case of the rich alluvial land in southern Iraq between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates, the land should remain under the control of the state, to serve as a source of tax

MATERIAL CULTURE

income. This would allow a land tax (kharaj) to be levied against owners, to be used for the general good (umum al-naf) of Muslim believers.

material culture of Islam to underscore and appreciate the The medieval theologian and jurist, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali diversities of Islamic societies and emphasize the ability of

(d. 1111), argued that maslaha is the main intent of shari'a, the Islamic communities to use objects, artifacts, and forms of

sacred law of Islam. It is the purpose of the law to offer expression as media on and with which to express faith,

guidance and governance in establishing a state in which the identity, and status. The importance of sacred spaces, such as

religious and material welfare of Muslim believers is maintained and preserved. Ghazali and other medieval theorists the mosque;

types including dresses, garbs, and regalia, are disheld that, while the identity

general welfare of Muslims with respect to their importance in Islamic societies to needs and improvements should be linked to the shari'a emanates from their conformity with teachings on through legal reasoning, that which was deemed in context to Islamic law, morality, theology, and mysticism. be necessary to the welfare of the community required no other justification for implementation. The material culture of Islam includes objects, artifacts, and facets of Islamic arts created in diverse Islamic communities. The nineteenth-century Egyptian reformer and modernist in the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas theologist, Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905), also found cases. Comprising cultural products of spiritual reflections, great value in the legal concept of maslaha. Like Ghazali eight centuries earlier, Abduh was a seminal thinker who gave function to facilitate learning and mediation of social clear articulation to the intellectual currents of his age. In interactions and relations. Broadly, the utility derived from nineteenth-century Egypt and elsewhere, Western legal products and their performance is expected to conform thought and colonial rule was having an enormous influence to acceptable Islamic symbolism and communicative functions. on Islamic laws and courts, in effect challenging their authority and relevance. Abduh argued that the demands on Muslims to find religious guidance in the ever-changing social Architecture The mosque or masjid is a center for community prayer circumstances of modern society necessitated giving preference to those meanings which contributed to the common or history as exemplified in the Kaaba in Mecca. Mosques also

440

Islam and the Muslim World Material Culture

reveal a complexity of issues including the expressions of the authority among male Muslims. A West African Muslim male diversity of faith and its practicality as manifest in the multi-would hardly venture outside without his hula, and the people identities in Muslim societies. Exemplifying Muslim aesthetics grounded in the religions, epistemology, the mosque social occasions. Any Muslim may wear a cap but the position is situated and created not as an obsolete innovation but as the attributed to the individual is also gathered from the experiences, and environments of its relative importance of the quality of

fabrics and the ornate

interlocutors. As works of art, mosques are not created ex designs of the kofia or hula. Those with intricate patterns like jani la nihilo but their sophistication in form and image represents design), mbaazi (the green pea leaf), or chapa msikiti (the mosque the very essence and symbolism of Islamic cultures of sa- are the most adorned in East African Islam. Among cred space. Hijaz Arabs the ghutra (white scarf) is a modern innovation of official dress when topped with the igal, or black rope crown, Clothing while men in Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine usually wear a white The religious symbolism expressed in sacred buildings also or red- or black-checked kufiyya with the iqal. Historically, manifests in the material cultures exemplified and traced among urban men the most common form of headcovering was the through clothing and adorned regalia. Muslim conventions taqiyya, a small cap, covered by an imama, an of dress and garb form potent symbols of identification and embroidered silk scarf that was larger than the ghutra, and lifestyles. Some historical apparel probably worn for special was wrapped tightly around the head. This practice largely died out as occasions was preserved in respectful memories of its genteel men started wearing fezzes in the twentieth century, or famous owners, usually rulers and their progenitors. Other and now most male city dwellers in Arab cities leave their heads garbs are worn for their ascribed powers, especially their bare. ability to protect the wearer and ward off evil. Famous in this category of protective regalia are the talismanic shirts worn Decorative Arts, Writing, and Music by various sultans of the Ottoman Empire. Embroidered in Islamic material culture also embraces varied facets of visual and expensive silks and calligraphic verses of the Qur'an and and decorative arts. These items have no ascribed tangible value but other paraphernalia, talismanic shirts were gowns and garbs are useful in expressing and transmitting rememattributed with sacred qualities, but they also embodied the bered emotions and have a role in evoking intense social reactions. very essence of mysticism and the magico-religious aspects of For example, Turkish kilim (rugs) hanging on the walls of Islam. Sacred garbs also include the khirqa, literally meaning walls of living rooms have no tangible meanings, except for the memory of a glorious past visit to Istanbul. The expres- "a robe worn," which are actually garments or specialized sion of wealth and power could be exhibited through panocloaks worn and revered by the ascetic class, the Sufi. In

plies of objects and repertoires of gestures showing privileged
 Sufism aspirants in stages of spiritual pedagogy were beknownledge. The handheld
 staff, bakora, carried by members
 stowed with baraka (blessing) once they were given the khirqa
 of Swahili communities, is usually made of wood. It may be
 symbolizing that the wearer possesses special qualities from
 engraved in gold or laced with ivory, and functions to negotithe master. The
 felt is a woolen fabric of great social signifi-
 ate and symbolize masculine power just as the sword displays
 cance that appeared in regions dominated by the Ottoman
 authority in the process of negotiating for privileges and
 Empire; it played an important part in the lives of Turkomens,
 personal identity among Arab groups. In the spiritual realm,
 who traditionally lived in tents made of white and black felt
 the handheld tasbihi (prayer beads) are a symbol of piety.
 symbolizing wealth and poverty. The Kazakhs lived in felt
 tents known as kiyiz uy. Felt-making was widespread among The
 material culture of Islam may include the written arts represented
 the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks and their craftsmen played an Islamic
 by a variety of script forms. Writing developed in of the
 important role in the mystic trade organization known as ahi. revered and
 societies because of the need to record every syllable Muslim. In
 One of the most pronounced felt products is the stiff felt writing
 revelation of the Qur an. Thus, the written script was form became
 cloak, the kepenek, a distinctive garment worn by shepherds to inward
 its mastery became an accomplishment for any perfection. Calligraphy attains levels of religious
 protect themselves from heat in summer and from cold and consecration because its production entails notions that pu-
 its nascent development as a liturgical script form, rity of writing
 wet in winter. The most famous felt garment of all is the tall demands on
 depended on Sufi expressions of piety as its calligraphic raphy are
 conical cap, sikke, made in the city of Konya in Turkey and museums,
 the manifestation of spirituality, that is, of homes, and other places of historical preservation.
 worn by the Mevlevi dervishes. indigenized some of these gowns, including the East African
 loose caftan top for men, the kanzu, and the cap, or kofia. The Various
 musical genres have developed in Islamic comcap is the most visible
 communicator of identity and religious munities and one type, the taarab,

is popular among Muslims

Islam and the Muslim World

441

Maturidi, al-

In Islamabad, Pakistan, traditional caps are displayed at a market. AP/WIDE
WORLD PHOTOS

in East Africa. Taarob, which means “to be moved, or agitated
Stillman, Yedida Kalfon. Arab Dress: A Short History from the
by the sound of music,” includes both vocal and instrumental
Dawn of Islam to Modern Times. Edited by Norman A.
forms like the bashraf, which is played with a variety of
Stillman. Leiden Boston: Brill, 2000.

instruments, such as the nai, udi, and zeze.

Hassan Mwakimako

The material culture of Islam ranges widely and represents a
cross-fertilization of common ideas and religious
expressions in global Islamic communities, nevertheless displaying unity in
diversity.

MATURIDI, AL- (?–944)

See also African Culture and Islam; American Culture
and Islam; Architecture; Art; Calligraphy; Central
Al-Maturidi, a major figure among Hanafite scholars of the
Asian Culture and Islam; Clothing; European Culture
Transoxiana (Mawara al-nahr) region of Central Asia, and
and Islam; Music; South Asian Culture and Islam; the
founder of the Maturidite school of kalam, was known as
Southeast Asian Culture and Islam. Abu

Mansur Muhammad b. Muhammad. He was born in
Maturid (or Maturit), a neighborhood close to Samarqand, in
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present-day Uzbekistan, in the second half of ninth century
Dilley, R. “Tukolor Weaving Origin Myths: Islam and and
died there in 944. Sources name Abu Bakr Ahmad al-
Reinterpretation.” The Diversity of the Muslim Community: Juzjani
and Abu Nasr Ahmad b. al- Abbas al-Iyadi among his
Anthropological Essays in Memory of Peter Lienhardt. Edited teachers.
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Hodder, Ian. The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and
Al-Maturidi had an extensive knowledge of other beliefs
Symbolic Expressions. London and Boston: Unwin and
responded to views of Christians and Jews regarding the
Hyman, 1989. doctrines

of trinity and prophecy, as well as to Dualists,
Miller, Daniel. Material Culture and Mass Consumption. Oxford,
Manichaeans, Zoroastrians, and other ancient Persian or

U.K., and New York: Blackwell, 1989. Indian religions. Moreover, al-Maturidi is a primary source

442

Islam and the Muslim World

Maududi, Abu l-A la

for modern researchers on some controversial thinkers in bringing into existence (takwin) is a divine attribute, whether Islamic intellectual history such as Ibn al-Rawandi, Abu Isa the actions of God are created, or whether good and bad are al-Warraq, and Muhammad b. Shabib. rationally

known, and so on. But these differences are not major and are usually regarded as methodological.

He wrote many works, among which Kitab al-tawhid (On divine unity) is the main source of his theology. His Qur'anic Ash'arites, Ash'ari; Central Asia, Islam in; See also commentary Ta'wilat al-Qur'an includes rational interpreta- Kalam; Mu'tazilites, Mu'tazila.

tions on theological and juridical verses. Among his lost books, Kitab al-ma'alat was about early Muslim theological BIBLIOGRAPHY

groups, and Ma Khadh al-Shar'i and Kitab al-Jadal were on Ceric, Mustafa. Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of Islamic legal methodology. Three of his other books in the the Theology of Abu Mansur al-Maturidi. Kuala Lumpur: list given by al-Nasafi are refutations of Abu l-Qasim al-ISTAC, 1995.

Balkhi's works, who is known as al-Kalbi; two are against the principles (usul) and derivations (furu) of al-Qaramita; one is Frank, Richard M. "Notes and Remarks on the Tabai in the Teaching of al-Maturidi." In Mélanges d'Islamologie. Edited against al-Bahili's Usul al-khamsa; and another is against by Pierre Salmon. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

Mu'tazilism.

Özervarli, M. Sait. "The Authenticity of the Manuscript of Al-Maturidi had a high standing among the Hanafite Maturidi's Kitab al-Tawhid: A Re-examination." Turkish jurists of his age in Central Asia and their followers. He took a Journal of Islamic Studies 1 (1997): 19–29.

middle position between the Mu'tazila and the Ash'ariyya in Pessagno, J. Meric. "Intellect and Religious Assent." The some controversial subjects, such as free will, the attributes of Muslim World 69, no. 1 (1979): 18–27.

God, and so on. His doctrine was in some cases more Watt, W. Montgomery. "The Problem of al-Maturidi." In rationalist than Ash'ari's and closer to Mu'tazilism. On the Mélanges d'Islamologie. Edited by Pierre Salmon. Leiden:

issue of predestination and human will, as the best examples E. J. Brill, 1974.

of his thought, Maturidi tried to preserve both human freedom and divine omniscience without resorting to fatalism or

M. Sait Özervarli

a deistic approach. According to al-Maturidi, since the Qur'an gives moral responsibility to each person, human beings possess free will. There is no imposition by God on human actions, but human beings cannot create their actions

MAUDUDI, ABU L-A LA

or realize their potential without God's will and permission, which is the difference between al-Maturidi and the

(1903–1979)

Mu tazilites on this issue. Maturidi's formula about human actions was formed of free intention (kasb) of an action by a It was in

the 1930s that Abu l-A la Maududi from Aurangabad, India

human and creation (khalq) of this action by God if He wills. India formulated his political ideas about state and government, Human acts are thus acts of God in one respect, yet in another

which had a great impact on the Muslim world. aspect (in reality not metaphorically) humans' acts are by Maududi

was, like many Islamists of his time, an autodidact their free choice (ikhtiyar). A person's power to act is valid for and an

intellectual. He started his career as a journalist opposite acts of right and wrong. God's creation of human working

for the Deobandi-based political party Jam'iyat-e acts according to their own choice does not prevent human Ulama-e

Hind (JUH), but soon distanced from the party and freedom, because human capacity (istita'a) is already limited. in 1932

founded his own Urdu-language journal Tarjuman al-Qur'an in Hyderabad, India. In contrast to the JUH, which postulated

Al-Maturidi's school begins with his immediate follower, composite nationalism (muttahida qaumiyyat), and also in

associate and student Abu 'l-Hasan al-Rustughfeni (d. 956). contrast to Muhammad Iqbal's idea of a Muslim state

Abu Nasr al-Iyazi's two sons, Abu Ahmad Nasr and Abu Bakr (territorial nationalism), Maududi postulated a third alterna- tive

Muhammad, were both students of al-Maturidi's and al- when he began to Islamize the political discourse of the

Rustughfeni. However, the outstanding followers of his school nationalists and freedom fighters: An Islamic state must

were from a later generation. Abu 'l-Yusr al-Pazdavi (d. correspond to the Islamic ideology through which the divine

1099), a chief qadi of Samarkand at the end of the eleventh order can

be realized on earth. A Muslim should believe in the century and the author of Usul al-din, was the first among

sovereignty of God rather than in the idea of a government of

them. Another follower, Abu 'l-Muin al-Nasafi (d. 1115), was the people, through the people, and for the people. Hence, considered the second founder of Maturidism, and his role in Muslims did not represent a nation, but the party of God, that school is compared to that of al-Baqillani among Ash'arites, which acts as God's agent on earth (khalifa). For this aim, he Maturidite scholars differ from Ash'arites, the other Sunni considered self-purification a prerequisite. Toward the end kalam school, on a few theological questions such as whether of the 1930s he was convinced that the creation of a Muslim

Islam and the Muslim World

443

Mazalim

state would not be the right method of reform, because the

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un-Islamic politicians were not able to create an Islamic state. Ahmad, Khurshid, and Ansari, Zafar Ishaq, eds. *Islamic Perspectives; studies in honour of Mawlana Sayyid Abul A'la*

To put his ideas into practice, in 1941 the Islamic classicist Mawdudi. London: The Islamic Foundation, 1979.

Maududi founded the Jama'at-e Islami (Islamic Community)—which he led until 1972 as its president—and post-Revivalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

lated the sovereignty of God on Earth (hakimiyat-e ilahi) in a universal, ideologically Islamic nation. After 1947, he tried to

Jamal Malik

materialize this idea of an imagined community in the constitution of Pakistan, where he, along with the majority of his

community, eventually emigrated. Hence he accepted the idea of a nation-state, which he had rejected formerly. His MAZALIM

Jama'at won much influence, especially among young intellectuals and the middle class in the years to come. The word "mazalim" is the

plural of mazluma, which means

iniquity, act of injustice, or wrong doing. In terms of Islamic

Maududi was the first to work toward an Islamic constitutional judicial system, mazalim denotes a special type of court,

tion, and his endeavors were partly incorporated in the where sessions for hearing cases of injustices are held or

Objectives Resolution of 1949, which was incorporated in supervised by the supreme political authority, or by one of his

turn into the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, close deputies or other high-ranking authority.

according to which Pakistan was to be an Islamic state. His

rather state-apologetic interpretation of Islam, on which he In the view of al-Mawardi (d. 1058), the institution of

had elaborated in his Islamic Law and Constitution (1955),
 existed in the pre-Islamic Arab community and also
 made him and his party collaborate with the government at
 Sassanid regime. Mawardi mentions Caliph Umar
 several instances—for example, during the reign of Zia ul-
 al- Aziz of the Umayyads, as well as caliphs al-
 Haq—though Maududi himself was imprisoned several times
 al-Hadi, al-Rahsid, al-Ma mun, and al-Muhtadi of
 on the charge of being disloyal to Pakistan. the
 Abbasids as important leaders who employed hearings in
 the mazalim to distribute justice.

His argument was that the wrong interpretation of the
 A session of mazalim requires the presence of five types of
 Qur an's basic principles had led the people astray, which had
 assistants. These are the guards, the qadis, the faqihs, the
 resulted in the loss of religious and cultural identity, due to
 secretaries (to keep records), and the notaries (to witness).
 misguided mystics (Sufis) among others. It was important to
 The jurisdiction of this court extends to the adjudication of
 leave the jahiliyya (the pre-Islamic state of ignorance) behind
 abuse of power related cases involving both officials and nonand return to the
 righteous society here and now. The
 officials. It also deals with the issues of restitution of properreconstruction
 of an idealized pure Islamic society would
 ties taken by force, the supervision of waqf (pious endowguarantee the
 iteration of the original Muslim community
 ments), the enforcement of public order that exceeds ordinary
 (umma). This required Muslims to live according to the sunna
 internal security measures, the enforcement of judgments
 of the Prophet, based on a transnational view of the golden
 that exceed the authority of the ordinary judges, the enforceage of the Prophet
 and the first generations. It implied a
 ment of public duty issues such as Friday prayers, feasts,
 reinvention of tradition. With this argument Maududi crepilgrimage, jihad, and
 other extraordinary events. The mazalim
 ated a new normative and formative past, and an absence of is also
 called to provide arbitration between conflicting parties.
 historical records allowed him to regard himself an exponent
 of the projected imagined Islamic society, or jama at, as the The
 main difference between the mazalim and the ordiavant-gardist, who considered
 himself authorized to establish nary judicial courts is that the
 supervisor of mazalim (sahib alrenewal (tajdid). Ijtihad, for example, the
 maximum effort to mazalim or nazir al-mazalim) has extra discretionary
 power.

ascertain, in a given problem or issue, the injunction of Islam The
 ordinary judge is bound by the limitations of convenand its real intent, was
 the proper channel for that process. tional judicial system, whereas the

supervisor of mazalim

The concept of history informed by the notion of constant enjoys greater procedural latitude. For instance, he may obtain decay, already developed in his Muslims and the Present Political Crisis (1937–1939), was the basic motivation for his activity as a judge. The supervisor of the mazalim also is free to impose arbitration settlements that are binding on the contesting parties. This option is unavailable to the judge in an ordinary court. In other words, the uniqueness of the mazalim and became a member of several societies and a founding member of the Rabitat al-Islami in 1961. power and political authority.

See also Jama at-e Islami; Political Islam. See also Caliphate; Law; Religious Institutions.

444

Islam and the Muslim World

Medicine

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Takaungu,

never rendered tribute to the Busaidi, nor recognized their sovereignty over East Africa, and Busaidi attempts in the 1850s and the 1870s to force his submission were both failures. Active resistance ended when a final, pointless Mazrui uprising was defeated by British forces in 1896, forcing Mbaruk to end his days exiled in another colonial possession, German East Africa.

Osman Tastan

Even before Mbaruk's defeat, some Mazrui had discovered intellectual resistance to be effective. Originally Ibadi

Muslims, like the Busaidi and their Omani allies, in the 1800s

MAZRUI, MAZRUI many Mazrui

converted to the Shafi'i sect prevalent in East

Africa. One in particular, Abdallah b. Ali, made the hajj and

Although historically associated with the city of Mombasa, converted

soon after 1837. His descendants, including Ali b.

Kenya, originally the Mazrui (Ar. Mazrui) were native to the Abdallah

and al-Amin bin Ali Mazrui, became some of the

Rustaq region of Oman. By the early eighteenth century, they most influential Shafi i qadis in Kenya. More recently, scions of this began settling the coast of Kenya and Pemba Island until, particular family have enjoyed considerable popularity in Africa altogether, fourteen Mazrui clans came to be represented in and the United States as educators and modernizers of African East Africa. Mazrui accounts claim that the imam of Oman institutions.

sent Nasir bin Abdallah Mazrui as his representative (liwali) in Mombasa soon after capturing Fort Jesus from the Portu- See also Africa, Islam in; Zanzibar, Sa idi Sultanate of. guese in 1698. However, other sources suggest Nasir arrived around 1727.

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as its principal ruling family until the Busaidi sultan of Nicholls, Christine. The Swahili Coast. New York: Africana, Zanzibar, Sayyid Sa id bin Sultan, replaced them with his 1971. own representative in 1837. Altogether, the Mazrui provided Pouwels, Randall L. Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Mombasa with a succession of eleven liwalis, which was Traditional Islam on the East African Coast: 800–1900.

terminated when Sa id kidnapped and murdered Rashid bin Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Salim and twenty-four tribal elders. In 1741, Liwali Muham- Salim, Ahmad Idha. The Swahili-Speaking Peoples of Kenya's mad bin Uthman Mazrui had refused to acknowledge the Coast, 1895–1965. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, Busaidi tribe as the new imams of Oman. Further acts of 1973.

Mazrui defiance damaged their already poor relations with the Busaidi, making a violent outcome inevitable.

Randall L. Pouwels

Much remains controversial about Mazrui rule in Mombasa.

A Mazrui history claims they exercised a true mastery over Mombasa's affairs, and that their dominion extended over MECCA See Holy Cities

“most of the Swahili country.” However, a careful reading of all available sources indicates that their rule was totally contingent on support and alliances with Mombasa's Swahili citizens and their Mijikenda neighbors. Loss of this support in 1835 quickly led to the Mazrui downfall. Imperialist MEDICINE

ambitions to widen their influence through interference in the affairs of neighboring coastal states like Tanga, Wasin, Medicine has been an integral part of Islamic intellectual life and Pate were resented and frequently resisted. Also, the and social

institutions from the time of the Prophet. This Mazrui not only allowed a considerable trade in slaves at brief description will touch on the diverse origins of medical knowledge in Mombasa, but most probably participated in it. In later years, like many coastal Muslims, they exploited slave labor in the practice, and medical knowledge during the Islamic “Golden Age” (the areas they settled around Mombasa and Takaungu. the latter half of the seventh century through the thirteenth century C.E.); the role of the Islamic world in Although they lost Mombasa, after 1837 the Mazrui protecting, elaborating, and reintroducing Hellenic medicine continued to resist Omani and European imperialism and to contribute to Europe after the Dark Ages; and contemporary issues play a significant part in the history of Kenya. To avoid including the development of Islamic medical organizations Busaidi predominance in Mombasa, many resettled in Pemba, dedicated to the assertion and protection of the religious Gazi, and Takaungu after 1837. One, Mbaruk bin Rashid of context of the practice of medicine.

Islam and the Muslim World

445

Medicine

Medicine in the Time of the Prophet In 765 C.E., an eminent Christian physician who headed the medical The tribes that inhabited what is now Saudi Arabia at the time school at Jund-e Shapur, Jurjis Bukhtishu, was of the prophet Muhammad had a great deal of traditional invited to Baghdad by the caliph al-Mansur to treat him. He did this medicine. As medical thinking and knowledge became ex- successfully, and was appointed to the court. Although he returned planatory and inductive with the parallel development of to Jund-e Shapur, his son migrated to Baghdad and set up a scientific thought in general, much of this traditional knowl- successful medical practice. Other prominent medical men edge was preserved and some of it expressed in religious and their offspring soon joined an emigration to Baghdad, thinking. At the same time, distinct medical traditions were which became a medical focal point with many hospitals and well developed in India, Persia, China, and Greece. Early medical centers and a great deal of scientific and intellectual Islamic medicine drew upon all of these traditions. The activity of all sorts, most of which drew on Greek intellectual Qur'an itself contains limited specific medical text, although tradition. That the medical experts of Jund-e Shapur and there is important guidance in prescribing breastfeeding as

later of Baghdad were accomplished linguists
 the right of every child, in proscribing intoxicants and the who opened
 the Islamic empire to knowledge from the rest of
 meat of certain animals, and in commentary on the beneficial the world
 and made Arabic the primary language of the time
 health effects of some natural foods. However, the hadith for
 documentation in medicine, science, philosophy, and
 (authenticated sayings and deeds of the Prophet) and its many other
 fields.
 interpretations contain rich and detailed material on preventive and curative
 medicine, dietetics, and spiritual health. During the several
 centuries that followed, hospitals and
 Early in the Islamic tradition these sources were collected and medical
 schools were established and thrived throughout the
 eventually became known as al-Tibb al-Nabawi (Medicine of the Islamic
 world, with the largest and most notable in Damas-
 Prophet, or Prophetic Medicine). These collections remained cus, Cairo,
 and Cordoba. These facilities established tradidistinct from the Persian,
 Indian, and Greek sources that tions of treatment free of charge to the
 patient and acceptance
 early Islamic physicians drew upon, although they interacted of all in
 need of treatment without regard to means, religion,
 with these traditions through their work. The best-known age, or
 gender. The development, enrichment, and encycloversion is that of Ibn Qayyim
 al-Jawziyya, writing in Damas- pedic documentation of medicine in the
 Islamic world of the
 cus in the late eleventh century C.E. Translated into many time was led
 by a series of individuals, some of whom were
 languages and widely accessible to Muslims the world over, true
 “Renaissance men” of their times. The guidance of
 the Medicine of the Prophet forms the rationale for many several of
 these (al-Razi, al-Zaharwi, Ibn Sina) will be briefly
 aspects of everyday Muslim life in terms of health protection
 mentioned, but they are among many other eminent conand promotion—for
 example, injunctions against overeating;
 tributors to medicine from this period.
 prescriptions for the spiritual and psychological care of the
 bereaved and traumatized; encouragement of moderation in Abu Bakr
 Mohammed ibn Zakariyya al-Razi (known as
 all things; and much specific instruction on everyday food, Rhazes in
 the West) was born near what is now Tehran in
 drink, rest, and sexual behavior. middle of the
 seventh century C.E. Al-Razi was accomplished
 in many spheres, and came to the study of medicine relatively
 The Development of Islamic Medicine
 late in life after a visit to Baghdad and a hospital there, which
 The schisms within European Christianity in the fourth and

he later directed. There are many stories about al-Razi's skill fifth centuries C.E. paved the way for a shift of focus outside Europe for development of the profession. When Nestorius, as a practitioner. One famous account addresses his knack for the Patriarch of Byzantium, and his followers were forced out environmental health. The story goes that he was asked at some time of Europe a large pool of intellectuals moved to the Middle East, many to Jund-e Shapur, a city in what is now southwest- hospital in Baghdad. He did this by observing fresh meat hanging in various parts of the city and choosing the area community including Syrians, Persians, and Jews and where a based on where the meat took the longest to spoil. He was a diligent medical school was well established. When Justinian I (527–565 C.E.) expelled “heathen philosophers” from Athens, the Hel- His written works number in the hundreds. The largest, lenic medical tradition based on Galen and others was trans- which is a huge compilation of case studies and notes edited and published planted to the fertile soil of Jund-e Shapur where it thrived by al-Razi's students after his death, has been amid a community of scholars who translated the Greek called al-Hawa (the Continent); a thirteenth-century Latin translation medical works into Arabic either directly or through transla- translation was entitled Continens. This work summarized essentially tions into Syriac. Manuscripts from other regions including all of the medical writings preceding al-Razi's time India and China were also translated and when Islam ex- as well as his own observations. His most famous piece was a much shorter panded into Egypt, Greek manuscripts from Alexandria also monograph in which he distinguished smallbecame available. A short time before, the Persians had been pox, chicken pox, and measles; this work translated to Latin was called conquered by Muslim armies under the first caliph, giving the de Pestilentia and formed the basis for much future work on these Muslims access to Jund-e Shapur. highly contagious diseases.

446

Islam and the Muslim World Medicine

Several centuries later, the dual influence of al-Zahrawi in Medicine in Contemporary Islam the West and Ibn Sina in the East were pivotal. Abu 'l-Qasim Today, the infrastructure and content of medicine as it is al-Zahrawi lived from about 930 to 1013 C.E. and was known practiced in

the Islamic world is compatible with and even as the “greatest surgeon of Islam.” Zahrawi lived in the western caliphate, near Cordoba, and attended the University of Cordoba. He is most famous for his command of analgesia (largely Greek) theory that constituted the medical knowland anesthesia, utilizing opium and other natural narcotics edge of early Islamic history is still taught is in South Asia, and depressants, and the theory and practice of surgery. He are schools and licensure for practitioners of invented many surgical instruments and wrote what is no “Tibb Unani” (“Greek Medicine”). In most of the Muslim doubt the first textbook of surgery. Although ignored through- however, medical education and practice is largely out most of the eastern part of the Islamic world at the time, consistent with that in the West, with a structure of specialhis influence on Europe was very significant. ties, supervisory responsibility and liability, curricula, and requirements for continuing medical education for practi- Ibn Sina (known as Avicenna in the West) lived just a bit tioners. However, the last several decades have seen a movelater (980–1037 C.E.). He was born in Persia in what is now ment toward development of consciously Muslim perspectives Isfahan, Iran. Like many medical men of his time, he was an in medicine. intellectual in a complete sense, writing on philosophy, music, military strategy, mathematics, and other subjects as well A notable recent change has been the reentry of women as medicine. His greatest medical work was the Qanun fi al- into medicine throughout the Muslim world. There has tibt, a five-volume treatise based on Greek knowledge and never been a prohibition on female physicians, nor on the including Ayurvedic writings from India, some Chinese medi- treatment of patients of either gender by a male or female cine, and other available sources. The Qanun included discus- doctor. Aside from the doctrine that “necessity overrides sions of almost all ailments imaginable, as well as health prohibition,” the hadith states clearly that treatment should promotion focusing on diet, the environment, and climate; it depend solely on the needs of the patient and the capability of also included a huge materia medica including many medicinal the doctor. Indeed, the precedent for female doctors was set plants and the drugs that could be derived from them. His by the Prophet’s own entirely female medical corps that theory of infection by “traces,” together with the Prophet’s accompanied his armies into battle. As medicine became an earlier injunction to avoid travel to or from places in which intellectual

pursuit requiring literacy and education, skills
 plague was present, led to the introduction of quarantine as a that were the
 province of men in most Muslim societies, the
 means of limiting the spread of infectious diseases. Although profession
 became almost entirely male. As education has
 he also wrote in his native Persian, Ibn Sina's medical works more
 recently included women, they have moved back into
 were penned in Arabic, which facilitated the reintroduction of medicine
 without formal barriers and with enthusiasm.
 scientific medicine in Europe as the Dark Ages gave way to
 the European Renaissance. This process paralleled a period Recently
 there has been particularly active dialogue and
 of decline in Islamic influence and hegemony.
 introspection around issues of bioethics and the conduct of
 the Muslim medical practitioner in the religious context.
 The Re-Introduction of Medical Science to Europe Noteable in
 this context is the Islamic Organization for
 The Arabic text of Ibn Sina's Qanun was published in Rome in Medical
 Sciences (IOMS) (<<http://www.islamset.com>>), es-
 1593, and was one of the first Arabic books to be printed. The tablished in
 1984 in Kuwait with an objective of serving the
 entire text had been translated into Latin two centuries entire Muslim
 world. In its brief history IOMS has held
 earlier. This encyclopedic work soon became the preeminent multiple
 conferences on the heritage of Islam in medicine,
 medical text in Europe and was depended upon for four established a
 World Health Organization Collaborating
 hundred years by the major medical schools on the continent. Research
 Center focused on traditional medicinal plants, and
 It was published in no less than sixteen editions, in Milan, published a
 number of works focusing on ethical issues
 Padua, and Venice throughout the 1400s and 1500s; the last
 including Muslim definitions of the beginning and end of life,
 edition for textbook use was published in 1658. Ibn Sina's
 the use of newer reproductive technologies, care of the aged,
 writings, and the antecedent Islamic works on which he drew,
 and, recently, the impact of globalization on health and
 thus formed the route by which the Arabic repository of
 health care in the Islamic world. An Islamic Oath of the
 Hellenic medicine, greatly expanded and enriched, was
 Doctor was developed by an IOMS conference, and is now
 reintroduced to Europe. The subsequent major scientific
 widely published and used.
 advancements that came with Claude Bernard's (quite compatible) theory of the
 internal milieu, van Leewenhoek's An early anatomical drawing
 appears in the volume two
 discovery of the microscope, and other advances quickly color

insert.

pushed medicine to a secular, empirical basis and the importance of the contributions of the Arabic texts was largely forgotten. See also Body, Significance of; Ethics and Social Issues; Falsafa; Science, Islam and.

Islam and the Muslim World

447

Medina

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normative

example, the hadith. As one entrusted with knowl-

Bakar, Osman. The History and Philosophy of Islamic Science. edge, and

with the obligation to uphold "God's right[s]," al-

Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic Texts Society, 1999. Ma mun

wanted therefore to see to it that false beliefs about

Hathout, Hassan. Islamic Perspectives in Obstetrics and Gyne- the

Qur an were rectified.

cology. Kuwait: Islamic Organization for Medical

Most of those who were examined on the question of the

Sciences, 1986.

Qur an's createdness—by al-Ma mun's governor of Baghdad,

Islamic Organization for Medical Sciences. Overview of the by the

caliph himself, or by his officials in the provinces—

Islamic Organization for Medical Sciences. Kuwait:

ended up declaring their adherence to the caliphal position.

IOMS, 1987.

The most famous dissenter, however, was the noted hadith

Jawziyya, Ibn Quyyim al-. Medicine of the Prophet. Translated scholar

of Baghdad, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855). He, alongby Penelope Johnstone.

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side another recalcitrant scholar, was sent to al-Ma mun's

Society, 1998.

military camp in Tarsus to be interrogated, but the caliph

Rosenthal, Franz. Science and Medicine in Islam. Brookfield, died

before he could attend to the matter and Ibn Hanbal was

Vt.: Gower Publishing Company, 1990. returned to

Baghdad. This, however, was only the begin-

Wright, David Lionel. The Legacy of Arabic Medicine during ning of

the Mihna, and of Ibn Hanbal's long and muchthe Golden Age of Islam. Kuwait:

Islamic Organization for celebrated ordeal.

Medical Sciences, 1996.

In the history of Islamic theology, the doctrine of the

Gail G. Harrison uncreatedness of the Qur an (khalq al-Qur an) is

associated

Osman M. Galal primarily with the rationalist Mu tazila school.

However,

several other theologians also held this position. These theologians have often been characterized in Islamic heresiography as the “Jahmiyya,” for their putative association with doctrines held by an early and much-maligned figure named Jahm b. Safwan (d. 745). Al-Ma mun himself was not a Mu tazili, for he did not share the Mu tazila’s characteristic doctrine of free will, but he agreed with them on the createdness of the Qur an. Already in 827, the caliph had publicly declared his support for this doctrine, though it was only in 833 that he went on to institute the Mihna.

“Mihna” is the Arabic term for a test or a trial. In its most common historical usage, Mihna refers to the inquisition On his deathbed, al-Ma mun left instructions that his launched by the seventh Abbasid caliph, al-Ma mun (r. successor, Abu Ishaq al-Mu tasim (r. 833–842), continue to 813–833) toward the end of his reign to enforce the doctrine uphold his position on the Qur an. During the latter’s reign, of the createdness of the Qur an. The Mihna has loomed Ibn Hanbal was interrogated and flogged for refusing to accept large in the way medieval historians represented the reign the Qur an’s createdness. A central figure during the and the legacy of al-Ma mun, and modern scholars have often Mihna years was the Mu tazili chief judge, Ahmad Ibn Abi seen the Mihna and its eventual failure as a major episode in Du ad (d. 854), who is represented in Sunni historiography as being the religious and political history of the first centuries of Islam. far more anxious to continue the Inquisition than the caliphal successors of al-Ma mun themselves might have History been.

Later historians also lay much of the responsibility for In 833, while at Raqqa in northern Mesopotamia, al-Ma mun the flogging of Ibn Hanbal on Ibn Abi Du ad. For his part, wrote to his governor of Baghdad, ordering him to examine Ibn Hanbal is reported to have remained steadfast despite the flogging, the views held by his judges and the scholars of hadith after which he was released and left alone by the regarding the Qur an. The caliph believed that, contrary to prosecutors of the Mihna. His release is usually explained in what “ignorant” people thought, the Qur an was not eter- Sunni historiography as being due to fears of popular comnally existent—for this was an attribute that belonged only to motion against his persecution, though some (largely unfavourable) sources claim the real reason for it to have been that Himself had spoken of it. Therefore, al-Ma mun believed, he too

had eventually capitulated to the authorities. This, however, supposing the Qur'an to be uncreated and eternal threatened seems unlikely, in view of the severity with which Ibn Hanbal himself later treated many of those who had mine the very foundations of religion. As he lamented in his acknowledged the doctrine of the Qur'an's createdness durletters to his governor, most people were too ignorant of the ing the Mihna. reality of religion to hold sound beliefs about it, and yet they—and the demagogues who aspired to their leadership—The Inquisition continued under al-Mu tasim's successor, claimed to be the most assiduous followers of Muhammad's al-Wathiq (r. 842–847), who appears to have pursued it

448

Islam and the Muslim World

Mihna

rather more vigorously than had al-Mu tasim. Indeed, he As the names of those questioned indicate, however, scholars of went so far as to interrogate Muslim prisoners in Byzantine hadith were not alone in their tribulation. Some of those captivity about their view of the Qur'an before deciding examined also had a record of political opposition to the whether or not they were to be ransomed. The harshness of caliph, and this suggests that the Mihna's uses extended beyond the state's inquisitorial policies led some people of Baghdad beyond theological speculation and even beyond the caliph's assertion to attempt a revolt, but the plot failed and its leader, Ahmad of religious authority. For instance, several recent authors ibn Nasr al-Khuza'i, who was closely associated with the have observed that Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi was among those scholars of hadith, was executed (c. 845–846). Soon, however, those interrogated during the Mihna. Ibrahim was not a religious with the accession of a new caliph—al-Mutawakkil (r. scholar but, rather, a prominent member of the Abbasid 847–861)—the Mihna itself began to unravel. In 849, this following family and he had been declared caliph in Baghdad the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma mun. Even some year he ordered several leading scholars to narrate hadith to of the scholars who were questioned during the Mihna were the people, refuting the doctrines of the Mu tazila and the suspect on political grounds. For instance, the widely Jahmiyya. A more decisive demonstration of the shift in respected scholar Abu Mushir al-Ghassani (d. 833) of Damascus caliphal policy came when, in 851, the Mu tazili chief judge, had sided with an anti-Abbasid revolt in Syria.

Ibn Abi Du'ad, and his son (also a judge in the then-Abbasid capital of Samarra) were removed from office and their property was confiscated. This, for practical purposes, signaled the end of the Mihna, though the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an would continue to be debated in theological circles for centuries, as well as in the choice of those who were interrogated during its course.

Interpretations of the Mihna

Modern scholars have much debated the meaning and significance of the Mihna, and there is no consensus on why the Mihna are necessarily shaped by how it is seen in Abbasid history, and to early Islamic history in Al-Ma'mun's own explanation was that it was his calling, as caliph and imam, to provide guidance to his subjects and, over religious authority between "God's caliph" and particular, to rectify their dangerously wayward beliefs about emerging ulema, then the Mihna assumes the character of the Qur'an. Yet modern scholars have often discerned motives behind the Mihna which go beyond a specific theological controversy. In God's Caliph, Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds have argued that al-Ma'mun was really trying, through the Mihna, to make a last-ditch effort to reclaim a religious contest between the caliphs and the ulema prior to an authority that had belonged to earlier caliphs but which had been eroded by the growing influence of the scholars of hadith and of the ulema in general. To these scholars, religious authority was enshrined, not in the will or verdicts "commanding right and forbidding wrong." The caliphs, rather in the hadith of the Prophet, and of al-Qasim (r. 991–1031) and al-Qasim (r. 1031–1075) led efforts this the ulema claimed to be the sole interpreters. This

theological creed against the Mu tazila and other position was unacceptable to al-Ma mun, and the Mihna unwelcome groups; and caliphs could still participate in the represented a vigorous if ultimately abortive effort to make deliberations of the jurists. It is also worth noting that, in his the scholars subservient to the caliphs. influential treatise on constitutional theory, al-Mawardi (d. 1058) should have listed juridical expertise among the necessary qualifications for the caliphate, for even if such a stipulation was Ma mun did claim the sort of overarching religious authority more wishful thinking than a realistic expectation, it that Crone and Hinds impute to them. The Mihna is perhaps still reveals something about how jurists viewed the caliphate better interpreted not as the decisive culmination of a struggle two centuries after the Mihna. It is true, of course, that as the ulema's gle over the form or locus of authoritative religious guidance scholarly specializations evolved—a process already but, instead, as a break with the evolving patterns of caliphal unmistakably underway before al-Ma'mun—there was propatronage under the early Abbasids. Rather than co-opt or aggressively less space for caliphs to authoritatively shape religion close to the emerging scholars of hadith, al-Ma munious discourses in the community over which they presided.

sought to rein in their influence and assert his own authority Yet the constraining of that space is better analyzed not with as the arbiter of right belief. These scholars, best represented reference to any decisive impact the Mihna itself may have by Ibn Hanbal, were the principal target of the caliph's ire and had on it, but rather in light of the long and complex history of his effort to assert his authority. of the ulema and, of course, that of the caliphate.

Islam and the Muslim World

449

Mihrab

If the failure of the Mihna did not remove the caliphs from Madelung, Wilferd. "The Controversy on the Creation of religious life, the entire protracted episode and its aftermath the Koran." In *Orientalia Hispanica sive studia F. M. Pareja* did nevertheless contribute to the vigor and identity of the octogenario dedicata. Edited by M. M. Barral. Leiden: E. J. Brill, emerging ulema. The end of the Mihna brought to a close the 1974.

political ascendancy of the Mu tazili theologians, who were Nawas, John A. "A Reexamination of Three Current Explareplaced in caliphal favor by the scholars of hadith. Ibn nations for al-Ma mun's

Introduction of the Mihna.”

Hanbal was much sought after by Caliph al-Mutawakkil and International Journal of Middle East Studies 26 his officials; and though he is reported to have been much (1994): 615–629.

perturbed by what he saw as this unwanted attention, there Walter M. Ahmad ibn Hanbal and the Mihna. Leiden: can be little doubt that royal patronage was one of the factors Brill, 1997.

contributing, in the succeeding generations, to the growing al-. The History of al-Tabari. Vol. 32: The Reunification prominence of Ibn Hanbal’s followers in the religious life of the Abbasid Caliphate. Translated by C. E. Bosworth. Baghdad. The scholars of hadith had already, during the State University of New York Press, 1987.

Mihna, shown themselves to have considerable popular support. Indeed, such increasing prominence may, arguably, Abbasids. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997.

have provoked at least some of al-Ma mun’s suspicions of them in the first place. The end of the Mihna further

Muhammad Qasim Zaman

deepened and extended the populist roots of early Sunnism and, in particular, of those adhering to the school of law that came to be identified with the name of Ahmad b. Hanbal.

MIHRAB

In theological terms, a major facet of the Mihna’s significance lies in its contribution to the articulation of the “orthodox” Sunni view on the nature of the Qur an. Al-Ma mun had is known as the mihrab. Introduced in the Prophet’s accused his opponents of believing the Qur an to be co-eternal with God but, as Madelung—following the medieval al-Walid I (r. 705–715), the mihrab may have been originally Hanbali jurist and theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328)—has intended to commemorate the place of the Prophet, but it observed, early hadith scholars had usually been content to became ubiquitous and is generally understood to indicharacterize the Qur an as God’s speech and to leave the cate the direction of prayer (qibla). The earliest complete matter there. In response to the doctrine al-Ma mun wanted to survive is believed to be a monolithic marble to enforce, however, the traditionists came to hold that the dated to the mid-eighth century and reused in the Qur an was indeed uncreated. This dogma then became a Mosque in Baghdad. Later examples were often

Patton,

E. J.

Tabari,

of

Albany:

Zaman,

Early

The

Mecca

mosque in

soon

the Qur an as

example

mihrab

Khassaki

defining feature of Sunni theology, though there continued made of
other precious materials, including stone or glass
to be much disagreement, long after the Mihna, on its precise mosaic,
carved or joined wood, and glazed tile.
meaning and implications.

See also Architecture; Art; Devotional Life; Masjid.

See also Caliphate; Disputation; Ibn Hanbal; Imamate;

Ma mum, al-; Mu tazilites, Mu tazila; Qur an.

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MILITARY RAID

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which is essentially a form of brigandage, was

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the Bedouin pastoral milieu as one of the few manly

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occupations. Termed ghazwa, (pl. maghazi), in Arabic, its

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purpose was plunder, not bloodshed, and it was not permitted

Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. during the

sacred months: Dhu-l-Qa da, Dhu-l-Hijja, and

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Muharram (the last two and first months of the year), which

Development of Early Islamic Society." *International Journal* were set

aside for religious observances, and Rajab (the fourth

of Middle East Studies 6 (1975): 363–385. month),

which was set aside for trade.

450

Islam and the Muslim World

Minorities

Islamic literature, however, when referring to the ghazwa identical to,
the place and function of the pulpit in Christian

of the prophet Muhammad, makes no distinction between churches.

Not only is the Muslim Friday sermon (khutba)

battle and raid. Before attacking a community, the Muslims delivered

from its base by the local preacher, but important public would first proclaim a da wa or invitation, calling their opponents to accept Islam. Only those male polytheists who in the past the Qur'anic prohibition on wine was delivered refused to convert were fought to the death; women and from the minbar. Muslim rulers (caliphs), as well as provincial children were taken captive. "People of the book," such as governors or their representatives sat on it and delivered the Jews and Christians, were permitted to practice their faith, if Friday sermon. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, they agreed to pay a poll tax, or jizya. preaching from the minbar has been used to oppose political authority as well as to support it. In Egypt and Saudi Arabia, The title Maghazi is given to compilations which tell of minbar sermons in local mosques critiquing the government the numerous raids and battles that Muhammad undertook to have been taped and widely distributed. In 1979, minbar establish Islam in Arabia. The term has thus come to represent sermons were instrumental in mobilizing revolutionary activists the achievements of Muhammad, and become synonymous with the revolution against the shah of Iran. However, the main function of the minbar was to be associated with his life's work. Maghazi and ghazwa therefore are the minbar has always been ethical rather than political, with also used to signify events in the life of Muhammad. For sermons providing guidance on worship, family life, education, example, "Ghazwat al-Hudaybiyya" concerns the conclusion of the truce, and cordial human relations.

of a peace agreement between Muhammad and the Meccans. Sermons and announcements delivered from the minbar Muslim b. al-Hajjaj (d. 875), the famous compiler of assume greater consequence in part because the minbar is hadith (traditions concerning the Prophet), listed the battles located next to the prayer niche (mihrab) in the most sacred and raids of the Prophet under the title jihad, which literally part of the mosque. Minbars are composed of a platform with means to struggle or strive in the path of God. Incorrectly steps with a seat at the top and a balustrade, all usually made of translated as holy war, the term "jihad," in fact, is best wood and sometimes, in urban mosques, they may be elaborately carved and decorated. understood in a spiritual context and includes such activities as fasting, charity, and meditation. The term Fath (pl. Futuh) is more appropriately used for wars of expansion such as the See also Masjid; Mihrab. Arab conquests of Egypt, Syria, and Persia.

See also Conflict and Violence; Da wa; Expansion; Jihad.

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DHIMMIS

Rizwi Faizer Patrick Franke

OFFSHOOTS OF ISLAM

Robert Gleave

MINARET See Manar, Manara

DHIMMIS

From the beginning of Islam up to present day, many Islamic
societies have been characterized by the presence of more or
MINBAR (MIMBAR) less

numerous non-Muslim minorities. Whereas in practice
the status and treatment of these minorities have varied

The minbar is the elevated seat of honor in the mosque and it greatly

over time and space, Islamic law provides a certain
represents religio-political authority. It is similar, but not
theoretical framework that has remained quite constant

Islam and the Muslim World

451

Minorities

throughout the time: According to this all non-Muslim peo- pledges
allegedly given to the second "rightly-guided caliph,"

ple are considered infidels (kuffar, sing. kafir). However there Umar ibn

al-Khattab (634–644), by the Christians of the

is a basic distinction between the polytheists (mushrikun, sing. cities
conquered by him.

mushrik) on the one hand, with whom social intercourse is forbidden, and who were to be fought until they either converted or were killed or enslaved and the “people of the book” (ahl al-kitab) on the other, whose faith was founded on revelation, who were to be granted protection, and with the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. In the whom social intercourse was allowed. Originally only Jews and Christians were conceived as ahl al-kitab; later, however, against dhimmis in Muslim countries. In the West, this term was extended to a sect known as the Sabians, the adopted an intolerant policy, while in the East Zoroastrians, and, in India, even to Hindus. Concerning the government of the Mamluk state could not resist the legal status of these “people of the book,” Islamic law makes of jurists, such as Ibn Taymiyya, who insisted on an another distinction between the dhimmi living as a protected vexatious interpretation of the law regarding person in Islamic territory, the harbi who lives in non-Muslim lands (dar al-harb), and the musta min who as a foreigner is in the sixteenth century restored the classical granted the temporary right of residence in an Islamic terri-Islamo-dhimmi symbiosis. This lasted until the middle of the tory. The status of the dhimmis was secured by a legal century, when under strong European pressure institution called dhimma (“protection”), which guaranteed provisions of Islamic law were increasingly replaced by safety for their life, body, and property, as well as freedom of legislations that were intended to free the non-Muslims movement and religious practice on condition of their ac-inferior status of “protected people” and to make knowledging the domination of Islam. This included the citizens. Today most written constitutions of Muspayment of various taxes, the most important being the so- lim states confirm the principle of equality of all citizens called jizya, a poll-tax levied on all able-bodied free adult of religion, sex, and race. Certain militant Islamic dhimmi males of sufficient means. however, advocate the reimposition of the jizya and the dhimma regulations.

It is the attitude of the prophet Muhammad who, after the expansion of his authority across Arabia, concluded agree-Minorities: Offshoots of Islam.

In the
was very
Fatimid
the
late Middle
attitudes
the Almohads
the
pressure
increasingly
dhimmis. It
Empire that
nineteenth
the
new
from their
them full
See also

ments of submission and protection with Jews and Christians of other localities which serves as precedent for the dhimma institution. In the course of the Arab conquests under the Benjamin, and Lewis, Bernard. Christians and Jews in “rightly guided” caliphs similar agreements were reached Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society. with the non-Muslims of Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, and Holmes & Meier, 1982.

North Africa who surrendered their cities to the Arab armies. Gudrun. “Dhimmi or Citizen? Muslim-Christian Muslim jurists later compiled these individual treaties into a in Egypt.” In The Christian-Muslim Frontier. coherent, sophisticated legal system conceding to the dhimmi Clash or Dialogue? Edited by Jorgen S. Nielsen. communities almost complete autonomy under their respec- New York: Tauris, 1998.

tive religious leaders. It has to be pointed out, however, that S. The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects: A the doctors of Islamic law tended to draw rather distinct Study of the Covenant of Umar. London: Oxford boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims, and to inter- University Press, 1930.

pret the subjection of dhimmis to Islamic authority as a justification for discriminating and humiliating measures

Patrick Franke

imposed upon them. Thus, according to Islamic law, a Muslim could marry a dhimmi woman, but a dhimmi could not marry a Muslim woman; a Muslim could own a dhimmi slave, where the boundaries of Islam can be drawn, and although the reverse was not allowed; at the frontier the can be placed outside of that boundary, is, of dhimmi merchant would pay double the tariff rate paid by the normative procedure. In the history of Islam, a Muslim (10% and 5%, respectively) and in criminal law it was scholars and groups have been subjected to takfir—commonly considered that the blood-wit (diya) for a dhimmi declaration of unbelief—and hence might be classed as was less (one-half or two-thirds) than that for a Muslim; Islam. If one takes a strict definition of right finally, the dhimmi had to wear distinguishing clothing, in such as that proposed by Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, or in the particular the zunnar belt, and there were various limitations past, by Sayyid Qutb, many of those who call on the outward expressions of worship such as processions, Muslims do not deserve the term. Nonetheless, the use of bells, and the construction and repair of religious groups, religious at base and tracing their origins to

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braude,
the
New York:
Krämer,
Relations
Chaos
London and

Tritton, A.

Critical

OFFSHOOTS OF ISLAM

Defining

which groups

course, a

number of

the

offshoots of

belief,

more recent

themselves

these

buildings. A famous document authorizing many of these Islam, consider themselves Muslim despite the majority restrictions is the so-called "Covenant of Umar," a list of community refusing to accept them as such.

452

Islam and the Muslim World

Minorities

The emergence of radical alternatives to the dominant proceeded to establish a network of missionaries across Iran, Sunni expression of Islam is normally located (by Sunni who hoped to persuade the mainly Twelver Shi'ite population at least) in the first civil war (fitna), during the rebellion to recognize the Bab. The Bab's self-understanding caliphate of Ali (r. 656–661). Two alternative views of the developed further, and in 1848 he declared the advent of a new nature of the Muslim community emerged at this time. First new religion, with a new code of practice (which he contended the Shi'ites, who themselves later divided into a variety of sects termed a shari'a) to replace that of the prophet of competing groups. The Shi'ites not only considered Ali as Muhammad. It is clear he adopted the role of a prophetic figure, the rightful caliph, but also defended the doctrine that only figure, though he was careful not to classify himself as a nabi. the descendants of Ali could be legitimate leaders of the The Babists instigated a number of uprisings in the late Muslim community. Second were the Kharijites, who withdrew in the 1840s, culminating in the Bab's execution in 1850. The Bab drew their support for Ali following his willingness to negotiate with his opponent Mu'awiya. The Kharijites (literally, Husayn Ali Nuri, one of Shirazi's closest companions, promoted "those who withdrew") developed an exclusive view of Islamic messianism, claiming himself as a messianic figure who had been foretold by the Bab. His message identity, declaring all sinners to be non-Muslims. The main message consisted of a bundle of doctrines, stream of Sunni Islam took a more forgiving attitude toward including the unity of all religions, the institution of a new law for those who failed to obey the law of Islam in every detail. The covenant which abrogated Islam, pacifism and the desire for strict Kharijite view undoubtedly contributed to the relative world peace, and the role of himself and his descendants as a relatively small number of Kharijites in Muslim history. Elements for revelation, blessed with spiritual insights which elements of Kharijite doctrine, however, survive today within were passed to the people through new revelatory texts. the Ibadi community, which is restricted to Oman and small

Elements of early Baha'i doctrine are clearly influenced by communities in North Africa. Both the Ibadis and the Shi'ites Shi'ite Muslim theology and law. However, the Baha'is have have lived as minorities in Sunni-dominated milieus. incorporated Western notions of democracy and human Many offshoots of Islam are centered upon the charismatic authority of a particular individual teacher. This charisma is at times successfully transferred to the leader's parent religion. The feeling is mutual, as Baha'is are successor. Perhaps the most enduring of these offshoots is the Druze religion, which has its roots in the doctrines of Muhammad al-Darazi (d. 1020) concerning the Fatimid (Shi'ite) caliph of the time, al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (d. 996). Darazi, made claims of divinity for himself even some Babis (called Azalis) continue to exist as al-Hakim. This entailed an inevitable break with Islam, in Iran, although their numbers are difficult to which has been maintained ever since. The modern-day Druze form a separate, non-Muslim religious community in persecution. Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel. Smaller groups, such as the Ahl-e haqq and the Yazidis In the modern period, the Ahmadiyya, a community based around the teachings of the Indian leader Hazrat Mirza might also be classified as offshoots of Islam. Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908), provide an instructive example of theologies show a certain syncretism of the various individual charisma within Islam. Ahmad made a number of elements of the Middle Eastern milieu. The various different claims regarding his theological status, including Afro-American Muslim movements, such as the Nation of the assertion that he was the Promised Messiah of the Muslims. Though the community did maintain its unity after his offshoots display a variety of attitudes toward Islam, death, it eventually divided in 1914 along theological lines. to be considered Muslims, while others prefer The different groups, which still exist today, claimed differently regarded as a separate from, and superior to, Islam.

rights into

Baha'is

Muslim

generally

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Europe and

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Kurdistan,

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mystical

Islam, might

various

some wishing

to be

ent levels of authority for Ahmad. Some viewed him as a prophet (nabi) while others tried to ameliorate the tension See also Ahmad; Ahmad, Babiyya; Bab, Sayyed Ali Muhammad; Baha allah; Baha i Faith; Kharijites, Khawarij; The Ahmadiyya's minority status as non-Muslims was confirmed in Pakistan by a 1984 decree that prevented them from using Islamic forms of worship and legalized their prosecution. BIBLIOGRAPHY Amanat, Abbas. Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the A similar pattern can be seen in Shi'ite offshoots such as Babi Movement in Iran, 1844–1850. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989. Shirazi ("the Bab," executed in 1850), began in 1844, when Betts, Michael. The Druze. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988. Shirazi proclaimed himself the Gate to the Hidden Imam. He

Islam and the Muslim World

453

Miracles

Calder, Norman. "The Limits of Islamic Orthodoxy." In that led to mass conversions on the frontiers of Islamic Intellectual Traditions in Islam. Edited by Farhad Daftary. expansion. South Asian saints' lives often consecrate chapters London: I. B. Tauris, 2000. to waqf at or "events" of a paranormal nature including mind Cole, Juan R. I. Modernity and the Millennium: The Genesis of reading and predicting future events. the Baha i Faith in the Nineteenth-Century Middle East. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. More recent reformists and some classical theologians, McCloud, Amina Beverly. African-American Islam. London: such as the Mu tazila, were more skeptical of miracle stories, Routledge, 1995. given their rationalist proclivities, in some cases denying saintly miracles altogether. Debates over the physical reality Robert Gleave of prophetic miracles such as the night journey or moon splitting still engage Muslim commentators.

A color plate of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus appears in the MIRACLES volume two color insert.

See also Miraj; Muhammad; Prophets. Miracles in the Islamic tradition play less of an evidentiary role than in some other religions since the prophet Muham-

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mad's humanity is stressed. The miracles of prophets mentioned in the Qur'an are known there as signs (ayat) and Gramlich, Richard. *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1987.

include Abraham's not being harmed by the fire he was thrown into (21:69), as well as Jesus' speaking as a baby Gril, Denis. "Le Miracle en islam, critère de la sainteté." In (19:30–33), bringing birds made of clay to life (3:49, 5:110), Saints Orientaux. Edited by Denise Aigle. Paris: de Boccard, 1995.

and healing powers (3:49). The Qur'an itself is often said to be the main miracle of Muhammad since an untutored or Marcia Hermansen illiterate (ummi) person could not have been the source of this most compelling and eloquent message.

The sayings of the Prophet and his biography (sira), as they developed provide examples of various miraculous occurrences during the life of the Prophet including the childhood opening of his breast and cleansing of his internal organs by an angel, his night journey from Jerusalem through the earth to the heavens. The narrative of the night journey the seven heavens, his splitting of the moon, multiplication of food, and bestowal of blessings generally. in the hadith reports of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Early Islamic sources preserve references to Muhammad's extraordinary journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and/or from the earth to the heavens. The narrative of the night journey (isra) and ascension (mi raj) developed its own unique form in the Qur'anic proof-text for the Mi raj is the elliptic mu jizat, or "things which render the detractors or opponents opening verse of Sura 17: "Glorified be the one who caused his servant incapable or overwhelmed." In other words, acts incapable of his servant to journey by night from the sacred prayer-site to the furthest prayer-site whose precincts we have blessed in order to show him some of our signs. . . ." Muslim consensus reads the verse as a reference to Muhammad's miraculous journey from the Ka'ba ("the sacred prayer-site") to either the Temple in Jerusalem or a heavenly temple ("the furthest karamat (gifts or graces). They have the ambiguous role of

prayer-site"). The sound hadiths of Bukhari and Muslim both confirming spiritual attainments and potentially dis- show that both the terrestrial and the celestial night journeys tracting from the ultimate goal of service of God. Classical were considered potentially authentic by early traditionists. authors struggled to differentiate prophetic and saintly miracles, and those who were inclined toward Sufism saw the Early exegetes such as Muqatil b. Sulayman al-Balkhi (d. c. 767) and Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari (d. 923) collated the legacy. Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. 930) argued that the signs "night journey verse" (17:1) with the visionary passage from of the prophets emanated from the divine power while the the beginning of the Sura of the Star (53:1–18). The latter passage karamat of the saints emanated from the divine generosity. describes a pair of visions, one at "a distance of two bows or Other Sufi commentators differentiated the public nature of bows or nearer," the other at "the lote tree of the boundary." prophetic miracles from the secretive aspects of saintly pow- Exegetes disagree about whether these verses describe Muhamers. Later Sufis, however, did not hesitate to openly enumer- mad's vision of God or of Gabriel, but they generally agree in ate the graces they received as in the Lata if al-minan of al- placing the "lote tree of the boundary" in the heavens and Shar ani or the many accounts of saints performing miracles thus in relating the passage to the Mi raj.

454

Islam and the Muslim World

Mi raj

At least some early Muslims considered the night journey Farid al-Din Attar (d. c. 1220) made the Prophet's journey and ascension to refer to two separate events. The biography into a paradigm for their own journey toward mystical union. of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq (d. c. 767) in the recension of Ibn For philosopher Ibn Sina (d. 1037), the Mi raj serves as a Hisham (d. 833) treats the two separately but in succession. neoplatonic allegory. For the litterateur Abu Ala al-Ma arri The biographer Ibn Sa d (d. 845) goes even further by (d. c. 1058) it stimulated an imaginative parody of contempoattaching two different dates to the events. While the date of rary attitudes toward literature, linguistics, and morality. the journey(s) remained a source of controversy, the idea that the journey from Mecca to Jerusalem was immediately fol- The Mi raj also became a site of literary and cultural lowed by the ascension from Jerusalem through the seven contestation and intercourse among different religious and

heavens became the majority opinion in the centuries that followed. The thirteenth-century Latin and old French translations of the Liber Scale indicate the story's influence among European intellectuals, including Dante. In The night journey and ascension narrative begins typically with the Prophet asleep in Mecca and awakened by one numerous poetic works. A fifteenth-century eastern or more angels. In some versions, these angels open the manuscript accompanied by stunning Persian miniature Prophet's chest and cleanse his heart (94). Then the magical illustrates the story's influence on painting. At some point Muslims beast Buraq bears Muhammad to Jerusalem where he began to commemorate the night of the ascension forms the prayer at the Temple in the company of Abraham, during the month of Rajab, which has become an important popular holiday. Some Islamic Mi raj material shows clear three cups of different drinks. He proves his right guidance by signs of engagement with other traditions. One Mi raj avoiding the wine and selecting the milk. narrative attributed to al-Bistami draws upon material from Jewish Merkava and Hekhalot ascent narratives of the The angel Gabriel then takes Muhammad up through the Jewish mystics describing journeys through celestial palaces heavens. At each level an angelic gatekeeper interrogates to the divine throne. Christian apocalyptic writings such as Gabriel before allowing entrance. In each Muhammad enthe Apocalypse of Paul also contain important parallels, as do counters one or more Abrahamic prophets, offers his greetinter-testamental and apocryphal texts such as the Ethiopic ing, and then departs for the next level. The typical order of Book of Enoch. The initiatic features of the Mi raj (e.g., ritual encounter, already present in Ibn Hisham's account, consists dismemberment, meeting past elders, receiving a divine comof Adam in the first heaven, Jesus and John the Baptist in the mission) has led some to note similarities to patterns from second, Joseph in the third, Enoch (Idris) in the fourth, Aaron shamanic tradition. in the fifth, Moses in the sixth, and Abraham in the seventh. After meeting Abraham in the seventh heaven near the In general, the Mi raj interpretation of the visions of celestial temple known as the frequented house (al-bayt al-Qur an 53 offers a paradigm of "ascent" by the Prophet toward ma mur), Muhammad arrives at the lote tree, experiences a revelation in contrast to the dominant Qur anic motif

revelation, and receives the ritual duty to pray fifty times a day of “descent” (tanazzul) of the revelation toward the Prophet, day. He descends to Moses, who sends him back to request two contrasting paradigms that were in similar play throughout the burden be reduced. God removes a portion of the out late antiquity and the Middle Ages. One could read many duty, but Moses sends Muhammad back again and again until Mi raj traditions as expressions of a symbolic cosmology that the number of daily ritual prayers is reduced to five. Some served as a common cultural language for religious, philosophical, literary, and cultural contact and as a symbolic field his experience to a skeptical Meccan community. that differing cultural worlds attempted to appropriate as their own.

By the ninth century this spare narrative was amplified by storytellers. Evidence for this popular tradition can be found An interpretation of Muhammad’s vision of ascension appears in the extended narratives preserved in the Qur’an in the volume two color plates.

varies on the “night journey verse” by al-Tabari and the early Shi’ite exegete Ali b. Ibrahim al-Qummi (d. c. 919). The See also Buraq; Holy Cities; Ibadat; Miracles.

account of Muhammad’s young companion Ibn Abbas (d. c. 687) circulated widely and remains highly popular. BIBLIOGRAPHY The Mi raj tradition served to bring various modes of Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad, ed. *Le Voyage initiatique en Terre* Islamic literature into conversation. The pivotal Sufi d’Islam. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1996.

traditionists Abu Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (d. 1021) and Asin Palacios, Miguel. *La escalatoria musulmana en la Divina* Abd al-Karim al-Qushayri (d. 1072) each composed important Comedia. Madrid and Granada: Consejo Superior de tant works on the early mystical interpretations of Muhammad. Investigaciones Científicas, 1919.

Mad’s night journey and ascension. Mystics such as Abu Yazid Bencheikh, Jamel Eddine. *Le Voyage nocturne de Mahomet*. al-Bistami (d. c. 850), Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi (d. 1240), and Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1988.

Islam and the Muslim World

455

Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri

Ghayti, Najm al-Din al-. “The Story of the Night Journey crisis, but also—in the view of the modernists—offered solutions and the Ascension.” In *A Reader on Islam*. Edited and tions to the crisis. Influential early figures included Sayyid

translated by Arthur Jeffrey. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton and Co., 1962. (1849–1905), and Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898). Islamic Heath, Peter. *Allegory and Philosophy in Avicenna (Ibn Sina)*. modernism generated a series of novel institutions, including Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. schools that combined Islamic education with modern sub-Hyatte, Richard. *The Prophet of Islam in Old French: The jects and pedagogies; newspapers that carried modernist Romance of Muhammad (1258) and The Book of Muham- Islamic ideas across continents; theaters, museums, novels, mad's Ladder (1264)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997. and other cultural forms that were adapted from European Ibn Hisham, Abd al-Malik. "The Night Journey and Ascent models; constitutions that sought to limit state power; and to Heaven." In *The Life of Muhammad*. Edited and trans- social welfare agencies that brought state power into ever- lated by Alfred Guillame. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford Univer- more sectors of social life. sity Press, 1955.

Piemontese, Angelo. "Le Voyage de Mahomet au Paradis et Islamic modernism justified each of these institutions as Enfer: une version persane du Mi raj." In *Apocalypses et en being more consistent with the original spirit of Islam than Voyages dans l'Au-delà*. Edited by Claude Kappler. Paris: were the existing institutions of the Islamic world. In some Les Editions du CERF, 1987. regions Islamic modernism declined in the mid-twentieth century, Samarrai, Qassim. *The Theme of Ascension in Mystical Writings*. century, losing popularity to revivalist and secularist move- Baghdad: National Printing Company, 1968. ments. Yet it appeared to have revived in the late twentieth century, Schimmel, Annemarie. "The Prophet's Night Journey and century, spurred in part by a dramatic global increase in Ascension." In *And Muhammad is His Messenger*. Chapel modern education. Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

See also Abduh, Muhammad; Afghani, Jamal al-Din; Seguy, Marie-Rose. *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet*. Trans-Ahmad Khan, (Sir) Sayyid; Iqbal, Muhammad; Liberlated by Richard Pevear. New York: George Braziller, 1977.

alism, Islamic; Modern Thought; Rahman, Fazlur. Sells, Michael. *Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi, Qur an, Mi raj, Poetic and Theological Writings*. New York: Paulist Press, 1996.

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MODERNITY

Frederick Colby The European penetration of the Near East and India and the
Michael Sells decline of Muslim ascendancy in these regions in the
nineteenth century precipitated the crisis that defined the responses of Muslim
intellectuals to European modernity. The

MIRZA HUSAYN ALI NURI

key thinkers

in the nineteenth century, who continue to
influence contemporary attitudes in the Islamic world to
See Baha allah

modernity, were the so-called Islamic modernists, such as
Jamal al-Din Afghani (1839–1897), Muhammad Abduh
(1849–1905), and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898).
Although there were some differences between these think-
MODERNISM ers, their

work was governed by the same project, which was
to show that Islam was consistent with the rationality of the
Modernism is a movement to reconcile Islamic faith with European
enlightenment and the development of modern
modern values such as nationalism, democracy, rights, ra- science. As
such, they argued that there was no fundamental
tionality, science, equality, and progress. Islamic modernism
incompatibility between modernity and its narrative of progress distinguished
from secularism by its insistence on the mess, and Islam as a religion.

They tended toward a rationalist
continuing importance of faith in public life; it is distin- interpretation
of the Qur'an, in which whatever appeared to
guished from other Islamic movements by its enthusiasm for be in
contradiction to rationality could be interpreted symmetrically contemporary European
institutions. The movement emerged symbolically and allegorically. As a
consequence of this they
in the middle of the nineteenth century as a response to argued that
the meaning of the Qur'an was accessible to
European imperialism, which pitched the Islamic world into everyone. In
other words, there was no need to rely on

the technical and elaborate procedures of tafsir, in which the ulema trained in the traditional Islamic sciences were conversant.

These two tendencies in Islamic modernism also reflected in part the major impact of print on the Islamic world in the modern period. From the nineteenth century onward, the availability of the Qur'an in print, and its concurrent translation into local languages, struck at the very heart of the traditional system of the oral transmission of knowledge, in which the charisma of the teacher as a living embodiment of knowledge was crucial. The multiplication of texts through printing made unsupervised reading possible. This in turn meant that it was possible to engage with religious texts without the mediation of the formally trained ulema.

These tendencies in Islamic modernism, and the impact of print, lie behind the works of a number of important Muslim thinkers in the twentieth century, in which the engagement with European modernity was a key theme. It is particularly evident in the commentaries on the Qur'an by Sayyid Abu l-A'la Maududi, the founder of the fundamentalist Jama'at-e Islami. Maududi himself was not a formally trained alim, but it is precisely because of this that his ideas and thought played a crucial role in the development of what is called Islamic fundamentalism. These tendencies are similarly evident in Muhammad Iqbal's (1893–1938) *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (1934). This work exemplifies Islamic modernism's response to European modernity both in its style and its content. It purports to show how the Qur'an is entirely consonant with the major discoveries of European science, and it is wide-ranging in its eclectic use of European thought. Iqbal's engagement with the Qur'an is singular and unmediated by any sense of tafsir in the traditional sense of the word. Ahmed Ali's 2001 *Girls' Secrets*, a film in which a middleclass family faces its teenage daughter's pregnancy. The film has been acclaimed for its portrayal of contemporary Egypt's struggle to balance tradition and religion with modernity and science. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Islam's relationship with modernity has been the defining theme of the work of major Muslim thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The strategies of interpreting the Qur'an, and its relocation as a sacred text in the act of thought to European thought is mimetic; that is to individual and unmediated reading, are in fact among the work of Afghani, Abduh, Iqbal, and others, such as

major consequences of the impact of modernity on Islam. the poet
 Altaf Husayn Hali (1837–1914), Islam is refashioned
 However, the role of modernist thinkers as spokesmen for into a
 mirror of European modernity. At the same time,
 Islam vis-à-vis European modernity also points to some other though,
 Islamic modernism also teases out, generally unselffeatures of the impact of
 modernity on the Islamic world. consciously, the contradictions in
 European modernity itself.

Islamic engagements with modernity are at times ambivalent,
 First, it is clear that there are a multiplicity of Islamic rather than
 mimetic alone. As such, these engagements can be
 voices engaging with European modernity. This in part is read
 alongside the works of European philosophers, such as
 also a consequence of the abolition of the caliphate in 1924 by those of
 the Frankfurt School and Michel Foucault, who have
 Ataturk, so that even symbolically there is no single figure- explored
 the tensions in modernity, arguing that it is less a
 head in the Islamic world. This, together with the undermin- narrative
 of progress than one of repression.

ing of the authority of the formally trained ulema, has meant
 that there are competing voices for Islam with no clear Thirdly,
 nowhere is this ambivalence to modernity more
 procedures or authorities to adjudicate between them. evident
 than in the attitude to the nation-state demonstrated
 by the thinkers mentioned above. There is an obvious tension
 Secondly, Islamic engagements with modernity can be between the
 modernist attempts to define a pan-Islamic,
 read in two overlapping ways. In part, the relationship of worldwide
 community, theoretically made possible through

Islam and the Muslim World

457

Modernization, Political

innovations in technologies of communication, and the fun-
 CONSTITUTIONALISM
 damental reality of the nation-state, some with Muslim popu- Sohail
 H. Hashmi

lations that are hostile to each other. The very attempts by
 PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL MOVEMENTS, AND PARTIES
 Afghani, Abduh, Iqbal, and others to reinterpret Islamic law Quintan
 Wiktorowicz

as a legal system in keeping with a modern state is indicative
 of the powerful reality of the nation-state as the organizing
 principle of the world in the twentieth century. Furthermore,
 ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY, AND
 given the fact that the nation-state tends toward monopoliz- JUDICIAL
 REFORM

The modern states of the Middle East are remnants of the
ing all sources of authority, as long as it remains in existence,
Ottoman (Turkish) and Safavid (Persian) dominions, the last
it is unlikely that the ulema will recover the authority they
of the great Muslim empires. These countries not only share
enjoyed in the pre-modern Islamic world.
common religious and historical legacies but have also expe-
The engagement of Islam with modernity remains open- rienced very
similar colonial and postcolonial influences. The
ended and multivocal. Having said that, it is important to term
“Middle East” in fact alludes to the colonial encounter
note that no Muslim thinker has argued for rejecting Euro- and was
coined by the Allied forces (the British, Free French,
pean modernity in toto in the way that the famous Indian and
Americans) during the Second World War to indicate a
nationalist leader, Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), tried to single
military theater for operational and supply purposes.
do in his life’s work. Although there may be problems The area
in question thus encompasses the Arab world as well
regarding the feasibility of Gandhi’s position, the fact that the as the
non-Arab countries of Turkey and Iran. To fully
possibility of any alternatives to European modernity has not appreciate
developments in the post-independence period—
been explored in any depth in Muslim thought is powerful after
1945—events that led to the modern state system must
testimony to the sway that European modernity has held over be briefly
charted.
the Islamic world since the early nineteenth century.
World War I resulted in the collapse of the Ottoman
See also Abduh, Muhammad; Afghani, Jamal al-Din; Empire and
the creation of mandate territories run as colo-
Ahmad Khan, (Sir) Sayyid; Iqbal, Muhammad; Liber- nies. This
gave rise to strong anti-colonial, nationalist movealism, Islamic; Maududi, Abu
l-A la ; Modern Thought. ments, especially in Turkey and Iran,
which emerged as
independent states in 1923 and 1921, respectively. Egypt
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independence in 1922, when the British withdrew
from direct control, and Saudi Arabia attained sovereignty in
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period after World War II was characterized by
rapid independence, and between 1945 and 1946 Syria,
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Lebanon, and Jordan all witnessed the disappearance of the
York: Verso, 1993.
European presence. However, the authority of the West still

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 of the most significant factors challenging reform
 and the Impact of Print.” *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 and growth
 in the region have been the discovery of oil, the
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 Shackle, Christopher, and Majeed, Javed. *Hali’s Musaddas*. II, and
 the creation of the state of Israel. These factors had,
The Flow and Ebb of Islam. Delhi: Oxford University and continue
 to have, a direct impact upon reform initiatives,
 Press, 1997. manifesting
 themselves differently depending upon the social
 and cultural conditions of the individual countries of the region,
 Javed Majeed
 Iran
 Reza Shah Pahlevi (1925–1941) was able to create a strongly
 centralized state by using the army, thereby leaving an endur-
 MODERNIZATION, POLITICAL ing legacy
 of military intervention in Iranian politics right up
 to the Islamic revolution in 1979. Muhammad Reza, who
 ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY, AND JUDICIAL REFORM succeeded his
 father in 1941, initially indulged party politics,
 Aslam Farouk-Alli but soon
 followed his father’s example and used his control
 over the army to re-establish royal authority. Prior to this
 AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION
 Claudia Stodte however,
 Iranian politics (between 1945 and 1953) was ex-
 Anne-Sophie Froehlich tremely
 turbulent, due to both internal and external factors.

458

Islam and the Muslim World Modernization, Political

Throughout the 1940s, the political scene was driven by century,
 Iran’s president, Mohammad Khatami, has even
 British, Soviet, and American interests competing for influ- called for
 increased powers of the elected assembly over the

ence. The United States was able to forge close ties with the ulema's Council of Guardians, and he appears to be trying to reconcile a Iranian army, while Britain sought a privileged position for its deeply religious political ethos with the principles of oil interests. The placing of Iran's economic and military representative government.

development in the hands of foreigners created growing consternation among Iranian nationalists, and in 1950 a Turkey group of politicians led by Mohammed Mosaddeq were able After independence in 1923, Turkish politics was dominated by the to obtain sufficient support in the Majlis (parliament) to act single-party rule of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's authority against the Anglo-Iranian oil company, nationalizing its Ira- tarian Republican People's Party (RPP). His successor, who

nian assets. In 1951 the Majlis nationalized the oil industry assumed office in 1938, departed from Atatürk's economic policies and altogether, and also elected Mosaddeq as prime minister. lessened government sponsorship of industrial development. However, his reform efforts were short-lived and he was This was largely in response to pressure from the overthrown in a U.S.-assisted coup in 1953, largely due to the Turkish business sector, which sought more freedom for American fears of Soviet influence over Iran. Mosaddeq's private entrepreneurial activity, and pressure from the peasantry enabled the shah to create his royal dictatorship, anarchy, which was displeased with the government's bias in

and with the assistance of U.S. and Israeli advisors he formed favor of industrialization over agricultural development. Gov-SAVAK, his notorious secret police service. ernment also responded to pressure from intellectuals and politicians critical of the single-party dispensation by allowing greater

From 1953 to 1979 there was absolutely no political ing greater political freedom. As a result, four members of the freedom in Iran. In 1963 the shah was severely criticized by a national assembly defected from the RPP in 1946 and formed a new party, then still-obscure member of the religious establishment, a new party, called the Democratic Party (DP).

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Khomeini was arrested by SAVAK in June 1963 and deported to Turkey in 1964. In the Although the democrats were only able to win sixty-five seats in the following year he was deported to Iraq, where he stayed, influence 1946 elections, they were able to extend their of the 465 preaching and writing. In 1978 he was forced to go to France. showed tremendously over the next four years and won 396

However, Khomeini returned to Iran in triumph in 1979, as of the 465 seats in the national assembly in 1950. The DP showed leader of one of the most spectacular and unexpected revolu-

greater sensitivity to religious sentiments and retions in modern history.

stored the public call to prayer in Arabic (which had previously been banned), maintained and developed mosques, and The shah's dictatorial policies robbed Khomeini of all offered religious instruction to all Muslim students in pripolitical legitimacy and were ultimately responsible for his mary schools on a voluntary basis. It still, however, strongly downfall. Most of his 1961 to 1963 White Revolution re- upheld the principal of secularism.

forms centered on huge military spending and benefits offered to appease the officer corps. By 1976 Iran had the fifth Economic policies instituted by the democrats were geared largest military force in the world. Khomeini's efforts at towards agricultural reform in order to appease their supporteconomic and social development were miserable failures, base among the peasantry, but when the economy began to with the exception of the literacy drive, which enjoyed meas- suffer they came under severe public criticism. The governurable success. In 1975 he scrapped the two-party system and ment responded harshly by introducing extremely repressive

introduced the single National Resurgence Party. It was restrictions against the press, and even brought in the army to ultimately the shah's brutal response to unarmed protests in quell violent protests. They further exploited ruling-party 1978 that ignited the revolution. The clergy were able to privilege by using the army to disrupt RPP campaign rallies.

effect large-scale uprisings, and emerged as the representa- Such irresponsibility met with a severe backlash, and on 27 tives of the masses.

May 1960 the military stepped in to institute the first coup d'état.

The new government, under the leadership of Ruhollah Khomeini, initially made efforts to include secular elements. Military intervention became commonplace in Turkish

Mehdi Bazargan, the secular reformist, was made the first politics, but remains unique in that power was always handed prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Ultimately, back to civilian politicians. The military establishment was

however, the idea that social, political, and economic change primarily concerned with upholding the principle of Kemalcould only be achieved by the renewal of an Islamic order ism, but equally committed to the system of multi-party

prevailed, ushering in the Khomeini era, in which Iran was politics.

The 1960 intervention lasted for only eighteen transformed into a theocracy ruled by the clergy. months, in which time the constitution was revised to protect the rights of individuals and assert the principle of secularism.

Khomeini died in 1989, and the post-Khomeini period has once again surprised analysts with the emergence of The period between 1961 and 1983 witnessed the profliberal-minded reformists. At the turn of the twenty-first eration of political parties, with attendant political upheaval

Islam and the Muslim World

459

Modernization, Political

and instability. The military instituted two more coups, in states like Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, which were able to 1971 and 1980, and further constitutional amendments were benefit from the new wealth through workers' remittances introduced. In addition to the rise and fall of various coalition and financial aid. In the 1950s and 1960s, the military was governments, civil order was also threatened by Kurdish seen as an instrument of modernization and change, but by separatist aspirations and by the rise of Islamic revivalism, led the 1970s this image was severely damaged largely due to by the National Salvation Party. Islamist parties have had to defeats on the battlefield and failed agrarian and industrialconstantly re-invent themselves under different guises due to zation reform policies. the military's censure of "anti-secular" politics. This trend has set contemporary Turkish politics to sway between two The two major home-grown ideologies up to this point poles: that of a re-emergent Islamist ideal versus a secular- were Nasserism and Ba thism, impacting most significantly liberal ideal seemingly on the wane. Just below the surface, upon Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Egypt under Nasser embodied however, lies the powerful military, which keeps the powers- the aspirations of the Arab world, facing a future freed of the that-be decisively in check. imperial past, newly independent and equally assertive. From the time of the Free Officers' coup in 1952 up until the Arab- In 1997 the Islamist Refah (Welfare) Party's leader was Israeli War in June of 1967, Nasser was seen as a dynamic president forced to step down due to pressure from the National who had set in motion a positive process of national Security Council, and the party itself was closed down the transformation. As a result Egypt exercised profound refollowing year on charges of anti-secular activities. Refah re- gional influence in this period. constituted as the Fazilat Party, which was also banned in 2001. In spite of this, the 2002 elections were won by the However, Nasserism as a doctrine tried to satisfy too Justice and Development Party, which emerged from the many conflicting aspirations. As such, it was able to position

modernizing wing of the Fazilat Party. Although enjoying itself neither as religious nor secular, democratic nor authoritarian, socialist nor capitalist. It contained aspects of all but Development Party will have to constrain its constituency's faltered in privileging any one of these as the most important. aspirations or face the fate of all its Islamist predecessors. The defeat in 1967 marked the true end of Nasserism. Hereafter, Nasser allowed the Soviet Union to acquire dominant influence in the military. He dropped the quest for Arab unity and In contrast to the relatively effective constitutional regimes of the hopes he had raised were finally shattered with Iran and Turkey, the Arab States of the Middle East are ruled by his death in 1970. His successor, Anwar Sadat (1918–1981), was left to fill the void. by either monarchies or military dictators. It is important to note that the regions' dictatorships are a result of the social and political processes of the twentieth century. The Arab Although lacking the charisma of Nasser, Sadat was able to reorient defeat at the hands of Israel in the 1967 war and the changing Egyptian domestic and foreign policy in ways that were every structure of global politics due to Cold War competition bit as profound as Nasser's. He realigned Egypt with the were the main factors responsible for the polarization of the superpowers in favor of the United States by expelling Soviet Arab states and the tempering of Arab Nationalist sentiments ling Soviet military advisors and by courting peace with Israel, not that were so strongly evoked by the Egyptian leader Jamal Israelis in before redeeming Egyptian honor by defeating the Israelis in Abd al-Nasser, especially between 1953 and 1967. Israelis in the October 1973 war. Sadat's U.S.-brokered treaty with Israel earned him the discontent of militant Islamic groups By 1945 the massive influx of wealth into the Arab states, Islamic groups in Egypt. His clampdown on these groups ultimately primarily due to oil revenues, served as the single impetus for led to his assassination on 6 October 1981. development, especially in terms of infrastructure and nationbuilding. However, progress was undermined by defeat in the Ba thism, in contrast to Nasserism, was characterized by a more first Arab-Israeli war from 1948 to 1949, as well the failure to a more sharply defined set of principles. Michel Aflaq cope with internal political, economic and social pressures. (1910–1989), the cofounder of the Ba th Party, defined its role in The resultant backlash brought about a series of military stirring and romantic language. The party was concoups: in Syria in 1949, Egypt in 1952, Sudan and Iraq in ceived of as an instrument of social

justice and was supposed to be at
 1958, North Yemen in 1962, and Libya in 1969. The remain-
 the vanguard of Arab unity. It attracted young Arabs
 ing countries, including Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and of the
 post-independence era eager to restore Arab dignity,
 the Gulf States, were all monarchies and effectively one-party especially
 in Syria and Iraq.
 states. The only exception was Lebanon, where the existence
 of parliamentary or party politics has been essential in order Aflaq
 was, however, in no way comparable to Nasser in
 to balance the interests of both Christians and Muslims. terms of
 leadership qualities. Lacking a politician of ability to
 implement its vision, the party's plans were thwarted as it
 The sharp rise in oil prices in the early 1970s led to divided into
 regional groupings and quarreling factions. Ambitious programs of social
 and economic development, tious men like Syria's Hafiz al-Asad
 (1930–2000) and Iraq's
 and even had a positive impact upon the non-oil producing Saddam
 Husayn (1937–) used the party's apparatus and

460

Islam and the Muslim World Modernization, Political

ideology to serve their own ends. In the hands of al-Asad and British
 models. The immediate effect of these measures was
 Husayn the Ba th became a means of survival their respective the
 reduction of the scope of Islamic law or shari a, jurisdiction.
 regimes and they utilized it as an effective instrument of
 control and indoctrination. With the
 dismantling of the Ottoman Empire and the
 rise of the modern republic of Turkey, a fairly complete
 As such, the party lost its pan-Arab mission and developed secularization
 of the law code was effected in that country,
 rival Syrian and Iraqi branches. Common to both, however, even in
 matters of personal status. The shari a was effectively
 was severe political repression, although social reforms were purged from
 the new statute books. However, developments
 in some instances significant. Syria still remains an authori- in the
 neighboring regions were far more gradual.
 tarian dictatorship under Bashar al-Asad (b. 1965), Hafiz al-
 Asad's son and heir, whereas the political future of Iraq after Iran,
 under Reza Shah Pahlevi, adopted a version the
 the U.S.-led overthrow of Saddam Husayn in April of 2003 is Swiss family
 law code that remained in effect until after the
 uncertain. revolution.
 The shah's obsession with Western models of
 development drove his reform initiatives, and some of the

In the 1980s, the biggest challenge that faced the Arab family protection laws instituted between 1967 and 1975 regimes was the re-emergence of Islamic reformism, which granted women greater legal equality within marriage. Unlike what was greatly influenced by the Islamic revolution in Iran. The case of Turkey and Tunisia, however, the shah did not Islamic reform movements were largely unsuccessful due to abolish polygamy. However, the husband was required to take the consent of his current wife in order to marry another. protect their own interests. A striking example is the overthrow of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria by the military after a landslide victory in the first round of parliamentary elections held in December 1991. Voters had rejected the National Liberation Front that had ruled the country as a single party for thirty years. The Islamic Salvation Front was poised to gain a decisive parliamentary majority. Other Arab states also amended their codes and continued to increase the centralization of their courts. The Egyptian model inspired many of these establishments of an Islamic regime in Sudan in 1989. efforts. Al-Sanhuri was also called upon to formulate the Iraqi The United States in the early twenty-first century exercises undisputed influence over the Middle East, and it is difficult to envisage the flourishing of any popular movement. A notable exception to the reform trend is seen in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Neither of these countries came under civilian populations in these countries. This is borne out by the United States' heavy-handed policies towards countries far-reaching. As such, the pre-existing sharia system was with well-established systems of representative government, restricted. In more recent times Yemen has made like Sudan and Iran, and its tolerance and open allegiance to centralize and codify its legal system, whereas in repressive regimes like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia, the sharia courts still retain general jurisdiction. which are notorious for their gross violations of human

The period of malaise in the Middle East after 1967 rights. American support for Israel in terms of massive financial assistance and the turning of a blind eye to the occupation of Palestine also leaves little hope for resolving conflict and desire for the re-establishment of the shari'a. Muslim intellectuals have generally favored the idea that rulers are subject to and must therefore enforce laws that are not entirely of the old colonial paradigm of political, military, and economic domination and exposes the divide between the vested interests of a powerful center and ultimate regional self-determination on the periphery. These are but some of the major factors that hinder positive reform and progress in the

See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal; Abd al-Razzaq al-Middle East.

Sanhuri; Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal; Iran, Islamic Republic of; Islamic Salvation Front; Khomeini, Ruhollah;

The process of judicial reform in the Middle East had already begun in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Mosaddeq, Mohammad; Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi; Revolution: Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Islam and the Muslim World

461

Modernization, Political

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The political landscape since the 1970s has been dominated by Brown, Leon Carl, ed. *Imperial Legacy – The Ottoman Imprint* on the Balkans and Middle East. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. established an ideologically founded republic (e.g., Algeria, Tunisia, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, or Egypt and the Gulf. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997. d'état

(e.g., Egypt, Iraq, and Libya), later developed a highly authoritarian, personalized leadership. If presidential elections are held, people do not really have a choice between different candidates; the “presidential monarch” is usually reelected with close to 100 percent of the votes (e.g., in 1999: Yemen 96%, Egypt 94%, Tunisia 99%). Nowhere else do governors stay in power so long: The average reigning time for rulers in the Arab world was twenty-one years in 1998. eds. *The Modern Middle East*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1993. With many Arab societies still divided into tribes (most notably in Yemen) or sects (Lebanon), it is hard to establish Middle East in Troubled Age. Cairo: The American University Press, 2000. tions often prefer authoritarian regimes that protect their existing freedoms. Owen, Roger. *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London: Routledge, 1992. A possible exception to the failure of democracy is Turkey. Aslam Farouk-Alli key, defined as a secular republic in 1923—by the patriarchal rule of Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk). Since the end of the single-party system in 1945, there has been a wide range of political parties, In the Middle East, liberal democracy is a rarity. There is no parties, and governments have been changed by elections. The democracy in the Western sense, that is, characterized by the democratic character of the republic is limited, however, right to form political parties; the possibility of changing by the strong position of the military, which took over power government by election; the freedoms of the press, belief, and three times between 1960 and 1980. Its influence as well as association; the protection of individual rights; the separation the continuing violation of human rights are obstacles to of powers; and secularism. Turkey’s bid for membership in the European Union. One reason for the lack of democratic structures lies in the Other countries in the region are, at least to some extent, experience of colonialism and neocolonialism. Most Arab free and democratic. Since 1989 Jordan has developed a

countries achieved independence only after World War II, relatively unfettered press and has installed an elected parliament and the borders were in many cases fixed by the colonial powers; therefore, the people in the new political entities did not necessarily share a national identity. For some decades although the real political power still lies with the king. In there was a strong movement toward “Arab unity” or pan-Arabism. However, actual attempts to form a greater nation, like that of Egypt, Syria, and Yemen (1958–1961), came to nothing. Even in countries that never were colonies, like Iran and Afghanistan, Western and Soviet interference, respectively, prevented democratic development. The success of the Iranian revolution of 1978 and 1979 is partly due to the repeated party came to power in the 1960s, soon became defeat of attempts at democratization. The ongoing Israeli-Arab conflict stymies liberalization, and plays into the hands of extremist groups. Mu ammar al-Qadhafi in Libya in 1969, combining elements of grassroots democracy and socialist ideas with a Another reason for the lack of democratic structures lies within the extremely patriarchal Middle Eastern societies themselves and their tradition of authoritarianism. The latter oil-rich Arab kingdoms and emirates of the Persian Gulf has its roots in the patronage system of the tribal Arab combined economic modernization with strict autocracies. As if in compliance with the principle “no of the just sovereign. without representation,” these wealthier states could

462

Islam and the Muslim World Modernization, Political

afford to keep their population calm without granting democracy East and North Africa; Reform: Iran; Revolution,

cratic rights. The United Arab Emirates have no parliamentary structures at all; Saudi Arabia suppresses all opposition by force. Modern.

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ism and corruption. Some states are trying to include the Islamists in their democratization efforts: In Jordan and Yemen the major opposition parties in parliament are Islamist. Edited by Deborah J. Gerner. Boulder, Colo.:

But most states consider them a fundamental threat to the political system. In Algeria the democratization process ended with the annulment of the relatively free elections in December 1991, when it became evident that the Islamist Front

Anne-Sophie Froehlich
Islamique du Salut (FIS) was going to win most parliamentary seats. The army took over with international approval and a decade of savage civil strife ensued.

Other states made concessions to political Islam. They have promulgated formal, written constitutions. As they and revived, for example, the principle of consultation (shura), other Muslim nations have learned, however, a constitutional document which in reference to Qur'an passages 3:159 and 42:38 does not always reflect or ensure constitutionalism, just as provides some kind of participation. Even Saudi Arabia has constitutionalism does not always require a written had a shura council since 1993; every four years its 120 constitution. Constitutionalism is the idea that political order members are appointed by the king. If broadly applied (as in ought to be subject to a higher authority beyond the arbitrary human Jordan), this principle of consultation can be helpful in or a will expressed through an autocrat, a minority faction, achieving political participation and pluralization. democratic mob. Although constitutionalism is commonly identified with liberal democracy, any regime that

CONSTITUTIONALISM
decade of savage civil strife ensued.
Virtually all the Arab countries, as well as Turkey and Iran, have
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democratic mob. Although constitutionalism is commonly identified with liberal
democracy, any regime that
The Islamic Republic of Iran (1979) is an interesting case. provides for

limited and accountable government, adherence
 Although an Islamic state, governed by the principle of to the
 rule of law, and the protection of fundamental rights to
 velayat-e faqih (i.e., the absolute authority of the religious all its
 citizens may be said to be constitutionalist. Defined in
 jurist), it has republican structures—a constitution, a parlia- this
 way, constitutionalism has had a troubled history in the
 ment, and elections. Since 1997 the results of the elections, countries
 of the Middle East, and no country has to date fully
 though still controlled, show a great demand for democracy,
 implemented constitutionalist principles.
 especially among women and young voters.
 The earliest constitutionalist experiments in Arab states
 With the deaths of three veteran rulers in 1999 (the kings occurred in
 Tunisia and Egypt. In 1857, under pressure from
 of Jordan and Morocco, and the emir of Bahrain) and of European
 governments, Muhammad Bey issued the Ahd al-
 Syria's Hafiz al-Asad in 2000, a new generation of Arab Aman,
 or Fundamental Pact, under which all residents of
 leaders gained power, and more such changes will follow. Tunisia
 were granted equal rights of security, legal redress,
 These new rulers were partly educated in the West, and the and
 employment. In 1861, Tunisia promulgated the first
 aspirations for more democracy under their governance are
 constitution in the Muslim world, under which the legislative
 high. They will probably not change the political systems and
 judicial powers of the bey and his ministers were limited
 completely, but they are taking steps to open their countries, by the
 establishment of a Grand Assembly. The assembly
 economically and otherwise. Shaykh Hamad bin Khalifa al- consisted
 of sixty members, appointed by the bey for five-year
 Thani, who came to power in 1995, not only decreed that terms,
 and all drawn from the country's elite. The constitu-
 Qatar was to become a democracy, but also abolished censor- tional
 experiment lasted but three years, collapsing in 1864 in
 ship and launched al-Jazeera, the freest television channel in the wake
 of popular demonstrations in the provinces.
 the Arab world. As one of its moderators put it, "the main
 obstacle to progress in the Middle East is the lack of free
 Constitutional reforms would not resume until 1955, as
 media. In our society, the rubbish has been swept under the the
 French protectorate over Tunisia was nearing an end.
 carpet far too long." The
 constitution promulgated in June 1959 declared Tunisia
 a republic, with executive power vested in a president and
 See also Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Modernization, Politi-
 legislative power in a National Assembly, both elected by

cal: Administrative, Military, and Judicial Reform; universal
 suffrage. The judiciary was declared to be indepen-
 Modernization, Political: Constitutionalism; Political dent. The
 constitution was significantly amended in 1988 to
 Islam; Qadhafi, Mu ammar al-; Reform: Arab Middle
 strengthen executive control over the legislature, and to

Islam and the Muslim World

463

Modernization, Political

specify that the prime minister succeeds the president in case
 of death or disability.

Egyptian constitutionalism gained ground during the reign
 of the Khedive Isma il, fueled mainly by the notables' growing concern with
 Egyptian indebtedness to European powers. In 1866, Isma il agreed to create the
 Consultative Assembly

of Deputies, comprised of Egyptian notables, and in 1878 he
 formed the Council of Ministers, to which he transferred a
 great deal of executive authority. In 1882, when Isma il's
 successor, Tawfiq, attempted to reverse his predecessor's
 concessions, the Assembly of Deputies pressured the khedive
 to approve their draft constitution. Under this document, the
 Assembly was to be an elective body whose members served
 five-year terms. Both it and the Council of Ministers could
 initiate legislation, subject to the final approval of the khedive.
 Most importantly, the prime minister could be summoned
 and questioned by the Assembly, and if a conflict arose
 between the two, the Assembly's will was to prevail.

The 1882 constitution was never fully implemented, and
 when the British occupied Egypt the same year, it was
 suspended. Shortly after independence, Egypt promulgated a
 new constitution in April 1923, which established the supremacy of the king
 over the cabinet and the parliament.

Following the Free Officers' overthrow of the monarchy in
 1952, a new constitutional charter was enacted in January Abd
 al-Hamid II (1842–1918) was the Ottoman sultan from 1876
 to 1909. He was responsible for building schools, roads, railroad
 1956 that declared Egypt a republic, with most powers vested
 lines, and other public works during a time of Ottoman decline.

in the president. A new constitution was drafted in 1971, soon Though he
 accepted the first constitution in 1876, he suspended it from
 after Anwar Sadat's assumption of the presidency. This docu-
 1878 until 1908 and enforced his autocratic rule through
 ment retains a strong presidency but adds provisions for an secret
 police. The Armenian massacres of 1894–1896 were

perpetrated during his reign. THE ART ARCHIVE/TOPKAPI MUSEUM

expanded role for the judiciary, including the creation of a
ISTANBUL/DAGLI ORTI

Supreme Constitutional Court. The courts' powers have
effectively been curtailed, however, by the invocation of
Emergency Laws by Hosni Mubarak, ostensibly to combat
mandate, the 1943 National Covenant established a
terrorism within the country.

consociational democracy. Seats in the Chamber of Deputies

Iraq's constitution was drafted and promulgated in 1925, were divided
according to a 6:5 formula, giving the Christian

while the country was still under a British mandate. It created population
a permanent majority in the legislature over the

a constitutional monarchy, with a strong king and a bicameral Muslims.

The president had to be a Maronite Christian, the
legislature. Once the British mandate ended, the king's au- prime

minister a Sunni Muslim, and the speaker of the
thority over the cabinet was enhanced through constitutional parliament

a Shi ite Muslim. This "elite cartel" continued to
amendments in 1943. The July 1958 revolution that ended function

until the outbreak of the civil war in 1975. Under the
monarchical rule effectively ended constitutionalism as well. Ta if

Agreement of 1989 that ended the civil war, the sectar-
From 1958 to 2003, the country was run by the Revolutionary ian

apportionment of high offices was retained, but the
Command Council (RCC). The RCC's authoritarian rule

Christian-Muslim allocation of seats in the legislature was
was formalized in the 1970 "interim" constitution adopted by

brought to parity and the powers of the prime minister
the Ba thists, which continued in place until it officially relative

to those of the president were substantially increased.
became Iraq's constitution in 1990. Amendments in 1995 All of

made the election of the president subject to national plebi-
the extant Arab monarchies, including Morocco, Jordan,

scite, but in effect bolstered the authoritarian rule of Saddam
Kuwait, and the other emirates of the Persian Gulf, have

Husayn by eliminating the RCC's ability to dismiss the
adopted constitutional instruments that make token

president. attempts

at creating popularly elected legislatures, but which
retain effective powers in the hands of the monarch. Kuwait is

The Lebanese constitution is among the most intriguing a notable, but
qualified, exception; the emir has battled

of all the Arab republics. Given the deep sectarian cleavages
parliaments demanding a greater role since the 1960s. The

in the Greater Lebanon that was created under the French
parliament's authority was enhanced following the liberation

Islam and the Muslim World
Modernization, Political

of Kuwait from Iraqi control in 1991. As for Saudi Arabia, no alleviate the fundamental tension built into the 1979 constireal constitutional document was enacted until 1992, when tution, namely, the rivalry between two executive authorities, the Basic Laws codified the complete dominance of the Saudi the president and the supreme religious guide. ruling house in the country's administration. The king appoints the Consultative Council and heads the Council of See also Majlis; Modernization, Political: Administra- Ministers. tive, Military, and Judicial Reform.

Turkey's experience with constitutionalism began with BIBLIOGRAPHY the Ottoman constitution of 1876, which formalized the Arjomand, Saïd Amir. "Constitutions and the Struggle for central place of the sultan in the government of the empire, Political Order: A Study in the Modernization of Politibut created a bicameral parliament to share the sultan's cal Traditions." Archives Européennes de Sociologie 33

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constitution within months of its enactment. It was revived, Brown, Nathan J. *Constitutions in a Nonconstitutional World*: with modifications that enhanced executive powers, follow- Arab Basic Laws and the Prospects for Accountable Governing the Young Turks revolt in 1908. Turkey's transformation ment. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

to a secular republic began with constitutional enactments Brown, Nathan J. *Dustur: A Survey of the Constitutions of the* passed by the Grand National Assembly following the em- Arab and Muslim States. Leiden: Brill, 1966.

pire's defeat in the First World War. In January 1921, the Law of Fundamental Organizations vested legislative author- Sohail H. Hashmi

ity in the Grand National Assembly. Another decree in November 1922 abolished the sultanate. Finally, on 20 April PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL MOVEMENTS,

1924, following the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate, the AND PARTIES constitution of the Turkish republic was announced. A profound

tension has plagued attempts at political modernization and reform in the Middle East. On the one hand,

By the 1950s, Turkey had evolved firm republican and leaders face enormous pressures to democratize. During the what seemed to be strengthening democratic institutions,

1970s and 1980s, economic crises eroded regime legitimacy, going so far as to see the triumph of an opposition party in the creating grassroots demands for political rights and civil liberties. These local pressures coincided with growing intercaused by party differences led to the first military intervennational norms of democracy and human rights, supported by

tion in 1960. The military seized power again in 1971 and the United Nations and nongovernmental organizations. 1980, leading to the proclamation of a constitution that

Accustomed to political control, however, leaders in the legitimated the military's political role in 1982. In 1995, with region feared that democracy would unleash hostile political Turkey attempting to join the European Union, constitumovements and sweep the ruling elite from power. Pressures

tional amendments attempted to lessen the political profile of for democratization were thus pitted against a desire to the military.

remain in power.

Iran's constitutional revolution of 1906 launched that country's attempt at constitutional monarchy. In 1925, the In the first few decades after World War II, most regimes

constitution was amended to effectuate the transfer of mo- in the region were concerned with building new governnarchical authority from the Qajar dynasty to the new Pahlevi ments, asserting independence from Western countries, and

dynasty that was founded by the erstwhile minister of war, securing hegemony over fractious societies. In an effort to

Reza Khan. The only period during the Pahlevi era when establish control, a number of leaders asserted populist ideconstitutional practices were even partially implemented was ologies tied to socialist principles and Arab nationalism,

from 1941 to 1953, when the young Muhammad Reza Shah which emphasizes the unity of Arabs irrespective of their

was not strong enough to exert his will against the Majlis, the country of residence. Perhaps the most central figure in the

national parliament. Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, Arab nationalist camp was Jamal Abd al-Nasser (d. 1970) of

the shah's rule became increasingly despotic. Egypt, who created the Arab Socialist Union in 1962 as a

vehicle to mobilize the masses. Nasser's charisma and power-

In January 1979, the monarchy was overthrown in the ful leadership inspired movements that threatened regime

Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini. The constitu- power in other countries. The fusion of Arab nationalism and

tion of the Islamic Republic of Iran was enacted in December socialism manifested itself in Syria and Iraq as well. Both

1979. Its most notable feature was the implementation of countries spawned movements rooted in Ba th ideology, direct rule by the Shi ite religious scholars, chiefly in the which combines socialism and its emphasis on income institution of the vali-ye faqih, or the supreme religious guide redistribution and nationalization with visions about the of the nation. Significant amendments were made in 1989 to glory of historical Arab unity. Ba th parties in Syria and Iraq allow for a transfer of supreme authority after Khomeini's had to contend with strong communist movements but manimpending death. The changes did nothing, however, to aged to consolidate power and gain control of government.

Islam and the Muslim World

465

Modernization, Political

The influence of Arab nationalism waned during the forged alliances with other parties and successfully won seats in 1970s and was replaced by the rapid ascendance of Islamic in parliament (eight seats in the 360-member parliament in movements, which became a central force of opposition in 1984 and thirty-six in 1987). Under Hosni Mubarak in the the Middle East. The most spectacular Islamic challenge mid-1990s, however, the regime initiated a crackdown against emerged in Iran in the late 1970s. Muhammad Reza Shah the movement and imprisoned fifty-four of its leading mem- bers, Pahlevi's repression and failed modernization program including many candidates who ran in the 1995 elec prompted opposition from a wide consortium of social groups, tions. Activists from more radical Islamic groups, such as the which mobilized demonstrations under the leadership of the Gama a Islamiyya (Islamic Group) and Islamic Jihad, at- Islamic clergy in the late 1970s. The protest movement tempted to form political parties in the late 1990s, but were overthrew the shah, and an Islamic state was established in 1979. denied permits.

The Iranian Revolution sent shock waves throughout the Other regimes fluctuated between inclusionary and exclu- sionary Middle East, and regimes became increasingly concerned responses to democratizing pressures and political about the rising power of Islamic movements. Because the movements. For example, following austerity riots in 1988, growth of Islamic activism coincided with external and inter- the Algerian regime initiated political reforms, including a number of nal pressures for democratization, incumbent elites faced a policies that seemed to support the Islamic moveconundrum—how to release some

of the building societal movement. A variety of Islamic factions reacted by forming the pressure for political reform while preventing Islamic movements from taking power. Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut, or FIS), which was legally recognized in 1989. In 1990, the FIS won stunning victories in municipal and regional races; and although the Two responses to this dilemma predominated. First, a though the regime subsequently repressed the movement, the FIS number of regimes implemented an inclusionary model of still dominated the 1991 parliamentary elections and controlled political liberalization. In this strategy, opposition was poised to control parliament with a comfortable majority. The regime movements, including Islamic groups, were allowed to participate in national elections, but the regime retained ultimate and canceled election results in early 1992, banned the FIS, and power and executive authority. In 1989, for example, King and Hussein (d. 1999) of Jordan held elections to the Chamber of Islamic rebellion that led to more than 150,000 deaths during the 1990s. Deputies (the lower house of parliament) for the first time. A similar shift from inclusionary to exclusionary strategies since 1966. Although several political movements participated, the Islamic movement dominated the campaign and Welfare Party installed its leader, Necmeddin Erbakan, as the prime minister in a coalition government in 1996. While this bloc in parliament. The movement later joined the government cabinet during the Persian Gulf War in 1991, formed a eventually intervened and the coalition collapsed. The Welfare political party (the Islamic Action Front) in 1993, and the Welfare Party was subsequently closed and Erbakan was banned from politics for life. The Welfare Party and its successor, the Virtue Party, were banned. Yet a third reconstructed Islamic party, authority. A similar response occurred in Kuwait after the party, Justice and Development, won the largest number of seats in the Gulf War in 1991. Because of considerable pressure from the international community and former Kuwaiti exiles, Shaykh 2002. Such examples point to variation in strategies as leaders calculate the risks of political movement participation.

October 1992, the first since parliament was dissolved in 1986. Opposition movements openly contested the elections, Communism; Erbakan, Necmeddin; Ikhwan and various Islamic factions won nineteen of the fifty seats in al-Muslimin; Modernization, Political: Authoritarianism and 1992, seventeen seats in 1996, and twenty in 1999. Despite Democratization; Nationalism: Arab; this participation, the emir retained executive power. Nationalism: Iranian; Nationalism: Turkish; Pan-Islam; Political Islam; Socialism.

But not all regimes gambled their political survival on the incorporation of Islamic groups through parties, elections,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

and political participation. Instead, they opted for an alternative exclusionary model. In this response, regimes enacted Movements of Iraq. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978. Islamic groups and other powerful political movements were excluded and repressed. This was the strategy in Egypt. Relationship between Islamisms and Electoral Politics.” Although the mainstream Muslim Brotherhood movement International Journal of Middle East Studies 33, no. 4 (2001): 591–610.

466

Islam and the Muslim World Modern Thought

Norton, Augustus Richard. “The Challenge of Inclusion in the global economy. While some guilds were able to survive in their traditional forms, many peasants were forced from their lands and deposited in the modern capitalist workforce. Fortunes accumulated in the hands of Muslim industrialists, such as the Azerbaijani businessmen who collaborated and competed with European investors in the Islamic world’s first oil boom, in the 1870s in Baku.

MODERN THOUGHT

These modern institutions sponsored, sometimes unintentionally, the creation of the new class of intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—including revivalism, reassociated with modern Islamic thought. Muhammad Ali of

tionalism, empiricism, pluralism, constitutionalism, and Egypt, for example, sent students to study in France; the egalitarianism—drawing heavily on European inspirations religious guide appointed for the group, Rifa'a Rafi al-Andalusi seeking to anchor itself in Islamic precedent.

Tahtawi (Egypt, 1801–1873), returned after five years to

Origins write an

influential book extolling the virtues of French

Modern Islamic thought emerged during the period of Euro-

technology, society, and politics. State-run secular schools in

pean colonial expansion. Beginning in the eighteenth cen- the

Ottoman Empire and elsewhere generated modernity, and accelerating in the

nineteenth century, the Islamic oriented graduates such as Ali Suavi

(Turkey, 1839–1878),

world began to bear the brunt of this expansion. The Otto- who

incorporated Western concepts such as “democracy”

man Empire and the Qajar dynasty in Iran lost territory and and

“constitutionalism” into the Islamic lexicon. Industrial were forced to sign

humiliating treaties of “capitulation” that ists in Baku and

throughout the Islamic world funded modern

granted extraterritorial and monopoly rights to Europeans. schools,

newspapers, and cultural institutions that provided

Other Islamic lands, from West Africa to Southeast Asia, cadres,

jobs, and audiences for the new breed of intellectuals.

were colonized outright. By the early twentieth century,

virtually the entire Islamic world was in the grip of Europe. Yet

modernist thinkers, for all their novelty, also considered themselves to be

authentic representatives of Islamic

Europe's self-understanding at this time, notwithstanding heritage.

Modern Islamic thought appealed to aspects of this

variations and contradictions, involved the ideology of mo- heritage

that it viewed retroactively as precursors to modernity. Indeed, this

ideology had developed in part as an nity. In particular, modern

movements framed their ideals as

attempt to distance Christians from Muslims: Early modern the

recovery of the lost piety and glory of the early years

political theorists contrasted the emerging constitutionalism of Islam.

in Europe with the “Oriental despotism” of the Islamic

world; Enlightenment thinkers contrasted European religiosity Revivalism

with Muslim “fanaticism”; Orientalist scholars contrasted The

theme of revival—also termed renewal, rebirth, and

European science with Muslim “irrationality.”

reform—permeates much of modern Islamic thought. “There

is no doubt that in the present age distress, misfortunate, and

In response to the threat posed by Europe, many Muslims

weakness besiege all classes of Muslims from every side,”

sought to adopt aspects of modernity, to make modernity

wrote Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (Iran, 1838–1897), serve their interests rather than the interests of the colonizers. perhaps the most influential activist of the modernist Islamic This process was not specific to the Islamic world—in Europe movement. The Islamic world awaits a “sage and renewer” to and elsewhere, interstate competition also spurred the development of modern institutions. The first institutions to “reform the minds and souls of the Muslims, repel the be modernized were the militaries, whose reorganization, unforeseen corruption, and again educate them with a virtue outfitting, and retraining—along European lines, often ous education. Perhaps through that good education they with European instructors—were ordered by rulers such as may return to their former joyful condition” (pp. 123–129). Muhammad Ali of Egypt (r.1805–1849), Mahmud II of the This joyful condition existed in the early years of Islam, Ottoman Empire (r.1808–1839), and Ahmad Bey of Tunisia before “complete intellectual confusion beset the Muslims,” (r.1837–1855). A second wave of modernization involved the according to Muhammad Abduh (Egypt, 1849–1905), the bureaucratization of other state institutions under reformist most prominent student and collaborator of al-Afghani’s. ministers such as Amir Kabir in Iran (1848–1851), Midhat Confusion can only be cured by returning to “the essential Pasha in the Ottoman Empire (1860s–1870s), Khayr al-Din nature” of Islam, as “interpreted according to the underin Tunisia (1873–1877), and Abu Bakar of Johore in Malaya standing of those among whom it was sent down [from (1862–1895). Some of these reformers did not last long in heaven] and to the way they put it into practice” (pp. 39, office, but their project of state-building continued after their 153–154) “Truly, we are in a dire need for renewal and departure. A further wave of modernization involved eco-renewers,” wrote Rashid Rida (Syria-Egypt, 1865–1935), nomic institutions, which were transformed by their entry Abduh’s most prominent student and collaborator, citing the

Islam and the Muslim World

467

Modern Thought

saying of the Prophet, “God sends to this nation at the can be drawn between Islamic ideologies that approach mobeginning of every century someone who renews its religion” dernity as a means toward revivalism, and those that approach (Kurzman et al., p. 78). revivalism as a means toward modernity.

The most important precedent for the earliest modern renewers was Ibn Taymiyya (Syria, 1263–1328), who along with his student Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (Syria, 1292–1350) railed against the corrupt practices of Muslims of their era. While these figures remain important for modern revivalism, Muslims should devise reasoned justifications for they have been eclipsed somewhat by the example of Muhammad positions, and may the best argument win. This premise mad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Arabia, 1703–1787), the religious from premodern limits on rationality (as opposed to leader of a movement to purify Muslim practices—demolish-suspicion of novelty (vulnerable to accusations of ing shrines, for example, which they took to represent false reliance on authority (particularly the genealogy idols. Other Islamic movements of purification and renewal spiritual teacher). The distinction is not absolute: emerged about the same time in West Africa, South Asia, novel arguments were developed in premodern Southeast Asia, and China. Hostile observers often label some modern thought denies that it does anything revivalists “Wahhabis” to emphasize their premodern roots, revive the insights of its predecessors. But in while contemporary followers of such movements generally distinction holds, demarcated symbolically by identify themselves as Muwahiddun (Unitarians, or believers of ijihad. in divine unity) or Salafiyyun (imitators of the ancestors, that The concept of ijihad, derived from an Arabic root is, the early generations of Muslims). meaning “effort” or “struggle,” was for centuries limited to a fairly technical meaning, referring to the intellectual effort of Yet modern revivalism differs significantly from its trained Islamic scholars to arrive at legal rulings on matters premodern predecessors. It emerged most often in regions not covered in the sacred sources. The modernist Islamic that are highly modernized, including the Muslim diaspora in movement of the nineteenth century adopted the term as a western Europe and North America. Its leaders frequently rallying cry, transforming its meaning into the more general have modern educations—for example, Hasan al-Banna (Egypt, task of “rational interpretation” that they held to be incumbent upon all educated Muslims. The opposite of ijihad, in of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, was trained as an

Rationalism
Debates
ground of
another share
formed
their
differs
faith),
heresy), and
of one’s
Certainly
times, and
more than
general, the
the concept

this view, was taqlid, literally “following,” which modernists educator, as was Sayyid Qutb (Egypt, 1902–1966), the Mustook to mean “blind obedience to authority.” Al-Afghani, for

lim Brotherhood’s most influential theoretician of radical example, urged Muslims to “shun submission to conjectures revival. Usama bin Ladin (Saudi Arabia, born 1957), the most and not be content with mere taqlid of their ancestors. For if notorious revivalist of the present time, was trained in civil man believes in things without proof or reason, makes a engineering. Al-Afghani and Abu l-A la Maududi (Indiapractice of following unproven opinions, and is satisfied to

Pakistan, 1903–1979), the leading South Asian revivalist of imitate and follow his ancestors, his mind inevitably desists

the twentieth century, had seminary training but hid their from intellectual movement, and little by little stupidity and traditional backgrounds, not wishing to be identified with imbecility overcome him—until his mind becomes comsuch institutions (in al-Afghani’s case, because he attended pletely idle and he becomes unable to perceive his own good

Shi a seminaries and later passed as a Sunni). In addition, and evil; and adversity and misfortune overtake him from all

modern revivalism presented itself as an ideology, compara- sides” (p. 171). Abduh sought “to liberate thought from the

ble to other ideologies in the modern world (though prefer- shackles of taqlid to return, in the acquisition of religious

able to them, according to its supporters). Revivalist slogans knowledge, to its first sources, and to weigh them in the scales

like “Neither East (that is, communism) nor West” and of human reason, which God has created in order to prevent

“Islam is the solution” placed Islamic revival within the field excess or adulteration in religion” (Hourani, 140–141). Sayyid

of global ideological debates, in a way that premodern reviv- Ahmad Khan (India, 1817–1898), the chief organizer of the

alism did not. Finally, many revivalists also adopted other modernist Islamic movement in South Asia in the nineteenth

strands of modern thought, such as the ones discussed in the century, argued that Islam is “in full correspondence with

following sections. reason” (Troll, 257).

In the first generations of modern Islamic thought, reviv- Modernists cited premodern precedents for this view.

alism and these other strands were seamlessly woven to- Ahmad Khan, for example, praised the broadened use of

gether. By the 1930s, however, the seams had begun to ijti had by Shah Wali Allah (India, 1703–1762). Muhammad

show. Revivalism remains central in modern Islamic thought, Iqbal (India,

1877–1938), the great poet and philosopher, but some revivalists downplay modern ideals, while some relied on Shah Wali Allah, Muhammad b. Ali al-Shawkani (Yemen, circa 1760–1839), and other, older theorists of modernists downplay revivalist ideals. Today a distinction

468

Islam and the Muslim World Modern Thought

ijtihād. Fazlur Rahman (Pakistan–United States, 1919–1988), Empire to encourage the teaching of empirical subjects: the most prominent Islamic modernist of late twentieth natural sciences, particularly physics and chemistry; human century South Asia, cited a long-standing legacy running sciences, particularly history and geography; and language through Wali Allah and Iqbal. Many modernists trace ration- arts, particularly literacy in Arabic and local languages. By the alism back to a saying of the prophet Muhammad: When time the Russian Empire collapsed in 1917, there were hundreds of Muhammad appointed Mu adh b. Jabal as ruler of Yemen, he such schools, only to be destroyed through asked Mu adh how he planned to make decisions. “I will the economic disasters, political purges, and civil conflicts judge matters according to the Book of God,” said Mu adh. of the early Soviet era. In other regions, however, similar “But if the Book of God contains nothing to guide you?” school reform movements survived. Ahmad Khan’s Anglo- Muhammadan Muhammad asked. “Then I will act on the precedents of the College in Aligarh, India, was one of several Prophet of God.” “But if the precedents fail?” “Then I will new institutions that trained generations of modernist Musexercise my own ijtihād.” Muhammad praised Mu adh for his lims in South Asia. The Muhammadiyya movement in Southresponse.

east Asia established a network of new schools that exist to this day. Postcolonial states throughout the Islamic world Modern Islamic rationalism universalized such prece- have frequently required traditional schools to introduce dents. Whereas premodern thought had generally limited the scientific subjects, while also incorporating religious educause of ijtihād to qualified scholars, modernists consider all tion as a subject in the new state-run educational systems.

Muslims—or, in some theories, all educated Muslims—to be Empiricism has become widely entrenched both as a worldview capable of rational interpretation. Modern thinkers nonethe- and as a pedagogy. less differ as to the matters to which rationalism may legitimately be applied, with some exempting matters whose The Islamic justification

for empiricism cites both scriptural treatment in the Qur'an and the precedent of the prophet Muhammad on tural and historical grounds, as well as the pragmatic grounds they consider to be unambiguous. Other thinkers of progress and survival. Modernists describe in glowing terms the scientific advances of the early centuries of Islam, even seemingly unambiguous revelation is subject to human—including such figures as Abu Ja'far al-Khwarazmi (Baghdad, 800–847), who invented algebra; Ulugh Beg (Central Asia, 1394–1449), whose astronomical observations were used throughout the world for centuries; and Ibn Khaldun (Tunisia, 1332–1406), widely considered a precursor to modern historiography and social science. The relative lack of contextual exegesis, but operates also on the empirical world. Comparable paragons in later years poses the central problem for Scientific observation is required of Muslims, in this view, modern Islamic empiricism. Modernists have also collected numerous verses of the Qur'an and sayings of Muhammad in the welfare of the Islamic world. Isma'il Bey Gasprinskii support of empirical study, including the saying, “Seek knowledge, even though it be in China.” Indeed, one strand of thought in the Russian Empire, considered science to be Islamic empiricism argues that all significant scientific discoveries crucial to the survival of Islam, which had fallen hundreds of years behind Europe, he argued, because of its failure to knowledge fully consistent with Islam, in this view, but Islam keep up with Western scientific advances. Rizaeddin bin had it first. Fakhreddin (Ar. Rida al-din bin Fakr al-din) (Tatarstan, 1858–1936), one of the chief seminary-trained collaborators of the Russian-educated Gasprinskii, likened the sciences in Empirical claims, according to modern Islamic thought, are the Islamic world to “a factory standing idle,” and argued that to be judged by their content, not by the social position of the “it is futile to resist machines and struggle against nature” speaker. In the words of Abd al-Qadir al-Jazairi (Algeria-Kurzman, 239). Abdalrauf Fitrat (Ar. Abad al-Rauf Fitrat) Syria, c. 1807–1883), an anticolonial military leader who turned to a

modernist form of Sufism during his decades of Ottoman and Tatar modernism to Central Asia, urged Muslim schools to abandon “the nonsense of studying obscure the truth according to [the reputation of] people” points of Arabic grammar” in favor of “the new sciences, which produce rapid results and great benefits, [and which] the Christians possessed to make them victorious over you” modernists extended this egalitarian sentiment to of social life, for example, ethnicity. Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (Syria, 1854–1902) and others criticized Ottoman Turkish discrimination against Arabs in government reforming and founding Islamic schools—known as “New Ahmad Surkati (Sudan-Method” (Usul-e Jadid) schools—throughout the 1872–1943) and others objected to Arab discrimination

Islam and the Muslim World

469

Modern Thought

against Southeast Asians; Chandra Muzaffar (Malaysia, b. 1947) and others protested against Southeast Asians’ discrimination against non-Muslim communities in the region, such as the Chinese. In these and similar cases, egalitarianism Constitutionalism sought to replace traditional forms of hierarchy with a new case of egalitarianism involves political rights, civil form of community, sometimes defined in religious terms and the rule of law, all of which were bundled in the (the umma, or Islamic community as a whole), but more constitutional government—mashrutiyyat, a frequently in national terms. Arab, Southeast Asian, and nineteenth-century neologism derived from the Arabic root other nationalisms cast individuals as citizens with equal (conditionality) and the French term charte (constitution and responsibilities. (Ottoman Turkey, 1840–1888), one of the leading activists in the constitutionalist movement of the One of the most contentious aspects of egalitarianism quoted Quranic injunction such as, “And involved the extension of this ideology to gender. At the turn council in the matter” (3:159), and concluded that

retirement:

truth, not

(Kurzman,

135).

Other

many arenas

cized Ottoman

ernmental and social affairs; Syekh

Java,

of the twentieth century, feminists—both male and female— “the salvation of the state today is dependent upon the adoption of the method of consultation” (Kurzman, 140). Ali Abd al-Raziq (Egypt, 1888–1966), a scholar at al-Azhar University in Cairo, took another tack, arguing that the Islamic world’s most famous male feminist, argued that Islamic law originally treated men and women equally, with the exception of polygamy, granting women rights still not achieved by many rather permit it. The Qur’an and the precedent of the Western women. Halide Edib Adivar (Turkey, 1882–1964), Prophet leave the form of government to human devising, arguably the Islamic world’s most famous female feminist, “for the trusteeship of Muhammad, peace be upon him, over argued the reverse, suggesting that Islamic family law was the believers is the trusteeship of the Message, untainted by inherently anti-egalitarian on gender matters and had to be anything that has to do with government” (Kurzman, 36). replaced with Western laws. The debate between these posi- These novel arguments for constitutionalism were contortions continues, with men and women on both sides of the versial in their day. Namik Kemal served on the Council of fence. However, feminists have won near unanimity on sev- State that prepared the short-lived Ottoman constitution of eral crucial points: that women have historically been op- 1876, but suffered banishments before and after that time. pressed by men; that this oppression has often been defended Abd al-Raziq was fired from al-Azhar for his controverwith misguided interpretations of Islam; that such justifications must be countered, either by the reform or removal of sial views. traditional laws and practices; and that women deserve, at the Yet constitutionalism gradually became the norm in Islamic very least, equal access to education. lands. Egypt promulgated a constitutionalist document in 1860, and a Another controversial extension of egalitarianism involves 1860, and a fuller constitution in 1882; Tunisia briefly in 1861 and economic rights, especially those associated with the socialist 1861 and then, after the colonial interlude, in 1959; Iran movements that emerged in the Islamic world in the early briefly in 1906, then again in 1909; and so on. Upon twentieth century. In the Dutch East Indies—later Indonesia— decolonization, almost all countries in the Islamic world drew the Islamic Union Party combined nationalist goals with up constitutions, the last one to do so being Saudi Arabia, redistributive ones, using an Islamic discourse of zakat, or whose monarch

announced a Basic Law modeled on Western constitutions. To the left of this movement was an Islamic Communist Party, which criticized the Islamic Union Party and Saudi Arabia's, provide far fewer rights and limits on state power than is common in Western constitutions of the same period. Muhammad Misbach (Java, circa 1876–1940): "To be sure, But it is indicative of the spread of modern thought that even they perform the precepts of the religion of Islam, but they traditional monarchs have felt the need to draw up a codified pick and choose those precepts that suit their desire. Those statement of rights and obligations. At the same time, states that do not suit them they throw away. Put bluntly, they in the Islamic world often disregard the constitution or defy the commands of God—and rather fear and tions that are nominally in force. Many such regimes are love the will of Satan—that Satan whose evil influence is secular in orientation, not Islamic, but a correlation persists between apparent in this present age in [the system of] Capitalism" Muslim population and low levels of democracy. (Shiraishi, 285). Socialist thought, drawing on Islamic and non-Islamic discourses, was embedded in the independence In the face of ongoing repression, even some radical Islamic movement in Indonesia, as in Pakistan and several others Islamic movements have adopted the discourse of around the Islamic world. In parts of the Middle East, Islamic constitutionalism. In Turkey, the Welfare Party—banned and socialism became particularly popular in the 1960s, expressing itself in both pro-Soviet and nonaligned manifestations. itself as an "Islamic-Democrat" movement analogous to the Soon thereafter—in the Islamic world as in the West—a Christian-Democrat parties in several western European

470

Islam and the Muslim World Modern Thought

countries. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood began to mobilize in Africa, b. 1959) cited the words of Ali b. Abi Talib, Muhammad's son-in-law and fourth successor: "this is the Qur'an, Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, the Renaissance movement in Tunisia, and the Justice and Charity movement in Morocco. Uncharitable observers have expressed skepticism it does not written in interpreters

are people.” Esack translates this into contemporary terms: “Every interpreter enters the process of interpretation with some preunderstanding of the questions addressed by the text—even of its silences—and brings with him or her certain conceptions as presuppositions of his or her exegesis” (p. 50). Leading pluralists have suffered threats and worse, as Pluralism their arguments pose a challenge to other modern trends in Islamic thought that believe a single correct interpretation of Islam is achievable and ought to be enforced. Alongside political pluralism stands religious pluralism, the Islam is and legitimate. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, proponents of this approach emerged around the Islamic Conclusion world. Among the most influential is the philosopher Abd al- The Karim Soroush (Iran, born 1945): “Religion is divine, but its that modern thought is frequently self-contradictory. interpretation is thoroughly human and this-worldly,” Soroush Constitutionalism is consistent with both authoritarianism and democracy. Empiricism breeds competing analyses. Socialism on its shoulders, it needs to be situated in a way that both modern phenomena, as are “third way” ideologies. Indeed, the label modern is sometimes used so presuppositions are as actively at work here as elsewhere in centuries the field of understanding. Religious texts are no exception” centuries (Kurzman, 245). Similarly, the philosopher Hassan Hanafi one presented here, are more restrictive. Others leave the definition (Egypt, b. 1935) argued, “There is no one interpretation of a definition open, considering an idea as modern only if its authors text, but there are many interpretations given the difference authors consider it so. in understanding between different interpreters. An interpretation of a text is essentially pluralistic. The text is only a Similar definitional dilemmas are associated with the term Islamic. vehicle for human interests and even passions” (Kurzman, Islamic. Some of the writings quoted in this piece are not considered 26). Fazlur Rahman, cited above, suggested that “To insist on considered Islamic by other Muslims, even if their authors consider absolute uniformity of interpretation is neither possible nor consider

them so. A further body of thought is self-consciously desirable” (144). Amina Wadud-Muhsin (United States, b. non-Islamic, though its authors are Muslims. 1952) wrote that “when one individual reader with a particular world-view and specific prior text [the language and At stake in these definitional disputes is the frame of cultural context in which the text is read] asserts that his or reference for any given analysis. Calling something “modher reading is the only possible or permissible one, it prevents ern” associates it with the entire package of modern institutereaders in different contexts from coming to terms with their tions, an association that some Muslims desire and others own relationship to the text” (Kurzman, 130). Abdullahi An- abhor. Calling something “Islamic” associates it with the Na im (Sudan, b. 1946) wrote that “there is no such thing as divine revelation and generations of followers of Islam, an the only possible or valid understanding of the Qur an, or association that some Muslims would like to monopolize. conception of Islam, since each is informed by the individual Bringing the two terms together, as in “modern Islamic and collective orientation of Muslims.” (An-Na im, 233). thought,” suggests that the two frames overlap, and that Few if any of these authors had read one another’s work; Muslims have contributed to the construction of modernity. pluralism sprouted independently in multiple locations. See also Abd al-Karim Sorush; Afghani, Jamal al-Din; Ahmad Khan, Some writers consider the millennium of coexistence of (Sir) Sayyid; Capitalism; Communism; multiple schools of thought in Islamic jurisprudence to be Feminism; Gender; Iqbal, Muhammad; Liberalism, precedent for contemporary pluralism. Others go back fur- Islamic; Modernism; Pluralism: Legal and Ethnother, to the earliest years of Islam. Mohamed Talbi (Tunisia, Religious; Pluralism: Political; Qutb, Sayyid; Rahman, born 1921) quoted Sura 5, Verse 51 of the Qur an: “To each Fazlur; Science, Islam and; Secularization; Shari ati, among you, have We prescribed a Law and an Open Way. Ali; Wali Allah, Shah.

And if God had enforced His Will, He would have made of you all one people.” Muhammad Asad (Austria-Pakistan, BIBLIOGRAPHY

1900–1992) quoted the saying of the prophet Muhammad, Abduh, Muhammad. The Theology of Unity (Risalat al-tawhid). “The differences of opinion among the learned within my Translated by Ishaq Masa ad and Kenneth Cragg. Loncommunity are [a sign of] God’s grace.” Farid Esack (South don: Allen & Unwin, 1966.

Islam and the Muslim World

Mojahedin-e Khalq

Afghani, Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-. *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal* MOJAHEDIN-E KHALQ

ad-Din al-Afghani. Translated by Nikki R. Keddie. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Mojahedin-e Khalq (Ar. Mujahidin; The People's Warriors)

is a popular name for the Sazman-e Mojahedin-e Khalq-e

Ahmad, Aziz. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan,*

Iran (Organization of the Iranian People's Religious Warri-

1857–1964. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

ors), a group of Shi'ite Islamic-Marxist revolutionaries that

Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a* formed in Iran during the 1960s in opposition to the regime

Modern Debate. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University of Muhammad Reza Shah (r. 1953–1979).

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Mojahedin constituted one of several opposition

Human Rights." In *Human Rights and Religious Values: An* movements,

ranging from the Marxist left to the liberal

Uneasy Relationship? Edited by Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, center to the

religious right, that led popular support against

Jerald D. Gort, Henry Jansen, and Hendrik M. Vroom. the

transparent authoritarianism of the shah's regime and its

Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing dependency on

the United States, particularly after the shah's

Company, 1995. violent

repression of demonstrations against his program of

Azmeh, Aziz al-. *Islams and Modernities*. 2d ed. London: economic and

social modernization, known as the White

Verso, 1996. Revolution, in

June 1963. The Mojahedin drew its member-

Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. 2d ship from

the urban intelligentsia, mostly middle-class, collegeed. London: Hurst & Co.,

1998. educated young men with degrees in

engineering. During the

1970s, it conducted a guerrilla war against the monarchy, but

Brown, Daniel W. *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic*

gradually declined in the face of internal divisions and exter-

Thought. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University

Press, 1996. nal force. They

experienced a resurgence, however, under the

leadership of Mas'ud Rajavi (b. 1947) after the 1978 and 1979

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revolution, when they attacked Ayatollah Khomeini and his
 Oneworld, 1997.
 cadre of Shi'ite mullahs who were consolidating their control
 Esposito, John L., and Voll, John O. *Makers of Contemporary* of the
 country. Nearly ten thousand Mojahedin members
 Islam. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. were
 exterminated by the Khomeini regime between 1981
 Göle, Nilüfer. *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling.* and 1985.
 Saddam Husayn allowed surviving members to
 Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996. organize an
 armed Iranian opposition movement in Iraq,
 Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939.* which
 subsequently fell under the control of American occu-
 London: Oxford University Press, 1962. pation forces
 there in April 2003.
 Keddie, Nikki R. Sayyid Jamal ad-Din “al-Afghani”: A Political
 Their ideology is based on a radical reinterpretation of
 Biography. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
 traditional Shi'ite concepts in light of Marxist sociology and
 Khalid, Adeeb. *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism* anticolonial
 rhetoric. Ervand Abrahamian notes that they
 in Central Asia. Berkeley: University of California transformed
 terms like jihad, mujahid, shahid (martyr), tawhid
 Press, 1998. (monotheism),
 and umma (community of believers) to mean
 Kurzman, Charles, ed. *Liberal Islam: A Source-Book.* New
 “liberation struggle,” “freedom fighter,” “revolutionary hero,”
 York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
 “egalitarianism,” and “dynamic classless society,” respec-
 Kurzman, Charles, et al., eds. *Modernist Islam, circa 1840–1940:* tively
 (1989, p. 96). They echoed many of the ideas of Ali
 A Source-Book. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Shari'ati,
 widely considered the chief ideologue of the Iranian
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 after Khomeini.
 Dwi S. *Defenders of Reason in Islam: Mu'tazilism from*
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Charles Kurzman

Juan Eduardo Campo

472

Islam and the Muslim World

Mollabashi

scholars, or ulema, who serve various clerical functions. It is MOJAHIDIN See Mujahidin used as a generic term for a Muslim cleric. The term akhund is a synonym for it in Persian and related languages. Mollas receive a religious education as a child in a maktab (Ar. kuttab). They study the Qur'an, hadith (sayings of the prophet Muhammad), and MOJTAHED-SHABESTARI, hammad), and basic aspects of belief and practice. At the highest level of training mollas receive the equivalent of a MOHAMMAD (1937–) doctorate in theology from a theological seminary, called a Born in 1937, Mohammad Mojtahed-Shabestari attended madrasa or howzah ilmiyya. Mollas serve a series of social and Qom Seminary at the age of fourteen. During his eighteen religious functions: prayer leader in a mosque, reciter of the Qur'an, years of study in Qom, he was influenced by the new philosophical and theological currents that were gaining popularity judge, administrator of religious endowments and sites, comamong the younger generation of theologians. Subsequently, munity leader, politician, scholar of religion, and sometimes he expanded his learning to the conventional secular curriculum as scribes or even bookkeepers. They also preside over lum and independently studied contemporary Western philosophy various rituals including marriage contracts, and other religious philosophies and languages. In 1970, he moved to Germany ous rituals. Not all mollas are employed full-time in this where he later succeeded Ayatollah Beheshti as the director of profession. Many of them have other occupations along with the Hamburg Islamic Center, a post he held until the 1979 their

religious duties. It is not uncommon, especially in the Iranian Revolution. After the revolution, he was elected to past and in rural areas, for the term molla to be applied to a cleric with the first Islamic Consultative Assembly and is a faculty member of the School of Theology and Islamic Studies at the some basic knowledge of the Qur'an and hadith.

University of Tehran.

See also Ulema.

Mojtahed-Shabestari is one of the leading Iranian advocates of the hermeneutic approach to Islamic theology. In his

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book, *Hermenutik, Ketab Va Sunnat* (Hermeneutics, the Book and Tradition), he advances a theology largely extricated from Meir, Litvak. *Shi'i Scholars of Nineteenth-Century Iraq: The "Ulama" of Najaf and Karbala*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

German theologian Paul Tillich and German phenomenology of religion, he argues that theological innovations emerge Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

rather than from doctrinal debates. The interpretation of the Walbridge, Linda S., ed. *The Most Learned of the Shi'a: The Institution of the Marja Taqlid*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. While a hermeneutic approach acknowledges these contingencies, it also endeavors to transcend them. However, this transcendence can never be total and, accordingly, truth-

Kamran Aghaie

claims may never be absolute. Truth belongs to God and remains inaccessible to human faculties.

See also Reform: Iran.

MOLLABASHI

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The Mollabashi was the head of the religious institution in Farzin Vahdat, "Postrevolutionary Discourses of Moham- Iran under the late Safavid rule. It is a synthetic title from the mad Mojtahed Shabestari and Mohsen Kadivar: Reconciling the Terms of Mediated Subjectivity," *Critique*, no. 16 (Spring 2000): 31–54.

who has acquired a certain degree of religious education.

During the last years of the Safavid rule, the Mollabashi was

Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi

the head of the religious institution and a leading member of the Safavid administration system. In the earlier period of the Safavid kings, this title belonged to the most learned scholar MOLLA of the time, who was considered as the Mollabashi.

Molla comes from the Arabic term mawla, which is most often The office of Mollabashi was created by the Safavid shah used to mean religious leader. The term molla is used primarily in Iran and parts of Asia to refer to Muslim religious 1694. He instituted the office during the last years of his

Islam and the Muslim World

473

Monarchy

rule. The Mollabashi was nominated by the king himself and palaces housing the caliph's central administration. In the latter part of the ninth century, independent royal dynasties were established in Iran and in Egypt and chose to remain As the chief of the Mollas, during the royal assembly the under the suzerainty of the caliphs. In this period, we find the Mollabashi had a definite place near the king, closer than that term sultan first used to refer to a specific person: the caliph's of any other religious scholar. The Mollabashi did not interfere in any state affairs except for soliciting pensions for haphazard use of the term to refer to a person became religious students and scholars. The Mollabashi also pleaded systematic when the Buyids (Buwayhids), Shi'ite mercenaries to the king directly on behalf of the aggrieved and oppressed, from the Caspian region, captured Baghdad in the mid-tenth century, and for individuals convicted of crimes. without, however, overthrowing the Abbasid caliphate. The Buyids became the first of a series of secular independent After the collapse of the Safavid state and during the reign rulers to assume the title of sultan. The bifurcation of sovereignty of the Afsharid dynasty, the prerogatives of the Mollabashi eighty into caliphate and sultanate became permanent, how office increased because the Mollabashi was the most power- ever, and underscored the new autonomy of monarchy from full figure in the court. But by the fall of the Afsharid state and the caliphate. during the reign of the Qajar dynasty, the role of the Mollabashi was limited to that of tutor of the royal princes. In Iran, where the Buyids ruled independently of the

caliph, they assumed the pre-Islamic Persian titles of shah
 See also Empires: Safavid and Qajar; Molla; Nader Shah (king), and
 even the imperial shahanshah (king of kings). The
 Afshar; Ulema. Turkish
 Seljuks, who replaced the Buyids in Baghdad in 1055
 and proceeded to defeat the Byzantine emperor and create a
 BIBLIOGRAPHY vast empire
 from the Oxus to the Mediterranean, assumed
 the titles of both sultan and shahanshah. The subsequent
 Arjomand, S. A. "The Office of Mullabashi in Shi'ite Iran."
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 dynasties, including the Ottomans, attached the title
 of sultan to their names, also using additional Persian terms
 such as shah and its variant, padshah. Local rulers in Iran used the
 Mansur Sefatgol
 title of shah, and those in the Arab countries, the equivalent
 term malik (king). Turkish dynasties established a Muslim
 monarchy in northern India in the thirteenth century, with
 Delhi as its capital. The Delhi Sultanate lasted for some three
 MONARCHY centuries,
 until the Mogul conquest in 1526, which established a larger Muslim empire in
 India. The sultanate spread
 Neither the Qur'an nor Muhammad made any specific provision eastward into Asia, and
 survives to this day in the federal
 systems for the organization of government for the Islamic
 states of Malaysia and in Brunei. With the spread of Islam
 community. Muhammad's successors, who ruled Arabia and
 into sub-Saharan Africa, some of the Muslim local rulers
 vast empire conquered by the Muslims during the quarter of
 assumed the title of sultan, and in 1841, the sultan of Oman
 century after the Prophet's death, were called caliph (khalifa)
 transferred his court to Zanzibar across the Indian Ocean.
 and assumed the title of "Commander of the Faithful": (amir
 al-mu'minin). After a civil war that ended the period of the
 Monarchy (sultana[t], padshahi, mulk) was legitimated in four
 "rightly-guided" caliphs in 661, the caliphate became independently
 of the caliphate, and primarily on the basis of
 hereditary in the Umayyad Dynasty until 750, and in the justice.
 The function of monarchy was the maintenance of
 Abbasid Dynasty from 750 until 1258. The administrative order and
 ruling with justice. As such, monarchy was command fiscal systems of the
 Byzantine (Roman) and Sassanian compared to prophecy, the function of
 which was the salvation of
 (Persian) empires were taken over by the caliphate. The humankind.
 Kings were thus required by the divine constitutional bureaucratic class that carried
 out the fiscal and administrative of cosmic order, just as were the
 prophets. As stated in a

tive tasks for the caliphs were eventually ordered to use tradition (hadith) attributed to Muhammad, “the ruler (sultan) is the shadow of God on earth.” A distinct literary genre began in the seventh century, and some decades thereafter also began on political ethic and statecraft grew, grounding the legitimacy to translate Persian works on statecraft into Arabic. Through the supremacy of monarchy in its justice. This literature absorbed a model of the philosopher-king. A major synthesis of the seen in the Book of Sovereignty (Kitab al-sultan) by the Persian and the philosophical traditions, written in the thirteenth-century author, Ibn Qutayba. In the thirteenth century by Nasir al-Din Tusi, Akhlaq-e Naseri, had many imitators and became the standard work on political ethic and statecraft in the great modern empires of the early modern period: the Ottoman, the Safavid, and the Mogul.

474

Islam and the Muslim World

Moravids

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Säid Amir Arjomand

MORAVIDS

This movement, which was to make Muslims in the Sahara and Spain more conscious of the distinctiveness of their religion, and which began a tradition of the Muslim scholar as militant reformer. The Moravid movement had its origins in the western Sahara in the 1030s when several tribes of camel breeding Sanhaja nomads broke their return journey from the pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca to study in Cairouan—then the intellectual center of North Africa outside of Egypt. Greatly inspired by the teachings of the Sufi (mystic) and Maliki jurist, Abdullah b. Yasin, and by those of a former pupil of his, Abdallah Ibn Yasin al-Jazuli (henceforth: Ibn Yasin), they decided, once back in the western Sahara, to establish a house of retreat (Ar. al-Murabitun) where they studied and trained to become scholars and efficient warriors in the name of Islam. King Hussein of Jordan (1935–1999) represented the Hashimite

monarchy in Jordan, which was established in 1921. Upon mid-1050s a militant Almoravid movement swear- Hussein's death he was succeeded by his son Abdallah II. The allegiance to the caliphs of Baghdad, and under the Hashimites claim legitimacy as sharifs—descendants of the prophet leadership of Abu Bakr ibn Umar, who took the title of emir Muhammad. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS (supreme leader, c. 1055–1108), rapidly extended its control outward from its new capital Marrakesh, over much of Morocco and modern Algeria. Sections of the movement pushed further southward across the Sahara and waged jihad, possibly After the overthrow of the Abbasid caliphate by the Mongols in 1258, the rulers of Muslim lands typically added unsuccessfully, against the Soninke of the kingdom of Ancient caliph to sultan as their titles, except in Mamluk Egypt Ghana. Some historians believe that these incursions laid the (1260–1517), when a shadow Abbasid caliph was maintained foundations of a tradition of jihad that was to become a by the Mamluk sultans. The Ottomans claimed the last marked feature of Senagambian Islam in centuries to come Abbasid (shadow) caliph gave them the mantle of the Prophet and particularly from the late seventeenth century to the and transferred the caliphate to them when they conquered present. The Almoravid movement is also thought to have Cairo in 1517. made its way eastward across the Sahel to Aier.

The idea of constitutional monarchy was introduced into Spain in 1086 by the Muslim rulers of althe Islamic world in the process of political modernization, Andalus, the Almoravids, led by Yusuf ibn Tashufin, dewith the Ottoman constitution of 1876 and the Iranian feated the army of Alphonso VI at Zalaqa. Yusuf returned to constitution of 1906. With the creation of the modern state of Spain in 1090 and took control of al-Andalus before extend- Turkey, the Ottoman sultanate was abolished in 1922, and ing Muslim rule further north over the important Christhe caliphate in 1924. In Iran, the monarchy was overthrown tian strongholds of Badajoz (1094), Valencia (1102), and Saragossa (1112). with the Islamic revolution of 1979. A number of Muslim monarchies have survived to the present, notably in Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. Almoravid success in Spain was short-lived. By 1118 Saragossa had been retaken by Alfonso I of Aragon and this See also Caliphate; Political Organization. was followed by successful excursions further south. Popular rebellions in 1144 and 1145 ended Almoravid rule in Spain.

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Peter B. Clarke

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475

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I. B. Tauris & Co., Ltd., 1990.

(1882–1967)

Fakhreddin Azimi

Mohammad Mosaddeq was an Iranian liberal-nationalist

prime minister (1951–1953) overthrown by an Anglo-

American-sponsored coup d'état. Born into a prominent

MOSQUE

See Adhan; Architecture; Jami ;

family of notables and educated in Tehran, France, and

Manar,

Manara; Masjid; Minbar (Mimbar);

Switzerland, where he gained a doctorate in law, Mosaddeq

Religious

Institutions

returned to Iran in 1914 where he taught, occupied various

ministerial and other high-ranking posts, and achieved national prominence as a

nationalist and constitutionalist parliamentarian. His opposition to the

autocracy of Reza Khan

(later shah) resulted in his exclusion from political life and

MOTAHHARI,

MORTAZA

virtual house arrest from 1936 onward.

(1920–1979)

Following Reza Shah's abdication in 1941, Mosaddeq

Born in

Iran in 1920, Mortaza Motahhari was assassinated on

1 May 1979 by members of Forqan, a radical Muslim

returned to the political scene to represent Tehran twice in

anticlerical group. He attended the prestigious Mashhad

the parliament, receiving the highest number of votes cast in

seminary and in 1936 moved to Qom to pursue his interest in

the capitol. The failure of negotiations to revise the British oil

Islamic philosophy. However, philosophical issues were self-concession eventually

resulted in the nationalization of the

dom discussed in Shi'ite seminaries. Both philosophy and

Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The leadership of Mosaddeq

mysticism were subjects marginalized in favor of jurisprudence and the National

Front, formed by him in this process, led to

dence. In 1944, he studied jurisprudence with Ayatollah

his premiership in late April 1951.

Borujerdi;

one year later he embarked on studying seminal philosophical texts with Ayatollah Khomeini; and finally he Vehemently opposed to Mosaddeq and his oil policy, the Allama Tabataba i's seminars on the philosophies British concentrated on destabilizing his government, while Sadra and Ibn Sina. attended of Mulla

the shah refused to accept the role of constitutional monarch as defined by the premier. The relentless opposition of pro-Motahhari is considered to be one of the most influential British and royalist elements and the shah's refusal to transfer modernist clerics in contemporary Iran. Although Motahhari the War Ministry to the prime minister resulted in Mosaddeq's was a disciple of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and one of his resignation in July 1952, but a popular uprising returned him closest aides during the first months of the Islamic revolution, to power a few days later. The intractable oil question he remained critical of Khomeini's juridical conception of continued, however, to aggravate the government's prob-velayat-e faqih. He emphasized the role of reason in the comprehension and practice of religion, and admonished lems. Some of its supporters joined the opposition, while the traditional jurists for their promotion of a blind imitative activities of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party enabled the governfaith. Motahhari believed that the orthodoxy that dominated ment's opponents, including the religious forces, to claim Shi ite seminaries alienated pensive youth from religion and that a communist takeover was imminent. The British and created a fertile soil for the growth of Marxism. Accordingly, American secret services, aided by Mosaddeq's domestic he intended to advance a Shi ite philosophical rationalism, opponents, eventually engineered his downfall in August 1953. which engaged contemporary issues and was accessible to modern intellectuals.

Following three years of imprisonment, Mosaddeq was confined for the rest of his life to his country home away from Khomeini, Ruholla; Reform: Iran; Revolution: the capital. While cognizant of the place of Islam in the Islamic Revolution in Iran; Velayat-e Faqih. See also

inherited culture of Iran, Mosaddeq was primarily a secular democrat and a civic nationalist, dedicated to promoting

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Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi

476

Islam and the Muslim World

Mu awiya

In the meanwhile, Mu awiya had succeeded in gaining the support of the MSA See Muslim Student Association of the Syrians. In 658 he dispatched Amr ibn al- As to conquer Egypt on his behalf. While Mu awiya's position was strengthened by the conquest of Egypt, Ali's position in Iraq (where his capital was based) was considerably weakened.

After Ali was assassinated by a Kharijite dissident in 661, MU AWIYA (?–680)

he was briefly succeeded by his son Hasan. Soon Mu awiya Mu awiya ibn Abi Sufyan was the first Umayyad caliph convinced him to accept compensation for abdicating in his (661–680 C.E.). Mu awiya's father, Sakhr ibn Harb ibn favor; thereby inaugurating Umayyad rule in 661. The seat of Umayyah—popularly known as Abu Sufyan—led the Quraysh the caliphate was transferred to Damascus.

army against the Prophet in the battles of Uhud and Khandaq. Mu awiya's rule, according to most historians, was characterized by peace and justice. Governors were granted full civil a prominent Quraysh chief, Utbah ibn Rabi a, was also and military authority. However, toward the end of his life, he hostile to Muhammad before her conversion to Islam.

nominated his son Yazid to succeed him. This move met with Some sources suggest that Mu awiya accepted Islam before a great deal of opposition, especially from Abdallah ibn fore the conquest of Mecca in 630 but concealed it until later; Zubayr and Ali's son, Husayn ibn Ali.

the general view is that he accepted Islam after the conquest.

This explains why he is included among the tulaqa (those Mu awiya was accused of turning the caliphate into a kingship. The who were pardoned by the Prophet after the conquest). The legitimacy of Yazid's succession was debated and contested by many, including Husayn ibn Ali. Husayn's Mu awiya and his father, Abu Sufyan, were also included march with his followers to challenge Yazid met a tragic end

among what Qur'an refers to as the *mu'allafat al-qulub* (those at Karbala, an event that is commemorated to this day by the Shi'a as well as many Sunni Muslims. hearts to Islam). The fact that Mu'awiya was literate ensured his appointment by the Prophet as his scribe. Mu'awiya has been held responsible for the emergence of the first schisms in Islam. His refusal to acknowledge Ali's In 634 the first caliph of Islam, Abu Bakr, sent Mu'awiya caliphate and his appointment of Yazid as heir not only to Syria, where he was appointed as a commander of one resulted in the introduction of hereditary succession in Muslim division of the army led by his brother, Yazid, against the Umayyad polity, but also in the emergence of the Khawarij and Byzantines. On Yazid's death in 639, the second caliph, consolidation of the Shi'a.

Umar, appointed him as commander of the army, collector of taxes, and governor of Damascus. While Mu'awiya has been vilified by Shi'a throughout Muslim history, Sunni Muslims respect his political sagacity, The third caliph, Uthman, confirmed Mu'awiya's apjustice, impartiality, forbearance, and resolution of character. pointment as governor of Syria, which became an important It is said that he granted his subjects free access to him as well front for the defense of the caliphate against the Byzantines. as freedom of expression. He was reputed for his oratory and Mu'awiya established garrisons all along the coast and for the his ability to turn adversaries into allies. first time Muslims engaged in naval warfare.

When Uthman was besieged in Medina by dissidents who See also Caliphate; Karbala; Kharijites, Khawarij; demanded the instatement of Ali as caliph, he requested Succession. assistance from Mu'awiya. As soon as he assumed the caliphate after the assassination of Uthman, Ali sought to dismiss BIBLIOGRAPHY Mu'awiya, who refused to pay allegiance to him until Uthman's Hawting, G. R. *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad* murderers had been punished. Caliphate AD 661–750. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

The deadlock between Ali and Mu'awiya led to the Battle of Karbala. Ibn Hisham, Abd al-Malik. *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Siffin* in 657 C.E. The battle was brought to an end when the intervention of Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah. Introduction and notes by Mu'awiya, whose army was on the verge of defeat, proposed A. Guillaume. Karachi, Pakistan, and New York: Oxford that the conflict be resolved through negotiation. The two

University Press, 1997.

parties agreed to arbitration (tahkim).

Tabari, al-. Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Mu awiyah.

The decision of the arbiters that both Ali and Mu awiya Translated and annotated by Michael G. Morony. Albany:

be relieved of their posts did not resolve the conflict. Ali's State

University of New York Press, 1987.

supporters, in particular, rejected the outcome of the arbitration.

Suleman Dangor

Islam and the Muslim World

477

Mufti

MUFTI

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The mufti, or jurisconsult, stands between man and God, and Yathrib (Medina)

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issues opinions (fatwa, pl. fatawa or fatwas) to a petitioner Quba

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(mustafti) either with regard to the laws of God or the deeds of Red

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man. In early Islam the mufti operated as a privately funded, Sea

nt

Thaniyya al-^Arj

ai

free agent who was independent of state control. As successor Al-^Arj

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l Fa

to Muhammad in his role as jurist, the mufti was to exemplify Muhammad's

Wa\dê a

Al-Abwa&

sound juridical wisdom and moral rectitude. His knowledge

Migration to

of the Arabic language, the Qur'anic sciences, and hadith

Yathrib

(Medina)

Kharrar

traditions had to be thorough, as did his grasp of legal

City Peak

Qadid

reasoning. Such idealized standards eventually yielded to

societal needs, until, by the turn of the tenth century, the

Amaj

N

office of the mufti required that he be thoroughly grounded

Asfan

in no more than juridical precedent within a given school of law.

Mecca

A mufti is distinct from a judge (qadi) in several ways. The

Thawr Mountain

judge's authority is generally delegated by the state, whereas

the mufti's is delegated by his peers; the judge's ruling is final,

Muhammad's migration to Yathrib. XNR PRODUCTIONS/GALE

or subject to limited appeal, whereas that of a mufti is but one

of many competing juridical opinions; and the mufti rules

most often on questions of law, whereas the qadi rules on fact.

(hadiths) that were later written down. Though not always in

A mufti must always appear dignified and neatly dressed,

agreement,

these traditions come together to tell us about an

for he serves as a model of good behavior in public. He must

Arab who

was born around the end of the sixth century in the

avoid delivering opinions when angry, ill, or weary, and also

oasis of

Mecca, a sanctuary town built around a cubical

when there appears to be a conflict of interests.

"house

of God," the Ka'ba. He was nursed in his infancy by

Halima, a Bedouin woman of the Banu Sa'd, as was customary

See also Fatwa; Qadi (Kadi, Kazi).

among the Quraysh. Muhammad lost his mother, Amina bint

(henceforth bt. meaning daughter of) Wahb, a few years after

BIBLIOGRAPHY

he was

reunited with her at the age of six. He was then cared

Masud, Muhammad Khalid; Messick, Brinkley; and Pow-

for by his

grandfather Abd al-Muttalib and, then by his uncle

ers, David S., eds. Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and

Abu Talib,

who granted him protection and stood by him in

their Fatwas, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University

troubled

times. Interestingly, Abu Talib never converted

Press, 1996.

to Islam.

Muneer Goolam Fareed It was Abu Talib who introduced Muhammad to the camel-caravan trade, which became his occupation. This, in turn, led him to employment by a wealthy widow Khadija bt. Khuwaylid, who, though older than him, was impressed by MUHAMMAD (570–632 C.E.) his personality and subsequently married him. She bore him Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn (henceforth b. meaning the two sons who died in infancy, and four daughters: Zaynab, son of) Abdullah b. Abd al-Muttalib, of the clan of Hashim, Ruqayya, Fatima (who alone survived her father), and Umm Kulthum. of the tribe of Quraysh, is acknowledged by more than one billion Muslims as the last messenger of God. It was through Around age forty (610 C.E.), increasingly troubled by the him that the Qur'anic passages, which his followers believe social conditions of his fellow Meccans, Muhammad began to present the word of God, had been revealed to guide the make regular trips to Mount Hira for prayer and meditation. nascent community through its predicaments. The religion On one such occasion, he claimed the angel Gabriel came to that Muhammad preached is called Islam, meaning submission with words written upon a banner of brocade. "Recite!" sion to God; its creed asserts that there is but one God and commanded the angel, and Muhammad, feeling an enormous that Muhammad is the Messenger of God. pressure upon his chest, finally pronounced the words:

The Life of Muhammad

Recognized before his prophethood as al-Amin (the trust- Recite in the name of the Lord who created worthy), the Prophet of Islam is largely known to us through the lore of the early Muslim community from oral traditions Man from blood coagulated.

478

Islam and the Muslim World

Muhammad

Recite! Thy Lord is wondrous kind Muhajirun, and the Medinans who welcomed and helped them as the Ansar. Who by the pen has taught mankind Muhammad was encouraged in his immigration to Medina Things they knew not. (96) by the presence of Jews, who, he hoped, as monotheists would approve of his teachings. Even before arriving in Medina, Muhammad explained that he too worshipped the God of When Muhammad awoke from this vision, the words Moses and Jesus, and turned to face Jerusalem in prayer. Such

seemed to be etched in his heart and he feared he was
 was his reverence for Jerusalem that he had a mystical experience. For a
 brief moment he contemplated suicide, but
 once that had led him there. When the Jews of Medina
 then a voice came to him from the skies, hailing him as the
 rejected his teachings, however, Muhammad decided to disprove the apostle of God.
 Returning home, Muhammad informed
 distinguish his community from theirs, and changed the direction
 Khadija of what had happened. With the help of her Christian prayer towards
 the Meccan Kaaba. Then he fought a
 cousin, Waraqa b. Nawfal, who interpreted Muhammad's series of battles against
 the Meccans and as well as the
 mad's vision as a spiritual experience, Khadija persuaded
 Medinan Jews, until finally Islam was secure in Medina.
 Muhammad to have faith in himself.
 At the same time, Muhammad established Medina as his
 At first Muhammad communicated his message only to
 home. He married as many as fourteen wives, and Muhammad those very close to him:
 Khadija; his young cousin, Ali b. Abi
 mad's situation was more complex than the number suggests.
 Talib; his adopted son, Zayd; and Abu Bakr b. Abi Quhafa, a
 Among his wives were A'isha, daughter of Abu Bakr, the only
 merchant and friend. They are believed to have been the first
 virgin he ever married; Hafsa, the widowed daughter of
 Muslims. A few years later, Muhammad took his message to
 Umar (an early Meccan companion); and Zaynab, bt. Jahsh, a
 the people of Mecca informing them of a life after death and
 divorcee, previously married to his adopted son, Zayd. Traditions of a just and fair
 God who would reward humans according to
 tion also mentions a concubine, Maria the Copt, who bore
 their deeds in this world. Umar b. al-Khattab and Uthman
 him a son who died in infancy. It is worth noting that while
 b. Affan were two important Meccans who accepted his
 the Qur'an permits four wives to every man—provided he
 teachings at this time, though generally it was the less well-treated them all
 equally—it also informs us that the Prophet
 to-do youth who were attracted to his call. Most Meccans,
 was permitted more wives because of his special circumstances; however, resented the
 depreciation of their gods, the gods of
 stances. Yet, we are told that Muhammad asked Ali, husband
 their forefathers, and the rejection of their beliefs by the
 to his daughter, Fatima, to refrain from taking a second wife.
 youth that Muhammad's teachings encouraged. Moreover,
 Polygamy had complex meaning and was not established as a
 the Meccans depended on the income derived from worship
 pattern based on the Prophet's example.
 at the Kaaba and feared that Muhammad would destroy the

numerous idols that brought the pilgrims there. They op-
 Muhammad decided to venture back to Mecca on pilgrimposed Muhammad, and made
 plans to kill him. Muhammad age to the Ka ba, which he believed
 had originally been
 knew he had to leave Mecca when, in approximately 619 C.E., consecrated
 by Abraham. At first, Meccan resistance led
 Abu Talib and Khadija passed away within a year of each Muhammad to
 secure a peace treaty at al-Hudaybiyya (628
 other and there was no one left who was willing to grant him C.E.) for a
 period of ten years. By the terms of this treaty
 the protection and moral support he required. Muhammad
 agreed to let the Meccans trade freely, while the
 Meccans consented to let him make the lesser pilgrimage to
 Meanwhile, the people of Yathrib, unable to reconcile Mecca (umrah)
 in the following year. The peace enabled
 their differences and learning of Muhammad's fair and hon- Muhammad
 to conquer the Jewish fortresses of Khaybar and
 est ways, decided to invite him to live among them as their to conclude
 a treaty whereby the surrendering Jews handed
 judge and arbitrator. Muhammad immediately seized the over all
 their property in exchange for their lives. They were
 opportunity to leave Mecca, and after sending his followers permitted
 to continue farming the land in return for half of
 ahead, secretly followed them with Abu Bakr as his compan- their
 produce. The Qur anic verse 9:29 corroborates Muhamion. This event, known as
 the hijra, is believed to have taken mad's decision; it commands that
 monotheist ahl al-kitab
 place in 622 C.E., a date that was later adopted as the beginning (people of
 the book) be permitted to practice their faith in
 of the Muslim calendar. For Muslims, it marks the dawn of Islamic
 lands, on payment of a poll tax.
 the "Age of Islam," as distinct from pre-Islamic times, which
 were termed the "Age of Ignorance," or jahiliyya. Muhammad The
 following year, Muhammad, learning that Bedouin
 now asserted leadership over a community based, not on allies of
 the Meccans had attacked some of his followers,
 tribal ties, but on its shared faith in One God. Jews, too, were determined
 to lead an army against Mecca. Because the Jews
 included in this community. Soon, Yathrib came to be known were no
 longer available as allies, the Meccans decided to
 as Medinat al-nabi (the city of the Prophet) or Medina. The surrender,
 and Abu Sufyan, the Qurayshi leader of the Meccans,
 Meccans who emigrated with Muhammad became known as and his
 wife Hind, finally acknowledged that Muhammad was

Muhammad

God's prophet. A few weeks later, when several tribes led by Just as troubling is the permission given to men to reprimand their wives, the Hawazin decided to challenge Muhammad at Hunayn, affirming their dominance.

the newly converted Meccans joined with Muhammad to defeat them.

Islam's paternalistic attitude towards women is an issue of contention, particularly in the context of today's feminism.

Around 632 C.E., Muhammad, having established his au-
the consideration granted by Islam to women,

thority over the Arabian Peninsula, made the hajj pilgrimage in the context of seventh century Arabia, was significant:

to Mecca, circumambulating the Ka ba, and established the Islam permitted women to keep control of their property

ritual according to which Muslims to this day perform the marriage and inheritance rights were granted to

hajj. It is recognized as the Farewell Pilgrimage. Muhammad wives, daughters, mothers, and aunts. Women were not only

died a few days later in Medina, in the house of A'isha, where given a say in their marriages, but their sexual needs and

he was buried. Muslims suffered a great loss when Muhammad's death was acknowledged. It is perhaps surprising to find that the Prophet's desires were

mad died. Their deep love and gratitude are reflected in the listed among the inadequacies of men, for instance, the act of

blessings (tasliya) they ask God to shower upon him whenever having intercourse with one's wife "before talking to her and

they mention his name. gaining her
intimacy, and satisfying his need from her before

she satisfied her need from him” (Daylami, Musnad al-firdaws).

Religious and Political Influence of Muhammad

The religion that Muhammad taught was called Islam, mean-

Muhammad's influence on subsequent religious and poing submission to God.

Asserting that “there is no God but I,” he had brought monotheism to the political life was significant. He

Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet," it commanded that Arab

world. Both Judaism and Christianity had already visevery believer pray five times daily; fast during the month of ited the Arabian Peninsula, but

neither had ever quite cap-

Ramadan; contribute an annual tithe, or zakat, for the benefit of the poor who have fasted it.

Neither the Old nor the New Testament was in

of the poor; and, if possible, make the hajj pilgrimage at least Arabic, nor had they yet been translated into Arabic. Moreonce in a lifetime. Mindful of

the ethical purpose of mono-rejected the Arab ver, Orthodox, Byzantine Christianity

theism, it also denied believers the addictive pleasures of Monophysites

and Nestorians as heretics, and as for Judaism, alcohol and gambling that had such disastrous effects on evidence of any communication between the family life. Traditions also convey Muhammad's respect for schools and the Jews of Arabia. rabbinical

the ease of the larger community. For example, he wore In contrast, the Qur'an brought by Muhammad was in Arabic; it perfume when he went to the mosque and refrained from delivered a message that the people of the region taking garlic before attending a gathering. could understand, through a prophet who was one of them. It united the fractious tribes of Arabia, providing them with the Muhammad preached that Islam was the original religion political will to go far beyond their boundaries, to travel into brought by Moses and Jesus, but that it had become corrupted by the people. He taught that Jews should recognize North Africa and Spain in the west, and through Syria, Iraq, Persia, and into India, in the east. In a sense, Muhammad had Jesus as a prophet, and that Christians should understand that provided the Arabs with inspiration for the making of an Arab Jesus was neither God, nor His son but, rather, a prophet. empire, within which, for several centuries, Jews, Christians, Nevertheless, Muhammad held that all monotheists must be and Muslims would make Arab culture their own. permitted to practice their faith, as long as they paid a tax in acknowledgment of Islam's political dominance. The active-

Muhammad's Succession

ism of Islam that was demonstrated by Muhammad in both There was, however, a problem. The Prophet had never overtly words and deeds requires a careful investigation as to when proclaimed his heir. There were two choices. One aggression might be justified. Importantly, the justification possibility was Muhammad's young cousin, Ali, roughly thirty for holy war (often identified with jihad, which means to years of age, who had lived with the Prophet ever since strive), is usually understood to be defensive. The Qur'anic Ali's father, Abu Talib, had fallen into financial difficulties. declaration, "There is no compulsion in religion" (2:256) Ali had fought bravely at the Prophet's side and, as husband Ali had suggests an attitude of tolerance. to Fatima, was also father to Muhammad's beloved grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. Significantly, Muhammad chose

By acknowledging God's unique otherness, Muhammad

Ali to pronounce the Qur'an verses of Bara'a, at the conclusion of the pilgrimage in 631 humankind, of whatever race, ethnicity, tribe, sion of the pilgrimage in 631 C.E., which put an end to or color was equal before the Lord, and that each would be polytheist

pilgrimages to the Ka ba. Unfortunately, Ali, who judged justly according to his or her deeds at the end of time. had spent most of his adult years in Medina, had little While slavery and concubinage were recognized, it was recognition from the Meccan Quraysh. recommended that such persons be set free. Nevertheless, women were not considered equal to men. This is exemplified through the Qur'anic requirement that the testimony of in-law, Abu Bakr, roughly two years his junior, whom Muhammad had sought to lead the prayers during his last illness. The

480

Islam and the Muslim World Muhammad

tradition of Ghadir Khumm, cited in the Musnad of Sunni the community, descend. The imams alone can interpret the scholar Ibn Hanbal, has the Prophet declare, "Of whomsoever I am lord, then Ali is also his lord." The Shi'ites claim the Qur'an with any degree of certitude. Moreover, special powers of infallibility, sinlessness, and wisdom are believed to that this indicates Muhammad's appointment of Ali as his have been inherited from, or granted by, God to Ali and the successor. The Sunnis insist, however, that it was merely the imams who succeeded him. Importantly, the Shi'ite tradition Prophet's way of reconciling Ali, who was extremely unusual usually rely only on the words or actions of one of their tions popular at the time, with the community. imams (Momen, 1985, p. 173).

At Muhammad's death (632 C.E.), Abu Bakr, with the Finally, the Sufis, or mystics, claim that God is an intimate support of Umar, went forward to be selected as successor to presence in all of His creation. While Sufism is not incompatible with the Prophet (khalifat rasul Allah). The appointment had been possible with being either Sunni or Shi'ite, the mindset of the Sufi political ramifications and family ties were rejected as a basis is quite different—more tolerant, and less legalistic. Sufis for succession. The precedent that the caliph should be a believe that humans have an innate knowledge of God within companion of the Prophet, of the tribe of the Quraysh, and and that the Divine may be experienced through jihad (spiritually approved by them, was established at that time. Thus, Abu tual striving), such as meditation or by the ritual repetition of Bakr appointed Umar as his successor, and Umar designated God's names and attributes (dhikr). One who has achieved

a group of twelve to select one among themselves as his
this goal is known as wali-Allah (friend of God), and through
successor.

him or her the ordinary believer might hope to negotiate with
More serious, however, was Abu Bakr's insistence that God. This has
led to prayers of intercession at the graves of
Muhammad had stated that he left no heirs and his rejection significant
Sufis, including the Prophet, an activity that is
of Fatima's claims to her father's property. The act effectively
condemned by non-Sufis as polytheistic. Like the Sunnis, the
isolated Fatima and led her husband, Ali, to refuse his Sufis
acknowledge the caliphates of the Rashidun (the Rightly
consent to Abu Bakr's authority until after Fatima's death six
Guided), i.e., Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali. The first
months later. This is probably what led to the formation of three of
these were rejected and even cursed by the Imami
the Shi at Ali, the partisans of Ali, a significant minority who Shi ites.
But like the Shi ites, the Sufis believe that the Qur'an
asserted that Abu Bakr's leadership was illegitimate. It was the has both
an exoteric and an esoteric message.

cause of a rent so deep in the Muslim community that even
today mediation between the two communities is difficult.

Biographical Literature and the Changing Image of Muhammad

The Denominations of Islam and Their Images During his
lifetime, Muhammad probably did not exaggerate
of Muhammad the
significance of his person. Certainly, he claimed to be a
On the basis of Muhammad's teachings, three broad denomi- prophet,
indeed, he claimed to be the last of the prophets of
nations emerged after his death. The largest group call God: Khatam
al-anbiya . But there was a fear that his followers
themselves the ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'a (also called "Sunni"). might
deify him. Thus, theologians emphasized that Muham-
They accept the legitimacy of the succession from the Prophet
mad was but a man and that his only miracle was the Qur'an.
as it developed historically and thus believe in the legitimacy
To establish the miraculous nature of this achievement the
of the prophetic legacy, as preserved by those who succeeded
Qur'anic description of Muhammad as "ummi" (7:157; 7:158;
him, as a source for knowing God. The common Sunni
62:2) was explained by exegetes as meaning that he was
position that has evolved regarding Muhammad is that prophets
illiterate. Moreover, the fallibility of the Prophet is suggested
are free from the sins that provoke repugnance and error in
by the Qur'anic verses that insinuate that he had faltered, as
the transmission of divine revelation. (Prophets are considered when he turned away

from the blind man (80). Another
 ered to be susceptible to error in matters unrelated to revelaexample cited to
 show his fallibility is more controversial and
 tion, however.) Most Sunnis believe that Muhammad did not
 comes from the tradition narrated by al-Tabari. According to
 appoint a successor before his death and they do not give
 this tradition, Muhammad agreed, for just a brief moment, to
 recognition to a priesthood. An imam, for the Sunni, may be a
 political leader, but he is generally someone who merely leads acknowledge
 the goddesses of the Meccans, al-Manat, al-Lat,
 the community in prayer. The position of Abu Bakr as and
 al- Uzza, as subordinate deities.
 successor to Muhammad was, importantly, not vested with
 There is also the tradition that recalls Umar's words
 religious authority.
 denying that Muhammad had died, although he was immedi-
 For the Shi ites, Muhammad's position came to be closely ately
 corrected by Abu Bakr. Many early traditions convey
 linked to that of Ali. According to the Imami Shi ites of Iran, the
 miraculous happenings that punctuated the Prophet's
 for instance, "Two thousand years before creation, Muham- life.
 Although the Qur an points to Muhammad's fallibility, it
 mad and Ali were one light before God." Ali is significant also
 includes signs that God interfered on his behalf quite
 not only as successor to the Prophet, but also as the one from readily.
 Incidents supporting this view include the splitting of
 whom the Shi ite imams, who provide religious guidance to the moon
 (54:1), the journey to the farthest place of prayer

Islam and the Muslim World

481

Muhammad

(17:1), and Muhammad's victory at Badr (3:123–24). The
 said to have had the "seal" of prophethood on his back, and to
 very act of being selected prophet can be viewed as a miracle. have
 been followed by clouds that sheltered him from the
 burning sun. Indicating Muhammad's place in the larger
 As time passed, veneration for the Prophet gradually scheme of
 monotheism, Ibn Ishaq establishes Muhammad's
 increased. This is reflected in the several steps taken by those
 connection to the family of Abraham through Abraham's son,
 in authority to preserve his memory. During the reign of
 Isma il, and demonstrates similarities between the families of
 Uthman (r. 644–656 C.E.), the Qur an was compiled; during
 Abraham and Muhammad. Thus, Abd al-Muttalib (Muhamthe reign of Umar II (r.
 717–720 C.E.) traditions (hadiths) mad's grandfather), like
 Abraham before him, was released

concerning the Prophet and the early Muslim community, from
his vow (made when he faced opposition from the Quraysh
which had thus far been communicated orally, were also
to his reclaiming of the well named Zamzam) to
written down and compiled. By the time of al-Shafi'i (d. 820
sacrifice his son. Instead he sacrificed several camels. Muham-
C.E.), the practices of the Prophet (conveyed by traditions)
mad, like Jacob, "dreamed" he ascended a ladder (mi'raj) to
were being considered as significant a source as the Qur'an
the heavens where he met with God. Like the biblical proph-
for the making of
Islamic law.

ets, Muhammad also performed miracles such turning a
While private collections of traditions from and about the handful of
dates into a quantity sufficient to feed several
Prophet were probably made during his lifetime, many ap-
companions and healing the foot of one and the eye of
pear to have been put together according to subject rather
another.

than chronology. With the rise of the Abbasids (750 C.E.),
One of Ibn Ishaq's significant contributions is the infor-
who encouraged
polemical exchanges with Jews, Christians,
mation concerning a "Constitution of Medina," according to
and Zoroastrians, the Muslims had become acutely aware of
which the Muslims of Mecca and Medina, along with their
the lacuna that existed in the recorded life of their prophet.
Jewish allies in Medina, agreed to support Muhammad and
Al-Mansur (r. 755–775 C.E.) therefore commanded Ibn Ishaq
help him against the Meccan polytheists who opposed him.
(d. c. 773 C.E.) to establish a biography of the Prophet, which
When the Jews broke their agreement, Muhammad not only
in the recension of Ibn Hisham (d. 833 C.E.), under the title
fought the Meccans, but also considerably reduced the Jewish
Sirat rasul Allah, is the only version that is extant in its entirety
presence in Medina. The tale regarding the Jews of the Banu
today. Ibn Ishaq compiled a narrative that informs us of the
Qurayza, whose adult men were executed after their surren-
life of Muhammad as it
unfolded, from his birth until his
der (while their wives and children were sold into slavery), is
death. He soon became the most recognized biographer of
notorious in this regard. For Ibn Ishaq, the narrative follows
the Prophet throughout the empire. Selecting traditions that
the biblical pattern establishing God's destruction of those
would endorse a prophetic career, Ibn Ishaq shaped a narra-
who oppose His
prophets.

tive that presented Muhammad as the last and best of Qur'anic
prophets. Placing Muhammad's birth in the Year of the
Ibn Ishaq is careful, however. Much of the information on

Elephant (570 C.E.) the compiler affirmed his early life in sixth miraculous occurrences is qualified by phrases such as “it is century Arabia. Intertwining moments of revelation throughalleged,” or “God only knows.” In the case of Muhammad’s out the Prophet’s career, Ibn Ishaq endorses the community’s miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, Ibn Ishaq view that it was through Muhammad alone that the Qur an directs the reader to a tradition from A isha in which it was was revealed. According to Ibn Ishaq, an important aspect of said that only Muhammad’s spirit had journeyed to “the his prophetic personality was his performance of miracles. distant place of prayer.” With the passage of time, however, Ibn Ishaq had to take political factors into consideration as these miracles were revisited without such caution, as in the well. Al-Mansur, who was of the Sunni denomination, had compilations of al-Tabari (d. 923 C.E.) and Ibn Kathir (d. 1387 C.E.), come to power through a revolution. He therefore desired which indicated an increasing veneration of the Prophet.

legitimation of his authority among Muslims, for whom association with the family of the Prophet was required, but A growing devotion could also be seen in the activity of the also among the numerous Jews and Christians whose One Muslims. Around 780 C.E. for instance, Kahyzuran, the Queen God, the Muslims claimed, had chosen Muhammad as His of al-Mahdi (775–785 C.E.), consecrated the birthplace of last prophet. Ibn Ishaq tackled the problem by presenting al-Muhammad as a mosque. A few years later Qur anic scholar Abbas, the eponym of the Abbasids and an uncle of Muham-al-Naqqas (d. 962 C.E.) mentioned it as a place where a mad, as one for whom the Prophet had a deep affection and by personal prayer of request would be satisfactorily answered by noon including hagiographic traditions on Muhammad that paral-each Monday. (Monday was the day of the week on which leled the representation of prophets and patriarchs in the Bible. the Prophet is supposed to have been born, received the first revelation, and emigrated to Medina.) The tomb of Although Muhammad had his first revelation when he was the Prophet was visited with similar intent. It compared with the around forty years of age (610 C.E.), we are told that even at his the Sufi practice of prayer at tombs of saints or “friends of God,” birth there were signs of his prophetic mission. Muhammad is who were solicited for such benefits as a recovery from

illness or the birth of a son. Muhammad's role as intercessor be included in an evaluation of his leadership. Moreover, the was clearly seen to be an active one. battles of Medina against the polytheists and Jews were necessary, for Islam would not have emerged as it did from The timely protest of Ibn Taymiyya, who recognized in Medina if Muhammad had remained the visionary that he such negotiations a contamination of monotheism, was fol- was in Mecca. The portrait Dashti paints of Muhammad in lowed several centuries later by the more radical approach of Twenty Three Years is one of an extraordinary man concerned Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1791), who feared a for his fellow men.

"regression into unbelief." His cause was taken up by Sa ud b. Abd al- Aziz. Such activity did not affect the rest of the According to Fatima Mernissi, "being a prophet means Muslim world (Egypt, India, Turkey, and the like). In those pushing people to the utmost, toward an ideal society." In The places, Sufi practices and the celebration of the maulid con- Veil and the Male Elite she recognizes that the Prophet, tinue to take place to this day. The oil revenues that accrued despite his endeavors, held back from granting women equalin Saudi Arabia in the twentieth century have, however, ity with men by recommending that women hide their sexualenabled the export of Wahhabism to the developing world, ity when going out into the streets and by giving husbands gradually eroding the latter's more Sufi-istic heritage. authority over them. These decrees are explained, however, as the consequence of the warring milieu and the chauvinistic Biographical literature on Muhammad in the twentieth attitude of the Prophet's companions.

century has been more concerned with issues of science and modernization. The representations of Muhammad by Displaying a keen understanding of hadith criticism, three biographers who belong to different nations and gen- Mernissi examines the misogynistic opinions reflected in the erations—Haykal (1888–1956) an Egyptian journalist; Dashti Sahih of al-Bukhari, and explains that these were not the (1896–1982) an Iranian engineer; and Mernissi (b. 1940) a opinions of the Prophet, but of al-Bukhari. According to Moroccan sociologist—exemplify a variety of appreciations Mernissi, the Prophet, despite his "weakness," respected of the Prophet's life. women and consulted them in moments of crisis.

In The Life of Muhammad, Haykal's concern is to combat Finally, it is important to recognize that Muhammad is not merely nineteenth-century western critics of Islam who portray the

the quest of believers, but of historians as well. In Prophet sometimes as an epileptic and at others as a fraud. this regard a word of caution must be offered concerning the nature of Haykal insists that the Qur'an is God's word, not Muhammad's, and justifies his belief by claiming that Muhammad established only during the caliphate of Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644 C.E.). Before the hijra, events in Arab life were remembered in relation to more significant happenings of the recent past, from there to the heavens, as an experience of the mind rather than the body. As for the story concerning the "satanic monic of numbers. Traditions in biographical literature that provide a chronology and sequence to the events that constitute prophet of God, "infallible," and therefore not prone to tute the life of Muhammad are therefore suspect. Moreover the Qur'an, such error. which is not compiled in the sequence in which it was revealed, mentions Muhammad only four times. It gives Regarding the Prophet's marriages, Haykal is apologetic no information regarding his place of birth or death or the names of his and unrealistic. He insists that these were not inspired by love names of his parents, wives, and children. As for archeological remains, the but, rather, required by political and social circumstances. Ka'aba and the Mosque of Medina were com-pletely Muhammad's marriage to Zaynab, who was previously married to Zayd, his adopted son, is justified on the grounds that and, tragically, all buildings consecrated to the memory of the Prophet in the marriage was conducted to make the point that an Prophet in Mecca were destroyed by Sa'ud b. Abd al-Aziz (r. 1803–1814). "adopted" son is not a blood relative, and to establish an inclusive approach to divorcees. More interesting is Haykal's rejection of polygamy on the basis of Qur'an (4:123), which challenge Scholarship has moved on, nevertheless. Where once the requires that a man treat all his wives with equality. For had been to query the divine authorship of the Qur'an, Haykal this was impossible and clearly meant that monogamy today it has shifted to a recognition of its various threads that is what the Qur'an advocates. apparently indicate a composite structure. Where once the Qur'an seemed to be the inspiration of Muhammad, For Dashti, Muhammad is inexorably human. To him, the it is now

believed by some to have been the inspiration for
 Qur'an is Muhammad's creation. His interpretation of the Muhammad.
 Many centuries ago, the bewildered believer
 satanic verses and his weakness for women are simply the came to
 terms with Muhammad's death by emphasizing his faith in
 marks of human frailty. According to Dashti, Muhammad's
 God. This could well be his response even today.
 relations with his wives are a private concern, and should not Perhaps more
 documentation will come to light in the future.

Islam and the Muslim World

483

Muhammad

The Tribe of Quraysh (5th–8th centuries, C.E.)

Qusayy (founder of Quraysh)

Abd-Manaf

Hashim (clan)

Muttalib

Abd-Shams (clan)

Nawfal (clan)

(clan associated
with Hashim)

Abd al-Muttalib

Umayya

Abu Talib

Abu Lahab

Abdallah?Amina

Abbas

Hamza

Abu 'l- As

Harb

Muhammad ?Khadjah b. Khuwaylid

Abdallah

Affan

al-Hakam

? A'isha b. Abu-Bakr b. Abu Quhafa of Taym clan

Abu Sufyan?Hind

?Hafsa b. Umar b. al-Khattab of Adi clan

?Umm Habiba b. Abu Sufyan

Ja'far al-Tayyar

Ali? Fatima

Zaynab

Umm-Kulthum and Ruqayyah?

Uthman

Marwan

Mu'awiya

Hasan

Husayn

Abd al-Malik

Yazid

People influential in Muhammad's life, or who later became influential figures,
 are set in boldfaced type. Most of the men in the genealogy had sons not
 mentioned here due to space considerations.

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Muhammad's lineage.

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Mohamed Mahmoud

Rizwi Faizer

MUHAMMAD ALI, DYNASTY OF

MUHAMMAD AHMAD IBN

Founded by

an adventurous Turkish cotton merchant who

created an autonomous Egyptian state within the Ottoman

ABDULLAH (1844–1885) Empire,

the Muhammad Ali dynasty lasted into the midtwentieth century, when it was abolished by revolutionary

Muhammad Ahmad b. Abdullah, known as al-Mahdi, was

Free Officers led by Jamal Abd al-Nasser.

born in 1844 in northern Sudan and died on 22 June 1885 in

Omdurman. He did not follow his family's profession of boat The

dynasty is named after Muhammad Ali (r. 1805–1849),

building, embarking instead on a religious and political ca- a

commander of the Ottoman force dispatched to oust Naporeer. He studied Qur'anic

and other religious sciences and leon Bonaparte's army in 1801.

Playing local politics shrewdly,

joined the Sammaniyya mystical brotherhood. Besides his he secured

appointment as governor of Egypt in 1805. He

religious and ascetic fervor, he was imbued with a strong served his

sultan as loyal vassal, sending troops to re-conquer

sense of social justice and reform-mindedness that filled him the Hijaz

and to repress the Greek rebellion. At the same

with a firm commitment to eradicate the colonial Turco- time, he

consolidated authority over Egypt, destroying the

Egyptian regime and establish an Islamic state (1820–1885). bases of

Mamluk military and economic power and seizing

control of a vast amount of state land. By the 1820s he

The regime's oppression and injustices, the loss of the embarked on

economic, military, and educational reforms,

class of religious shaykhs (masters) of the privileged status they many of

which presaged similar impulses in Istanbul. In 1831 had hitherto enjoyed, and the discontent of the influential Egypt invaded Syria; only European intervention prevented a drive into northern merchant class, all contributed to the creation of a revolutionary situation. Furthermore, there was an might and proscribed his protectionist economic policies. He eschatological expectation among many people of the immi- did, however, retain dynastic rights to Egypt. nent coming of a mahdi (the guided one).

Abbas (r.1848–1854) undid most of the dynast’s reforms, Muhammad Ahmad’s declaration of his Mahdism in June halting conscriptions of peasants for works projects and 1881 sparked off a relentless series of battles against the military service. Sa id (r. 1854–1863) sought to emulate Muhammad Ali, reinstituting Western-modeled educational in January 1885. Shortly afterward, al-Mahdi died before reform and embarking upon infrastructure development, realizing his dream of carrying his Mahdist revolution be- most notably granting the Suez Canal concession. Isma il (r. yond Sudan.

1863–1879), the first “khedive” (a special Ottoman designation for governor), inherited an enormous public debt, but Muhammad Ahmad legitimized his Mahdism by a claim of continued Sa id’s reformist thrust. The debt crisis of the late a prophetic sanction based on a vision of the Prophet in a 1860s led Isma il to sell Egypt’s Suez shares, institute a colloquy (hadra). He perceived his career as corresponding to consultative assembly, and accept imposition of “dual conthat of the Prophet’s and his mission as a universal one. He trol”—French and British officials to monitor Egypt’s fi- nances. asserted that his Mahdism entailed the abolition of all juristic His resistance to European authority, fueled by a schools and mystical orders. His movement did not succeed rising nationalist movement, led to his deposition by the sultan. in uprooting these expressions of Islam but instead led to the Tawfiq (r. 1879–1892) confronted the nationalist birth of a new politico-religious brotherhood—the Ansar Urabi revolt that culminated, in 1882, in British occupation. (the followers of the Mahdi). His successors, Abbas Hilmi (r. 1892–1914) and Husayn Kamil (r. 1914–1917), ruled primarily at British behest, the See also Mahdi. latter, after Britain declared a protectorate in 1914, as sultan.

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 conditional independence under a constitutional mon-
 archy. King
 Mahdiyya (The intellectual movement under the Mahdiyya).
 Fuad (Fu ad) (r. 1917–1936) retained enormous
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 constitutional power over the newly endowed parliament, but

Islam and the Muslim World

485

Muhammad Al-Nafs al-Zakiyya

still needed to answer to British superiors. Caught between grandson,
 al-Hasan), many, including the famous jurist Malik
 the vise of British authority and the king's unassailable right b. Anas
 and the Alids, supported his cause. Muhammad
 to dissolve parliament, the "liberal experiment" quickly soured. began
 his revolt against the caliph al-Mansur (d. 775) in
 Farouk (Faruq) (r. 1936–1952) acceded to the throne with Medina,
 where he had considerable support, while his brother
 great fanfare, a charismatic, seemingly pious, socially con- Ibrahim
 began his revolt in Basra later on. Due to his political
 scious youth who, many hoped, might stabilize the discred- activism,
 many Zaydi Shi ites supported Muhammad's moveited order. But he quickly
 disappointed, becoming ultimately ment. At one point Muhammad took over
 Mecca, anchora caricature: the obese gambler and sordid playboy, a modern
 ing his claims on descent from Fatima, daughter of the
 Nero. His second wife, a commoner, bore him a son, Ahmad Prophet.
 With only three hundred men, Muhammad was
 Fu ad, who inherited the throne under a regency when killed in
 Medina by al-Mansur's greater forces, who were
 Farouk abdicated and left Egypt at the insistence of the led by Isa
 b. Musa in 762. Extremist groups such as the
 military in July 1952. However, in June 1953 the Nasser Mughiriyya
 refused to accept his death, believing him to be
 regime abolished the monarchy, proclaiming a republic. the
 eschatological messiah.
 Farouk, ever the butt of popular satire, died abroad in 1965;
 the officers allowed him to be buried in Egypt, although not See also
 Ahl al-Bayt; Imamate; Mahdi; Succession.
 alongside his predecessors.

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ELIJAH (1897–1975)

Joel Gordon From the 1930s until his death, Elijah Muhammad was the
leader of the Nation of Islam, the most prominent African-
American Muslim organization of the post–World War II
era. A black migrant from Georgia who settled in Detroit and
MUHAMMAD AL-NAFS AL-ZAKIYYA then

Chicago, Muhammad became known among thousands
(D. 762 C.E.) of followers

as the “Messenger of God.” He spread his ideas

through popular public lectures, the widely distributed Mu-

Muhammad b. Abdallah b. al-Hasan al-Muthanna died in hammad

Speaks newspaper, and works like The Supreme Wis-

762 C.E. Due to his gentle disposition, he was known as al- dom (1957)

and Message to the Blackman in America (1965). His

Nafs al-Zakiyya, which means “the pure soul.” At a gathering

teachings combined Sunni Islamic elements with traditions

of the Hashimites held at al-Abwa during the Umayyad of black

self-determination and black closeness (the idea that

dynasty, Muhammad’s father, Abdallah, urged those present blacks,

like the ancient Israelites, were God’s chosen people).

to accept his son as a claimant to the caliphate and the Mahdi Elijah

Muhammad encouraged African Americans to convert

(messiah). With the exception of Ja far al-Sadiq, the sixth to Islam,

follow a strict moral and ethical code, and work for

Shi’ite Imam, most of those present agreed. When the Abbasids economic

and political self-sufficiency. He also taught that

came to power they installed Abu l- Abbas (known as al- blacks were

the earth’s original inhabitants who had become

Saffah) as the new ruler, but Muhammad refused to acknowl- enslaved by

a devilish race of white men. God, he said, had

edge his authority. chosen him

to “mentally resurrect” black people and prepare

them for Judgment Day, when God would dispense with

With his brother Ibrahim, Muhammad instigated a revolt whites and

reestablish a golden age of black splendor. This

by seeking popular support against the new regime. The two doctrine,

called the Myth of Yacub by some outside the

brothers traveled extensively in Islamic lands, enlisting followers and drew criticism from many black civil rights leaders. In a desperate attempt at capturing these two renegades and Muslims, who deemed it un-Islamic. Elijah Muhammad, al-Saffah's successor, al-Mansur, imprisoned their mad's separatist Islam nevertheless found a sympathetic ear among aged father and other family members. Since Muhammad was among members of the urban black working class, especially black men was a descendant of the Prophet (through the Prophet's lineage) black men in prison. His emphasis on black self-determination

486

Islam and the Muslim World

Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi

and pride during the postwar period foreshadowed and inspired its independence. Although still solidly middle class, it inspired the black power movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Muhammad's today is more intellectually diverse than at any point in history. In recent years the organization has After his death in 1975, his son, Wallace D. (or Warith D. Muhammad experienced heated debates over Islamic law, women's rights, Deen) Muhammad, took over the Nation of Islam, leading to and religious tolerance.

the movement toward a more Sunni interpretation of Islam.

But in the late 1970s, Minister Louis Farrakhan, a former aide to See also Reform: Southeast Asia.

to Elijah Muhammad, broke with the younger Muhammad, reconstituting a Nation of Islam that continued to rely on Elijah Muhammad's original teachings. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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in the; Farrakhan, Louis; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Warith Deen; Nation of Islam.

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(1919–1980)

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son of Reza Khan, was born on 26 October 1919 and was the second and last shah of the Pahlavi dynasty.

He died in exile in Cairo on 27 July 1980.

Edward E. Curtis IV

At the coronation of his father, on 25 April 1926, Muhammad Reza was invested as crown prince. On 16 September

1941, Reza Shah abdicated following the Allied invasion of MUHAMMADIYYA Iran, and

Muhammad Reza Shah succeeded to the throne.

(MUHAMMADIYAH) The first

twelve years of his reign, between 1941 and 1953,

were marked by a continuing struggle for power between the

The second largest of Indonesia's Muslim social associations, monarch and

a variety of other political forces. This peaked

the Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta, Java, in 1951 when

opponents of the shah, led by prime minister

by Ahmad Dahlan, a cloth merchant and minor court official Muhammad

Mosaddeq, nationalized the oil industry. Folwho had studied in Mecca. The

organization quickly gained lowing two years of political crisis and

radicalization, the shah

additional followers among Sumatran traders. With its fled to Rome.

He returned on 19 August, however, after a

multiethnic urban base, the movement spread rapidly, reach- coup. Muhammad

Reza Shah then embarked on the consoliing even remote towns in eastern

Indonesia by the late 1920s. dation of a royal dictatorship, crushing all

opposition. Between

1961 and 1963 he promulgated by decree a series of reforms

The Muhammadiyah eschewed formal politics, concen- known as the White

Revolution, which included land reform

trating on social welfare and religious education. In con- and female

enfranchisement. The land reform liquidated the

trast to traditional Qur anic schools (pesantren), Muhamma- large absentee

landlords and thus had a major impact on the

adiyah madrasas had age grades, modeled directly on mission social

structure of Iran. However, the lack of democratic

schools. Curricula included science, mathematics, and geog- freedoms

continued to provoke opposition and major unrest

raphy, in addition to religious study. These emphases showed broke out in

1963. After his exile from Iran in 1964, Ayatollah

the organization's twin ambitions of urging Muslims to Ruhollah

Khomeini assumed the leadership of the Islamic

respond to the scientific and political challenge of the West opposition to

the shah.

while encouraging individual responsibility in devotion.

Muhammadiyah also stressed women's education. Its women's From

the time of the 1953 coup, Muhammad Reza Shah

branch, Aisyiyah, remains the largest organization of its kind had become

increasingly reliant on American support. The

in the world. quadrupling of

oil prices after 1973 allowed the shah to embark on a program of rapid industrialization as well as on a Muhammadiyah has based its success on steering clear massive weapons' purchasing program.

of formal politics. The regime of Indonesian president Suharto (1966–1998) sought to nurture a conservative faction in Both secular and religious opposition burgeoned during the organization, but the mainstream leadership guarded the 1970s. Massive political demonstrations forced the shah

Islam and the Muslim World

487

Muhammad, Warith Deen

to leave Iran on 16 January 1979; on 1 February 1979 Mamiya, Lawrence H. "From Black Muslim to Bilalian: The Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Iran. Evolution of a Movement." *Journal for the Social Scientific Study of Religion* 23 (1982): 138–152.

See also Khomeini, Ruhollah; Modernization, Political: Authoritarianism and Democratization; Revolution: Edward E. Curtis IV Islamic Revolution in Iran.

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Abrahamian, Ervand. *Iran Between Two Revolutions*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982. MUHARRAM

The first month of the Islamic year, Muharram, is the focus of Stephanie Cronin annual lamentation rituals performed especially by Shi a Muslims in honor of Husayn b. Ali, the prophet Muhammad's grandson, who died in battle in 680 C.E. at Karbala

(Iraq). Besieged by soldiers loyal to the caliph Yazid b.

MUHAMMAD, WARITH

Mu awiya, who sought to prevent Husayn from gaining DEEN (1933–) political

power, Husayn died on Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram. Family members accompanying him were killed

Arguably the most important black Sunni Muslim leader in or subjected to imprisonment and humiliation. Commemothe history of African American Islam, Warith Deen Muhamration of the Karbala martyrs' sufferings during the yearly

mad (b. 1933) was brought up as a member of Elijah Muhammourning season (from the first of Muharram to the twentimad's "royal family." From the 1950s through the 1970s,

eth of the month of Safar, with Ashura comprising the focal

Warith Deen served on and off as a minister in his father's date) serves to help define Shi a communal identity.

Nation of Islam (NOI), but was constantly in trouble as he

questioned the Islamic legitimacy of his father's teachings. Muharram observances vary throughout the Islamic world. Even so, when Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, Warith Deen Iran is famous for the ta ziya, a dramatic enactment of the emerged as movement leader. In the course of a few short Karbala battle. Localities in Pakistan and India stage Ashura years, he radically altered the official religious doctrines of processions featuring a stallion caparisoned as Zuljenah, the the NOI, instructing members to observe the traditional five horse ridden into combat by Husayn. In Hyderabad, India, pillars of Islamic practice.

matami guruhan (Shi a lamentation associations) sponsor the During this period, Warith Deen Muhammad led more group performance of matam (gestures of grief ranging from African Americans toward Sunni Islam than any other person rhythmic chestbeating to self-flagellation with razors and in history, before or after. He also reorganized the NOI, chains). Matam is performed in time to the chanting of nauhas eventually disbanding it in favor of a decentralized national (poems commemorating the Karbala martyrs).

network of mosques. As Warith Deen led his followers toward Sunni Islam and away from his father's black religious In 1994 a fatwa by Sayyed Ali Khamene i, spiritual leader of Iran, separatism, however, he also insisted that African American forbade the public performance of self-flagellation or Muslims continue to take pride in their ethnic heritage, work other forms of bloody matam. This decree continues a policy promulgated for improvement in the quality of black life, and interpret by Khamenei's predecessor, the Ayatollah

Sunni Islam in light of African-American historical circum- Ruhollah Khomeini, who advocated taqrib or Sunni-Shi a stances. In 1992, Warith Deen became the first Muslim to rapprochement for the sake of pan-Islamic cooperation in offer the opening prayer before a session of the U.S. Senate. international affairs. Sunnis have frequently condemned as Now addressed as imam (leader) by thousands of followers un-Islamic the bloodier forms of Muharram mourning.

across the country, he actively participates in interfaith dialogue and maintains strong ties to Muslim leaders both in the The most common form of Muharram ritual, however, is

United States and abroad. the majlis al- aza or "lamentation gathering," where a preacher recounts the Karbala martyrs' sufferings to stimulate grief

See also American Culture and Islam; Farrakhan, Louis; among congregants. While lamentation rituals for Husayn Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam; have been documented as early as tenth-century Baghdad,

United States, Islam in the. Shi a
 authorities trace the history of the majlis al- aza to
 Zaynab bint Ali, Husayn's sister, who was present at Karbala
 BIBLIOGRAPHY and who is
 believed to have held the first majlis to mourn
 Curtis, Edward E., IV. Islam in Black America: Identity, Libera- Husayn while
 a captive in Yazid's palace. Traditional Shi a
 tion, and Difference in African-American Islamic Thought. belief holds
 that weeping for the Karbala martyrs gains
 Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002. mourners
 access to Husayn's intercession for the forgiveness

488

Islam and the Muslim World
 Muhtasib

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David Pinault

MUHASIBI, AL- (781–857)

Harith ibn Asad al-Muhasibi of Baghdad was a master of Sufi
 ethics and the father of Sufi psychology. He is most famous
 for his theory of the three-part nature of the human soul. His
 nickname, "al-Muhasibi," refers to his practice of muhasaba,
 the critical examination of actions, motives, and spiritual
 states. He was an exemplar of ethical conduct and refused to
 allow any form of self-deception. He taught his disciples to
 follow reason and avoid emotionalism. His major opponent
 was Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855). Ibn Hanbal criticized al-
 Muhasibi for his rationalism and his use of dialectical reasoning. He incited
 his followers in Baghdad to intimidate al-
 Muhasibi and prevent people from attending his lessons.

Al-Muhasibi's theory of the soul is contained in al-Ri aya
 li-huquq Allah wa al-qiyam biha (How to observe and abide by
 the rights of God). He called his theory the "science of
 hearts." The "heart" is a metaphor for the soul. It includes the
 Shi ites in Kabul, Afghanistan, in 2002 perform a ritual of selfconscience
 (sirr), which is the spiritual center of the soul, and
 flagellation with knives attached to chains on Ashura, the Shi ite
 community's holiest day, to atone the death of Imam Husayn, the the nafs,
 which is the "psyche," "self," or "ego." Although the
 grandson of Muhammad. During the rule of the Taliban, such nafs is
 necessary for human existence, its desire for selfpublic celebrations of Ashura
 were prohibited in Afghanistan. AP/ gratification undermines the spiritual
 nature of the soul.

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Using a term from the Qur'an, al-Muhasibi calls the egocentered soul the "commanding nafs" (al-nafs al-ammara).

The key to taming the "commanding nafs" is self-examination of sins. But recent Shi'a thinking emphasizes the political (muhasaba). Through self-examination, the "commanding dimension of Muharram ritual as a form of communal assernafs" is transformed into the "self-blaming nafs" (al-nafs al-tawwaba and revolutionary activism).

lawwama). At this stage, one becomes aware of the damage Muharram rituals are not limited to the Shi'a. In Ladakh that has been done to oneself and others by allowing the nafs (Jammu and Kashmir, India), where Muslims are a minority to control one's life. But the "self-blaming nafs" is still ego in a predominantly Buddhist region, Sunnis cooperate with obsessed. Its overly critical attitude can lead to self-hatred and the Shi'a in staging Zuljenah processions to demonstrate even suicide. Only by transcending the ego entirely is it Islamic solidarity. In Andhra Pradesh (India), Hindus visit possible to attain the third and final stage of self-awareness, Shi'a shrines during Muharram. And in Darjeeling (West the "nafs at peace" (al-nafs al-mutma'inna). In this final stage, the soul is at peace because it has transcended the human ego Bengal), where most Muslims are Sunnis, Ashura takes on an and is now controlled by God. This is the meaning of al-air of carnival, with competitions involving drumming and Muhasibi's aphorism, "Be God's or be nothing." stickfighting.

See also Ibn Hanbal; Tasawwuf.

See also Husayn; Karbala; Ritual; Shi'a: Early; Ta'ziya (Ta'ziye).

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MUHTASIB

Hegland, Mary Elaine. "The Power Paradox in Muslim Women's Majales: North-West Pakistani Mourning Rituals." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 23 (1998): 391-428. The term muhtasib has primarily been used to designate a person who has been appointed by the political power (sultan or imam) to police the enforcement of Islamic law in a

Islam and the Muslim World

489

Mujahidin

particular area. In works of law, the muhtasib is described as (Movement), Hizb-e Islami (Party of Islam) led by Gulbuddin

being responsible for ensuring that the activities of the Hizb-e Islami led by Muhammad Yunus Khalis. Hikmatyar, Muslims in an area conform with the shari'a. This is particularly the case with regard to commerce and supervision of the market. Itihadmarketplace. In later times (after 1500 C.E.), the muhatsib was the Islamic Union), Jam'iyat-e Islami (Islamic Society), almost exclusively responsible for ensuring that the weights and measures used in the market were fair and consistent. He had the power to act without the judge's express permission. One finds the official position of muhtasib for towns mentioned in sources from most periods of classical Islam (from the seven groups listed above—was achieved through pressure by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. However, various attempts to unite these and other century, as law enforcement across the Muslim world under-Pakistan-based mujahidin groups ultimately resulted in failure. In Iran, there were a multitude of mujahidin groups in a sense, be muhtasibs, since a muhtasib is one who enforces "public order" (hisba), and because all Muslims have this party, Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islam-ye Afghanistan (Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan). what is approved and forbid what is reprehensible" (for example Q 3:104), and the law books allow for "voluntary" February 1989, the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan to enforce public morals. Afghanistan and on 28 April 1992, the Afghan mujahidin finally achieved their main objective by capturing the capital, Kabul. See also Hisba; Political Organization. Sibghatallah Mujaddidi, leader of Jabha-e Nijat-e Milli, was proclaimed president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan for a two-month period, to be followed by a four-month presidency. Buckley, R. P. "The Muhtasib." *Arabica* 34 (1992): 59–117. of Burhan al-Din Rabbani, the leader of Jam'iyat-e Islami. Thereafter, elections were to be held. However, Rabbani refused to leave office, barred elections, and ruled in

Robert Gleave

Kabul until 27 September 1996, when a splinter mujahidin group, the Taliban, captured the city.

MUJAHIDIN

From 1992

to 1996, various mujahidin groups battled each other in every corner of Afghanistan. In the ever-shifting Mujahidin (mojahidin) is the plural form of the Arabic term alliances and frontlines, the country was transformed into mujahid, who is a person who wages jihad. According to decentralized fiefdoms ruled with increasing brutality by doctrinal and historical applications of Islamic law, jihad warlords. Moreover, with the absence of a common enemy, indicates military action for the defense or expansion of the jihad gave way to an ethno-sectarian war. Another legacy Islam. While in the course of Islamic history the term of the Afghan mujahidin was the influx of foreign fighters, mujahidin has been used by different groups to identify their mainly from Pakistan and Arab states. After the mujahidin struggles to defend Islam, the term gained global currency in victory in 1992, most of these groups reorganized and bethe latter decades of the twentieth century after the leftist came involved in places such as Algeria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, coup d'état in Afghanistan on 27 April 1978. The resistance Chechnya, and Kashmir. groups first opposed the Afghan communist regime, declar- Beginning in 1989, Pakistan supported and organized the ing it atheist. They then turned their attention to the Soviet transfer of Afghan and Pakistani mujahidin groups to Kashmir, Union when it invaded Afghanistan on 27 December 1979. in order to have more direct control over the militants that Fighting the Soviet Red Army, they collectively referred to were fighting for either the valley's independence from India themselves as mujahidin waging jihad against a communist power occupying an Islamic land. or for union with Pakistan. The largest of these groups were Harakat al-Ansar (Movement of the Ansar—Helpers of The Afghan mujahidin were divided into two main groups: prophet Muhammad in Medina), Hizb al-Mojahidin (Party of (1) those based in and backed by Pakistan with substantial of Mojahidin), and Lashkar-e Taiba (Army of Pure). The financial and military assistance from Saudi Arabia and the involvement of these and other mujahidin heightened the United States, who mainly represented the Sunni majority; religious dimension of the Kashmiri conflict. By 1993, the and (2) those based in and supported by Iran, representing the largest and most popular Kashmiri insurgent group, the

Shi ite minority. The Pakistan-based group of mujahidin Kashmir Liberation Front, which advocated included Harakat-e Inqilab-e Islami (Islamic Revolutionary and secularism for Kashmir, lost its military independence

490

Islam and the Muslim World
Mulla Sadra

With the White Mountains in the background, a mujahid stands guard in the graveyard of Achin, an Afghan village in the Nangarhar province.
AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

edge to the Hizb al-Mojahidin, which advocated either the establishment of an Islamic Kashmiri republic or union with MUJAHIDUN See Mujahidin Pakistan.

In the case of the Afghan resistance in the 1978–1992 period, the term mujahidin gained popularity, as did the groups themselves, not only in Islamic countries but also in SADRA (C. 1572–1640)

the West. In the Islamic context, the Afghans waged a true jihad; and in Western minds, they were a liberation army al-Din Muhammad b. Ibrahim Shirazi, commonly known fighting Soviet expansionism. Since 1992, however, the term Mulla Sadra and also given the honorific title Sadr almujaahidin lost its religious and political currency international- muta allihin, was born around 1572 in Shiraz, Persia, to a ally, as the Afghan mujahidin became associated with internationally powerful and wealthy family, and he died in Basra national terrorist figures who had once fought in their ranks, 1640. The most famous of the later Islamic philosophers of such as Usama bin Ladin. In the Kashmiri case, the groups he carried out his early studies in Shiraz and then went claiming the title of mujahidin did not enjoy support in most Esfahan for more advanced studies especially in the field of Muslim countries, with the exception of Pakistan, and were philosophy. There he became a student of Baha al-Din alseen in the West as either terrorist or rebel organizations. Damad, the founder of the School of Esfahan. Mulla Sadra soon became a celebrated See also Political Islam; Taliban.

philosopher himself but because of the opposition of some religious scholars decided to leave Esfahan. He spent many BIBLIOGRAPHY Kahak, a village near Qom, in meditation and Roy, Olivier. Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan. Cambridge, spiritual seclusion but finally returned to public life when the

U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Khan

School was built in Shiraz for him. He spent some three decades of the last part of his life in that city where he trained Amin Tarzi many students and wrote most of his works.

Islam and the Muslim World

491

Murji ites, Murji a

Mulla Sadra composed more than forty books, all but one attempt to rebel against legitimate leadership is therefore unacceptable. in Arabic, concerning both the religious sciences and philosophy, his most famous work being *al-Asfar al-arba'a* (The four sinner should be punished but should not be excluded from journeys). He was deeply rooted in the teachings of Ibn Sina, the community, since punishment by exclusion can mean loss of security, Suhrawardi, and Ibn al- Arabi as well as being well-versed in life, or property. Another point of difference the study of Qur'anic commentaries, the hadith and traditions of Shi'ite imams and Islamic theology. He created a strongly hold that a grave sinner is doomed in Hell forever, synthesis between the purely religious thought of Islam in the Murji ites gives the possibility of forgiveness by God's general, Islamic peripatetic (*mashsha'i*) philosophy, the School will and grace.

of Illumination (*ishraq*), and doctrinal Sufism of the School of Ibn 'Arabi. He believed that authentic hikma or philosophy/ The Murji ite interpretation does not belong specifically to the Shi'a theosophy could only be attained by combining revealed knowledge, inner illumination, and ratiocination and he called this in postponing their judgment of Uthman's and his adversaries' affairs while Sunnis transcendental philosophy/theosophy" ies' affairs while Sunnis adopt the Murji ite view that no sin, (al-hikma al-muta'aliya). His teachings soon spread throughout Persia and Muslim India and he has been without doubt other than shirk (idolatry or God's partnership with other than Himself) and kufr (infidelity), can make one an unbeliever. the most influential Islamic philosopher of the past few centuries. He is the figure around whom the revival of Islamic See also Kharijites, Khawarij.

philosophy has taken place during the second half of the twentieth century, especially in Persia itself.

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See also Falsafa; Ibn 'Arabi; Ibn Sina; Ishraqi School.

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While the history of music in Islam covers at least fifteen

Seyyed Hossein Nasr

centuries, with orally transmitted repertoire and no significant notation system, its geography and distinct musical

cultures include many diverse regions in the world. By necessity, this

MURJI TES, MURJI A

article excludes many folk musical traditions, popular musics, and other local styles; instead, it focuses on some

The participle murji derives from irja , the most profound of the universal aspects of music within the Islamic world.

meanings of which are “giving hope” and “postponing.” The

first meaning indicates that there is a hope for salvation when The Concept of Music

someone dies with faith albeit he or she has done grave sins. While a word of Greek origin, musiki, was used in many

The second and perhaps the earliest meaning of this religious theoretical works, an Arabic term, ghina (song), has been used

political label was that the judgment about those involved in also for

music in secular contexts. Other terms, as well, are

the conflict between Uthman, Ali, and al-Zubayr is “postponed” until the Last Day. used for

contexts—for example, kü is used for song or music in the Kazakh epic tradition and ir is used for both song and poetry

Historically, the Murji ite sect, which is considered an in certain

Turkic languages. The terms qawwal (one who

extreme contrast to the Kharijite, was founded by Ali’s says), and ashiq (lover), are used in Pakistan and Azerbaijan,

grandson al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya as a re-

respectively, for certain types of musicians. “Singing” is never

sponse to the fanatical Kharijite and Shi ite sects. While used in describing Qur’anic cantillation; instead, the term

Kharijites hold the view that the third caliph, Uthman, was a “reading” is used in both Arabic and other main languages

grave sinner and hence an unbeliever, and Muslims are not spoken in Islam.

bound to his leadership, the Murji ites were very much

interested in the preservation of the unity of Muslim community rather than pronouncing judgment on whether or not An article by Lois Ibsen al-Faruqi, based on a modern

interpretation of historical sources, includes an illustration of

Uthman and Ali were believers. As a consequence, Murjiites a hierarchy of “sound architecture” (handasat al-sawt). In this postpone their judgment and give Uthman and Ali a tempo-hierarchy, genres are placed on continua between music and rare status of believers and accept their leadership. Any nonmusic, and legitimate and illegitimate. Consequently,

492

Islam and the Muslim World Music

“sensuous music associated with unacceptable contexts” is considered illegitimate (haram), and is labeled as music. Qur'anic chant (qira'a), other religious chants, such as the adhan, chanted poetry with noble themes (shi'r), family and celebration music (lullabies, women's songs, wedding songs, etc.), “occupational” music (caravan chants, shepherd's tunes, work songs, etc.), and military music are all considered legitimate (halal), and labeled as nonmusic. Then again, while vocal and instrumental improvisations, serious metered songs, instrumental music, and music related to pre-Islamic or non-Islamic origins are considered music, their legitimacy remains controversial, either forbidden or discouraged in Islamic law (al-Faruqi, 1985). Based mostly on al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) *Ihya' ulum al-din* (Revivification of the religious sciences), Al-Faruqi makes the case that the status of any handasat alsawt genre depends on its context. Nonetheless, attitudes for this kind of labeling change in different countries. Two contrasting views may be observed in Turkey and Egypt.

In Turkey, Qur'anic recitation is considered to be music and imams, or leaders of religious services in mosques, are formally educated in music theory and practice at special state high schools and universities. As recently as 2002 the State Directorship of Religious Affairs organized a mandatory camp of intensive courses in musical theory and practice for mosque employees. However, Turkish scholars distinguish between mosque music (cami musikisi) and Sufi music (Tasavvuf musikisi) and, as in the rest of the Islamic world, musical On the streets of Malaka, Malaysia, a Muslim musician plays a Malaysian flute. © DAVE BARTRUFF/CORBIS instruments are not permitted in mosques. Many performers operate in both domains. Furthermore, some Turkish performers of Qur'anic recitation function in both religious and secular contexts. For example, Kani Karaca (b. 1930), a Qur'anic Recitation celebrated singer of the sacred Ayin of the Mevlevi (Sufi Two equally complex systems with specific sets of rules

order), the Mevlid, and a Qur'anic reciter, is also recognized as an exceptional artist in the secular Ottoman classical world. While a melodic modal system (maqam) tradition. helps to shape the melodic progression of a recitation (see below), the tajwid determines the exact pronunciation of the text. In Egypt, on the other hand, an ideal Qur'anic recitation is considered nonmusic. While Egyptians expect the reciter to demonstrate tasteful aesthetic skills, they also consider that The rules of tajwid have been transmitted orally generatethe act of listening to the Qur'an (sama) should not engage a tion after generation throughout the centuries. Properties of musical perception because of music's association with worldly sound and rhythm are clearly articulated in the rules of tajwid. and even blasphemous irrereligious contexts. Hence, in the Some of the specific performance instructions include, for context of Qur'anic recitation, the practice of "musical" example, appropriate places for taking a breath, when to composition is learned not through straightforward melodic repeat a word or section, relative length of a syllable or phoneme, exercises, but through providing a learning environment for and so on. The degree of tajwid's effect over the recitation individuals where there is no direct teaching of musical varies in the two main styles: murattal and mujawwad. melodies.

Murattal (also known as tartil) is plainer and it emphasizes the meaning of National and local competitions of Qur'anic recitation for the text itself. The pitch material of a maqam men, women, and children, like the Musabaqah Tilawatil used in this style is often limited—usually within a fourth or a fifth—and Qur'an in Indonesia, and instructional and commercial re- fifth—and elaborate melismatic contours where there is more than one recordings (especially in Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Tur- than one musical pitch per syllable are considered inappropriate) help to perpetuate certain styles, and a net of artistic and priate in that they obscure the meaning. Accordingly, there spiritual critics protects the balance between the music as an are no maqam modulations. Similar to the European recitaenhancer of spirituality and the meaning in the text. tive style, the tempo of murattal is relatively fast.

Islam and the Muslim World

493

Music

Since it does not demand any musical training, many in a number of recordings by eminent musicians from the

practitioners of murattal are nonprofessionals and include Middle East
and a significant six-volume publication on music theory
both women and children. Professional woman reciters, musique
in French by Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, La
whether they perform for a mixed audience or only females, musique
arabe (1930–1959).
often perform in the less ostentatious murattal. They are Melody
especially encouraged to recite in murattal since a woman's Theory, in
voice with elaborate melodic creations is believed to distract
general, provides a shared vocabulary of concepts and
male listeners from the meaning of the text. On the other technical aspects of music for communication. Therehand, professionals of the
more elaborate mujawwad style are fore, knowledge of maqam (melodic mode)
theory has been
almost always men. essential
for musicians' education in the art of both composition and improvisation. A
maqam articulates a number of
The mujawwad style—also known as tilawa (and more rules in a
musical composition regardless of whether the piece
problematically as tartil and tajwid)—came out of Egypt is
composed or improvised, the most important of which are:
during the first half of the twentieth century through recordings of such
reciters as Shaykh Mustafa Isma il and more pitch material
(scale);
notably Shaykh Abd al-Basit Abd al-Samad. Many reciters melodic
progression (shape and direction);
outside of Egypt emulated the mujawwad style from these
modulations (to other maqams);
recordings and other performances from the powerful Egypt and stereotypical
melodic cells.
tian radio broadcasts. The mujawwad style gives more importance to musical
composition and the emotional intensity of
There are many maqams and each maqam has its own set of
the melody.
rules. These rules are deduced from a large body of existing
Call to Prayer
compositions. The number of maqams used (Ar. maqamat,
Perhaps, the most familiar sound in the world of Islam is the Turkish,
makamlar, Moroccan Ar. tubu) varies from country
voice of a muezzin (Ar., mu adhdhin) reciting the adhan, or call to country
and from one period to another; also, they may go
to prayer. Wherever there is a mosque one may hear the in and out
of fashion. Understanding the intricacies of maqam
adhan regularly five times a day from a minaret or a loud- might
secure a high status among musicians; in the same way,
speaker attached to the main building. People may also
inappropriate use of a maqam in an improvisation, for examexperience the adhan

in other contexts: broadcast on radio or television, or from a recording on an alarm clock. Even in the twenty-first century, musicians continue to invent new maqams and compose new pieces in these complex modal entities. Unlike murattal style, certain syllables of the fixed text of the adhan may incite a melodic Rhythm melisma within a particular maqam. Muezzins are often professionals employed by a mosque. However, they may have additional duties in the mosque. During the Ottoman Empire a fixed rhythmic pattern and used to measure individual compositions. There may be one or more usuls in a given employees. number of beats; for example, there are four known nine-beat Theory usuls. Similar to the Indian rhythmic modal system tala, Music, along with mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy, special nonlexical syllables like dumm, takk, or tek-ka are used to was one of the main scientific fields studied by the early to articulate usuls. There is often a direct correlation between Islamic scholars and today it remains one of the most studied usul and form. For example, the nine-beat usul Evfer is always used for art forms in the Islamic world. A number of scientific and used for the second section (selam) in a Mevlevi ayin composition philosophical treatises by ancient Greek scholars like Pythagoras; and the ten-beat Georgina (Turk. Aksak Semai) is used for the ras, Plato, Aristotle, and Archimedes were translated into for the instrumental Sama i (Turk. Saz Semaisi). Rhythmic modulation Arabic starting with the second and third centuries of Islam is an important compositional tool used by the composers. (700–800 B.C.E.). These works provided a model for later studies by Islamic scholars with their contents on cosmological associations of music, the healing affects of music, instruments, and other technical specifics such as tuning systems The suite form appears to be a significant genre in many and melodic (maqam) and rhythmic modes (iqa). religious, classical, and military musical traditions of the Middle East and Central Asia. The cyclical structure of these An international congress on Arab music held in Cairo in musical traditions goes back to the early centuries of Islam, and 1932 renewed attention to many theoretical issues within the

descriptions of early suite forms may be found in the Islamic world—including Turkish and Persian—and resulted in writings of Islamic scholars such as Isfahani and Meraghi as

494

Islam and the Muslim World

Music

early as the tenth century. A suite tradition often has a fixed Mevlevi typically use a compound musical form (ayin) body of repertoire, and shorter individual compositions are during their rituals (sema), mixing the fixed Rast na at-e selected for performances. A specific order of pieces is determined by Mevlana, several taqsims, a pesrev, a four-section vocal composition by their rhythmic patterns (usul) and form. sition with a text chosen from Jalaluddin Rumi's poems, instrumental interludes, various hymns, and Qur'anic recitation. An unmeasured solo instrumental improvisation, like Turkish sequence of Son pesrev and Son yuruk semai is the last ish and Arab taqsim or Persian daramad, appears in most suite instrumental section played by the Mevlevi ensemble (mutrip). traditions. A taqsim may be played at several points in a Turkish classical musicians frequently perform this particular performance, for example, as an introduction to a suite in a form and certain other instrumental selections from the ayin given maqam, or as a transition between pieces. Although it is form in secular concerts. improvised, a taqsim follows the rules of the maqam and has a definable form. A Turkish taksim usually falls into three Dhikr (remembrance) is one of the most common forms performed sections. The introduction shows the main pitches and other by worshippers at Sufi gatherings of different characteristics of the mode, and demonstrates the performer's sects. It is performed through formulized repetitions of mastery of a particular makam. The next section shows the words or short phrases in highly rhythmic specific patterns—performer's ability to modulate to other makams within the "Allah" (God) or "la ilaha illallah" (There is no God but Allah), rigid aesthetic rules of the tradition. Finally, the performer Allah), for example. Specialists or volunteers from the congregation recapitulates and summarizes the original makam. gregation may perform on frame drums or other percussion instruments during dhikr. Qur'anic recitation, hymns, and Arab layali and qasida, Turkish gazel, and Persian avaz are vocal improvisations with religious texts are often included some of the vocal counterparts of taqsim that are often set to a into the ritual. secular poetry with additional words and other nonlexical

syllables, for example, aman, of, yar, yalel, and so on. Education
 Starting in the nineteenth century, the adoption of the
 The Moroccan Andalusian tradition also includes a quasi-
 Western system of musical notation in certain parts of the
 improvised orchestral taqsim, known as bughia. While they
 Islamic world changed the nature of music education in the
 follow a slow-moving specific main melody in a highly
 classical genres, and, consequently, sheet music replaced
 heterophonic texture, performance of bughia usually accommememory for many in the
 younger generation of musicians.
 modates individual performers with some freedom to impro-
 Conservatories and other music schools in countries like
 vise. The origins of bughia possibly go back to a solo
 Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, and Iraq produced literate musiimprovisation.
 cians with high technical skills during the twentieth century.
 Na at and durak may be shown as examples of unmeasured The famous
 Iraqi oud virtuoso Munir Bashir may be given as an
 pre-composed genres whose text praises the prophet Mo-
 example.
 hammed. The best-known na at is the Rast Na at-e Mevlana,
 In most Islamic countries oral transmission between the
 which is fixed as part of the ayin suite performed during the
 master and pupil was broadened with the advancement of the
 rituals of the Mevlevis, also known in the West as the
 recording technologies during the twentieth century, and
 Whirling Dervishes.
 recordings of masters on radio, television, cassettes, compact
 Some of the main Islamic suite traditions begin with a discs,
 videos, and even CD-ROMs became virtual teachers
 composed instrumental form performed by the entire ensem- for young
 performers. Consequently, regardless of whether it
 ble. The pesrev, for example, appears in Turkish Mevlevi ayin, is sacred
 or secular, listening to the great performers remains
 fasil, and military mehter performances. Measured in large the
 principal way to reach the level of mastery.
 rhythmic patterns, pesrevs (Ar. bashraf) consist of four independent sections
 (hane) and a refrain (teslim) following each
 Instruments
 section. The Arab bashraf, Moroccan Andalusian tushia, and In most
 locations, musical instruments are not allowed in
 Persian pishdaramad similarly occur at the beginning of each mosques.
 A certain kind of inclusiveness and tolerance, on the
 respective suite. other
 hand, makes it possible for a variety of musical instruments and dance to be
 incorporated into Sufi rituals. Most
 A sama i, on the other hand, is the last instrumental notably, the
 Mevlevi order, both in Turkey and Syria, feacomposition of the traditional

Egyptian and Syrian suite tures a large orchestra with classical instruments like oud, ney, wasla. The basic structure of the sama i is identical to the and rebab, to name a few. The most commonly used instrubashraf, that is, four sections (hane) with a refrain (teslim). The ment among Sufis is the drum. While the shapes and names of standard rhythmic pattern (usul) of this genre, however, is a drums may change from one culture to another, the most short one, Georgina (3+2+2+3). In the final hane the meter common Sufi drum is a frame drum. Some peripheral countypically modulates to Darij (3+3). The Turkish fasil and tries with Muslim populations (e.g., Indonesia, Ghana), fur-Mevlevi ayin also include an instrumental semai at the end. thermore, use indigenous instruments in their Islamic rituals.

Islam and the Muslim World

495

Muslim Brotherhood

See also Arabic Literature; Persian Language and Lit- isnads ("chain of transmission") for the hadiths he recorded, erature; Qur an; Umm Kulthum; Urdu Language, listing all the variant isnads known to him for a particular Literature, and Poetry. tradition, before listing their common matn or text. These different isnads are indicated by the Arabic letter h which BIBLIOGRAPHY stood for tahwil or hawala, Arabic for change. On account of And, Metin, and Halman, Talat Sait. Mevlana Celaleddin this arrangement, he has been justly praised by both medieval Rumi and the Whirling Dervishes. Istanbul: Dost Publica- and modern scholars; the latter in particular have found these tions, 1983.

"clusters" of matns produced in this manner especially useful Denny, Walter. "Music and Musicians in Islamic Art." Asian for the analysis of hadiths and their dating. Another impor- Music 17, no. 1 (1985): 37–68. tant feature of Muslim's al-Sahih is its introduction, which d'Erlanger, Baron Rodolphe. La Musique Arabe. Paris: deals with the subject of ilm al-hadith ("the science of tradi- Geuthner, 1930–1959. tion").

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Munir Beken

MUSLIM STUDENT ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA

Muslim students in universities across the United States

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD See Ikhwan formally inaugurated the Muslim Student Association in a al-Muslimin national conference held in Urbana, Illinois, on 1 January 1963. The participants in this first conference represented immigrant students from all over the Muslim world. On almost every major college campus where there were Muslim students (about two hundred in all), a MSA was established as MUSLIM IBN AL-HAJJAJ part of a network of local chapters with regional and zonal (C. 817–875) structures. The central organization was run by an executive committee, as was each local chapter, and a general national Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, compiler of the second most important meeting was held every year in a different city.

collection of sound hadiths, was born in Neyshabur, Persia, between 817 and 821 and died there in 875 C.E.. In order to In September 1975, the MSA established a general secrecollect hadiths

(traditions), he traveled at an early age to Iraq, tariat and a headquarters in Plainfield, Indiana. Accordingly, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and Syria, where he heard departments were created to oversee the dissemination of traditions from well-known authorities, such as the jurist Islamic education and publications, training, public relations, Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855) and Harmala, a student of the finance, and administration. As members graduated, they remained earlier legal scholar al-Shafi i (d. 820). Of the 300,000 tradi- work. By active and some made the organization their life's February 1977 the MSA had become the largest, three thousand if one does not count the repetitions) were best-organized, most active, financially stable, and influential included in his collection, which was entitled al-Jami al-sahih American Muslim organization. It had also come to be (The sound compendium), al-Sahih for short. Compared dominated in leadership and membership by Muslim stuwith al-Bukhari, Muslim pays meticulous attention to the dents from Southeast Asia. Since 1977 the numbers of MSAs

496

Islam and the Muslim World

Muthanna, Muhammad ibn Abdallah, al-

has grown and although immigrant Muslim students from all methods of arguments with Islamic principles have contribover participate, South Asians predominate in the leader- uted to a great extent to the development and flourishing of ship roles. rationalism in early Islamic thought.

One immediate result of the organization and influence of The seeds of Mu tazilite views disseminated by its early this group was criticism for expanding that influence to figures such as Wasil b. al- Atta , Amr b. Ubayd, and Abu l- Hudhayl eventually got formulated and adopted as five community affairs. Though students were naturally members Mu tazilite principles. The principle of unity (tawhid) sugof various communities, they had competition in the leadergests God's unity against any resemblance to Him. Under ship of community affairs. This tension caused the emerthis principle, Mu tazilites deny the eternity of the Qur an, gence of the Muslim Community Association. The two God's attributes, and any form of anthromorphism. The groups were then organized in 1981 under an umbrella principle of justice (adl) is associated with the theory of organization, The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).

determination (qadar), in which it is maintained that God is
 Today, almost everywhere there are Muslim students there
 just and that human beings are free to choose and to act. The
 continues to exist an MSA to serve their needs on campus. principle of
 promise and threats holds that God is truthful
 and bound in keeping His promise of heavenly reward and
 See also Islamic Society of North America; United
 threat of hellfire. As He promised, for example, a great sinner
 States, Islam in the; Youth Movements.
 will forever be in hell unless s/he repents. The principle of
 intermediate position (manzila bayn al-mazilatayn) indicates
 Aminah Beverly McCloud that a Muslim who does great sin is regarded as
 neither a
 believer (mu min) nor an unbeliever (kafir). The principle of
 commanding the right and forbidding the wrong (al-amr bi
 al-ma ruf wa al-nahy an al-munkar) instructs every Mu tazilite
 MU TAZILITES, MU TAZILA to apply this
 principle to the social world when he or she has
 the power to do it.

The most prevalent tradition has it that the name Mu tazila
 See also Abd al-Jabbar; Ma mun, al-; Mihna.

was used to refer to someone or a group of people who
 withdrew (i tazala, from which the term Mu tazila derives)

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from an eighth-century circle of majority on whether a grave
 Hourani, George F. Islamic Rationalism: The Ethics of Abd alsinner was a
 believer or unbeliever. Later on, the term
 Jabbar.Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Mu tazila was used to designate a school of Islamic theology
 Martin, Richard C., and Woodward, Mark. Defenders of
 that follows certain rules known as the five principles (al-usul
 Reason in Islam: Mu tazilism from Early School to Modern
 al-khamsa). Symbol.
 Oxford, U.K.: Oneworld, 1997.

This theological school is one of the most progressive
 Shalahudin Kafrawi
 schools in the history of Islamic theology and has to a high
 degree contributed to the development of Islamic thought.
 This school is theological due to its starting point that God
 is unquestionably regarded as the ultimate source of its MUTHANNA,
 MUHAMMAD IBN
 worldview. However, its emphasis on the use of reason in its ABDALLAH,
 AL- See Muhammad al-Nafs
 theological quest and its assimilation of some Greek ideas and al-Zakiyya

Islam and the Muslim World

N

NADER SHAH AFSHAR (1688–1747)

See

also Abbas I, Shah; Madhhab.

Nader Shah Afshar was the ruler of Iran from 1736 until

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1747. Born Nader-qoli Beg of the Afshar Turkmen in north-

Lockhart, Laurence. Nadir Shah: A Critical Study Based Mainly

eastern Iran in 1688, he rose to power by espousing the cause

Upon Contemporary Sources. London: Luzac, 1938.

of Tahmasb Mirza, scion of the Safavid dynasty who had

Tucker, Ernest S. "Nadir Shah and the Ja'fari Madhhab

escaped from the invading Afghans. Under the name of

Reconsidered." Iranian Studies 27 (1994): 163–179.

Tahmasb-qoli Khan, Nader led an Iranian army to victory

over the Afghans in 1729. In 1732 he had Tahmasb deposed

and replaced by his infant son Abbas, with himself as regent.

John R. Perry

Having recovered the border territories occupied by Ottoman Turkey and Russia,

in 1736 he engineered his own

election as king, under the name of Nader Shah.

NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU)

Nader signed a treaty with the Ottomans, proposing that

the Iranians renounce Shi'ism (a major cause of enmity with

The

organization of the Nahdlatul Ulama (Revival of the

the Turks, as champions of Sunni Islam) if the Turks agreed

Religious Scholars), or NU, was founded on 31 January 1926

to recognize their Ja'fari madhhab (school of religious law) as a

as a

countermovement to the increasingly successful re-

fifth rite of Sunni law. This compromise was likely seen by

formist Muhammadiyah organization. NU is a mass-based

Nader as a stepping-stone to a larger Asiatic empire, as his

socioreligious Islamic organization under the leadership of

enrichment of the Shi'ite shrine in his capital of Mashhad was

ulema, and it is the largest in Indonesia with around thirty-calculated to win

support at home. The Turks were uncon- five million members.

NU activities include the religious,

vinced, and the religious clauses were never ratified. In 1739

social, educational, economic, and political. Its founders were

Nader invaded India, defeated the Mughal army, and sacked

ulema

(called kiyai in Indonesia) who led rural Islamic board-

Delhi; he returned by way of Central Asia, subduing Bukhara ing

schools, pesantren. They represented traditionalist Musand Khiva. His son

Reza-qoli Mirza, viceroy in Iran during lims, those who practice

Islamic mysticism (tasawuf; Ar.

the Indian campaign, was accused of ordering a failed assassi-

tasawwuf), and are not against indigenous rituals and beliefs as

nation of his father, and blinded. long
as they do not contradict the normative teachings of
Islam. The two most prominent founding ulema were Hasyim
Exorbitant requisitions for his renewed campaigns pro- Asy ari,
and Abdul Wahab Chasbullah.
voked widespread rebellions. Nader became increasingly
paranoid and cruelly punished all opposition, erecting towers NU
members refer to themselves as Aswaja: “ahlus sunnah
of severed heads in his wake. His reliance on (Sunni) Afghan wal
jama a,” (Ar., ahl al-sunna wal-jama a) people of sunna
and Uzbek troops alienated his own (Shi ite) Afshar and and
community, who base their religious reference on the
Qajar officers, who in 1747 assassinated him in his camp in
hadith, the sunna, and the adat (local practices, Ar., ada).
Khorasan. His army disintegrated; he was succeeded briefly They
follow the Shafi i school of jurisprudence and in their
by a nephew, Adel Shah, then by his grandson Shahrokh
interpretation of religious texts include the opinions of the
Shah (1748–1796), but their rule did not extend much beyond
great ulema in unbroken chains that reach back to the
Mashhad.
prophet Muhammad. Pesantren are considered the heart of
Na ini, Mohammad Hosayn

NU tradition. Here students learn the essentials of tradition-
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alist Islam in order to maintain and spread this interpretation. Barton,
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Indonesia. Clayton, Australia:

NU’s history can be divided into four phases: Monash
Asia Institute, 1996.

1. The initial years NU served as a socioreligious Dhofier,
Zamakhashari. The Pesantren Tradition. The Role of
the Kiyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java.
organization.

Tempe, Ariz.: Program for Southeast Asian Studies,
2. From the late 1930s until 1984 it became involved ASU, 1999.
in political activities. From 1952–1971 it had its
Oepen, Manfred, and Karcher, Wolfgang, eds. The Impact of
own political party and participated in the national
Pesantren in Education and Community Development in Indocabinet.
nesia. Jakarta: P3M, 1988.

3. When the Suharto government rendered all po- Sciortino,
Rosalia; Marcoes Natsir, Lies; and Mas udi, Masdar.
litical parties ineffective with its suppressive regu- “Learning from
Islam: Advocacy of Reproductive Rights

lations NU decided to leave politics. This was in Indonesian Pesantren.” Reproductive Health Matters no. expressed in the 1984 watershed event called kembali 8 (November 1996): 86–93.

ke khittah, a return to the original charter of 1926.

4. In 1998, after the fall of Suharto, NU again be-

Nelly van Doorn-Harder

came involved in national politics. It initiated the National Awakening Party (PKB) while its national chair, Abdurrahman Wahid, was elected

Indonesia’s fourth president for a brief period

NA INI, MOHAMMAD HOSAYN (1999–2001).

(1860–1936)

The return to its socioreligious activities in 1984 not only meant withdrawal from politics, but a total refocus on educa- Mohammad Hosayn Na ini was a leading Shi ite scholar, tion, community welfare, mission, social, and economic de- theoretician of constitutionalism, and a precursor of Islamic velopment. Through its new role, NU became active in modernism in Iran. Born into a family of scholars, Na ini first studied guiding large numbers of Indonesian Muslims in adapting to with Mohammad Baqer Esfahani and Mohammad social change and modernity. Various institutions related to Taqi (Aqa Najafi). Then he went to Iraq where he studied with NU started multilevel dialogue about issues of social justice, with Mohammad Hasan Shirazi and Mohammad Kazim human rights, democracy, and the rights of women and Khorasani. In Iraq, Na ini became actively involved in the children. This made NU an active codeveloper of a model for anti-British independence movement after World War I. He civil society, suitable for the Indonesian context. was arrested and expelled from Karbala and returned to Tehran in 1923. He joined the anti-Qajar forces, supported Over the years, several divisions were founded within the Reza Khan’s accession to the throne, and maintained cordial NU structure. Among others, there are divisions for youth relationship with him until his death in Najaf in 1936. (Ansor), women (Muslimat NU), young women (Fatayat NU), and male and female students (IPNU and IPPNU). Na ini wrote the most important treatise in support of

Apart from these divisions, NU comprises institutions for constitutional government from a Shi ite viewpoint; in it he education, family affairs, agriculture, economic development, presented an Islamic justification for a secular and Western model and Islamic banking. The membership of ulema and lay constitutional government. In Tanbih al-umma wa

people is reflected in a two-tiered structure of councils that *tanzihi* al-milla dar Asas Usul-i Mashrutiyyat (An admonition from the national to the local level: the *syuriah* (Ar. *shura*) council to the [community of] believers and an exposition to the *shura*), the religious council, which has only ulema as members concerning the principles of constitutional government who develop and monitor the NU activities; and the *Tanfidiyah* (Ar. *tanfidziyah*), Na'ini attempted to reconcile the need for an efficient *Tanfidiyah*, which is the executive council where ulema and government in Iran that would respect certain tenets of a lay members supervise the daily affairs. It is characteristic for democratic system of government with the need to recognize NU that decisions taken at the highest level are not binding the legitimacy of the rule of the Hidden Imam, and defend for the lower levels. This is based on a tradition of the the precepts of Shi'ite Islam. It is said that when Na'ini Prophet's saying that "disagreement among the ulema is a became disillusioned with the constitutional revolution, he blessing from God for humanity." withdrew his book and threw it into the Tigris River.

See also Southeast Asian Culture and Islam; Southeast See also Modernization, Political: Constitutionalism; Asia, Islam in. Nationalism: Iranian.

500

Islam and the Muslim World

Nar

BIBLIOGRAPHY of the governments. In the twentieth century, Najaf regained Hairi, A. H. *Shi'ism and Constitutionalism*. Leiden: Brill, 1977. prominence when one of its ulema, Ayatollah Tabataba'i Yazdi (d. 1919), wrote *al-Urwa al-wuthqa*, a major work in Mohammad H. Faghfoory applied Shi'ite law which reflected the contemporary social and political condition and, with Qom, once again became an important center of Shi'ite scholarship during the period from 1900 through 1979.

NAJAF

When the shah of Iran exiled Ayatollah Khomeini to Najaf is one of several shrine cities and a major learning Najaf in 1964, the city became an important political center center for Shi'a Muslims. Located south of Baghdad, Iraq, on as well. Najaf and Qom, however, were rivals for importance, as a trade route between Basra and Baghdad, Najaf has existed as Khomeini praised Qom for being more active in the social

since the reign of Harun al-Rashid. Imam Ali was buried here, and a shrine was built around Ali's tomb in 979. repression by Saddam Hussein during and after the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) forced many of the Shi'ite ulema. The city of Najaf began as a learning center in 1056, when Shaykh al-Ta'ifa al-Tusi moved here after the Seljuks took learning. over Baghdad. He advanced the work of his predecessors in the emerging rationalist school of Shi'ite thought. During Holy Cities; Karbala; Mashhad. the Ilkhanid period (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) its prominence was reduced with the emergence of Hilla and

BIBLIOGRAPHY
 Aleppo as centers of Shi'ite learning. In sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Najaf, Isfahan, and Mashhad were competing over prominence as shrine cities. The rise of the Safavids in the sixteenth century and their rivalry with the Ottoman Empire for hegemony over the shrine cities escalated. Safavids of Najaf and Karbala. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. for political reasons maintained Isfahan and Mashhad as the most important shrine centers.

Mazyar Lotfalian
 The eighteenth century was a turning point in the history of the shrine cities. First, the fall of the Safavids in Iran drove many ulema to Najaf. Secondly, the shrine cities became economically more independent of the Ottomans and the subsequent rulers of Iran, and the number of pilgrims increased. Najaf, in particular, was positively affected by the pan-Islamic policies of Sultan Abd al-Hamid after he came to power in 1876. Migrant Islamic scholars in Najaf gained prominence.

NAR
 Around this same period, the Qajars of Iran were giving in to British and Russian colonial powers. While the Iranian in Islam—a blazing abode where God punishes religious centers were actively involved in everyday politics, unbelievers and wrongdoers. Muslims use nar synonymously centers in Iraq, such as Najaf, were not. During the late

life of
 Violent
 to leave
 Shi'ite
 See also
 Kazemi
 From
 Lumpur,
 Ulama
 Nar (from
 for hell
 with

jahannam, and they juxtapose both terms to janna (“garden”), the blissful home of the righteous in the hereafter. The idea of a place of punishment and suffering in the afterlife is found in many religions, but the Islamic concept is actually an outgrowth of centuries of religious reflection about the afterlife rooted in the cultures of the ancient Near East, rabbinic Judaism, early Christianity, and Zoroastrianism. Early Arabian poetic imagery contributed to its assimilation into Islamic eschatological discourse. By the end of the nineteenth century, Najaf had grown to a city of 30,000 inhabitants, with a large community of learned people who came from all over the Islamic world. The (nur), and the clay used in Adam’s creation (Q. 38:76–77). formation of a patronage system, which consisted of a network of students and funding sources across political boundaries. According to Islamic eschatological doctrine, al-nar is not just a natural element, but also a real place where humans

Islam and the Muslim World

501

Nasāʾi, al-

experience horrendous bodily torments at the hands of angels Smith, Jane Idleman, and Yazbeck Haddad, Yvonne. The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981. “home” or “dwelling,” where wrongdoers don garments of fire, drink boiling water, eat the fruit of an infernal tree, and are dragged about by iron hooks (37:62–68, 22:19–21). This imagery complements Qur’anic discourses about the bliss of the righteous in paradise, and it was elaborated with gruesome detail in the hadith, theological tracts, and visionary literature during the Middle Ages. Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) wrote that in hell the damned “are thrust down upon their faces, chained and fettered, with hellfire (nar) above them, hellfire

beneath them, hellfire on their right and tions, lived between 830 and 915. Unfortunately, very little is hellfire on their left so that they drown in a sea of fire” (al-known of his early life, but like the other compilers, he was Ghazali, *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife*, p. 221). known to have traveled extensively “in search of knowledge” Hell was also conceived as a hierarchy of seven levels, each (Ar. talab al- ilm) in order to hear traditions from the promiassigned a different name derived from the Qur an (for nent traditionists of his time. He settled for a while in Egypt example, “abyss,” “blaze,” and “furnace”), to which different and then later made his way to Damascus, where he was classes of unbelievers and wrongdoers will be consigned in reportedly ill-treated on account of his pro- Alid and antithe afterlife. The angel Malik and his deputies, the Zabaniyya, Umayyad sentiments. Some sources suggest that the venue will help administer their punishments. In some accounts, was instead Ramla, in Palestine. Because of his untimely hell was portrayed as a monstrous creature with thousands of death, he has been regarded as a martyr. His collection, *Kitab heads and mouths*. Theologians debated whether the damned al-Sunan, contains over five thousand hadiths. Unlike the would suffer there for eternity, but many invoked the Qur an other five collections, al-Nasa i’s Sunan does not include a (11:107, 78:23) in favor of the opinion that its torments were chapter on the excellences of the Qur an (Ar. fada il alpurgatorial, and that eventually many would be admitted to Qur an), although he composed an independent treatise on paradise. the topic. Also lacking in his Sunan are eschatological traditions. Al-Nasa i is credited with nine other works, among Pious Muslims have invoked hell to promote mindfulness which are a compilation of hadiths on the virtues of Ali and a of God and the life of the hereafter, against the distractions of rijal work that assessed the reliability of various hadith mundane existence. Sufis, however, taught that both the fear transmitters. of hell and desire for paradise were distractions for wayfarers seeking intimate union with God. Some, like Jalaluddin Rumi

See also

Hadith. (d. 1273), used hellfire as a metaphor for the evil inclinations of the self that can only be quelled by divine light or the water

Asma Asfaruddin

of mercy that flows from the virtuous heart. Others equated it to the burning passion of the lover that leads to annihilation of the self in God the beloved, or to the torment experienced in separation from God. Since the twentieth century, Muslim

NASSER,

JAMAL See Abd al-Nasser, Jamal

modernists have posited that both hell and paradise are psychological or spiritual states of being rather than actual places in the hereafter. Today, however, traditional understandings continue to have a compelling influence on Muslim beliefs and practices, often with politicized overtones. The NATIONALISM Jama at-e Islami of Bangladesh, for example, has threatened that Muslim women who fail to support this radical organiza- ARAB tion will be condemned to hell. Nancy L. Stockdale

IRANIAN

See also Death; Ghazali, al-; Jahannam; Janna; Muham- Fakhreddin Azimi mad; Qur an; Tafsir.

TURKISH

A. Uner Turgay

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Ghazali, Abu Hamid al-. The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife (Kitab dhikr al-mawt wa-ma ba dahu): Book XL of ARAB the Revival of the Religious Sciences (Ihya ulum al-din). Ideals of Arab nationalism were extremely influential in the Translated by T. J. Winter. Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic Middle East in the twentieth century. Emerging from Texts Society, 1995. nineteenth-century debates about the role of Islam in the

502

Islam and the Muslim World Nationalism

modern world and crystallized by anti-imperialist move- overthrow foreign oppression and implement social justice. Two major events concurrent with the establishment of the the political ideologies of newly independent nations as they Ba th movement—the creation of Israel and the subsequent struggled to forge a postcolonial identity for the Middle East. displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, and the emergence of a fully independent Egypt in the 1950s— Pan-Islamic thinkers such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani catapulted the ideals of Arab nationalism into political reality. (1839–1897) and Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905) were early inspirations for the emergent Arab nationalist ideology. Al- Devastated by the losses of the Arab forces to Israel and the massive Afghani despaired at the increased dominance of European the massive crisis of Palestinian refugees, members of the Arab League empires in the Muslim world, but believed that Islamic Arab League

(founded in 1945) looked to Egypt to lead the governments could counteract Western influence if it was to greatness. With the successful 1952 revolution stripped of corruption and instilled with the values of Muslim monarchy led by Jamal Abd al-Nasser (1918–1970), unity, using the early caliphate as a model of success. Abduh, become the center of Arab nationalist rhetoric and al-Afghani's most famous student, furthered his mentor's Nasser's leadership in the nonalignment movement ideas with his book *Risalah al-tawhid* (A treatise on the Baghdad Pact of 1954 and his successful nationalization of God), asserting the compatibility of Islam with the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 made the world take notice modern world. By founding the Salafiyya movement and ideals of Arab strength and national unity. In the 1960s, reopening the doors of *ijtihad*, Abduh challenged Muslims to movement came to power and ruled in Syria and stand up to their governments if they believed the values of through Revolutionary Command Councils. Iraq Islam were being crushed. At the same time, modern technologies and Western-style reforms were acceptable if inter-United Arab Republic (1958–1961), the humiliating defeat of predated as benefiting Muslim society. the Arab armies against the Israelis in the war of 1967, and the These pan-Islamic thinkers inspired others to think in the Ba th regimes in Syria and Iraq underscored more local terms. Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1854–1902), the real difficulties of creating a gigantic Arab super-state. the author of *The Nature of Despotism* and *The Mother of Cities*, Although leaders in the 1970s and 1980s tried to rally their Mecca, was a Syrian journalist and student of Abduh who populations behind Arab nationalist rhetoric, the Gulf War believed that the decline of the Middle East to the West was of 1991, which pitted Arab nations against each other, due to the Ottoman Empire and the fact that non-Arabs had destroyed the dreams of Arab nationalists. This left the people taken control of the region. Because Islam was revealed to the of the Arab world searching for viable alternatives to the Arabs in the Arabic language, al-Kawakibi saw the Middle ideals that had seemed so promising earlier in the century. East as being at its zenith when Arabs ruled. He promoted the See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal; Abd al-Rahman idea that Arab leadership was perfect and argued that, if it Kawakibi; Abduh, Muhammad; Afghani, Jamal alwere to be restored, the region would revive morally and Din; Arab League; Ba th Party; Nationalism: Iranian;

politically. This became the basis of several independence
 Nationalism: Turkish; Pan-Arabism; Pan-Islam;
 movements, especially after the collapse of the Ottoman
 Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa.
 Empire at the end of the First World War.

Faced with the end of Turkish rule but the continuance of
 French and British rule in the Arab world, many Arab
 William L. A History of the Modern Middle East.
 thinkers formulated programs for nationalist liberation based
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on ethnic identity. One of the most important was the Syrian
 Rashid; Anderson, Lisa; and Simon, Reeva, eds. The
 Sati al-Husri (1880–1968). Al-Husri wrote three influential
 Origins of Arab Nationalism. New York: Columbia Univertracts: Arabism First, On
 Arab Nationalism, and What is National- sity Press, 1993.
 ism? These pamphlets asked all Arabs—both Muslim and
 Christian—to unite under one state, privileging shared lan-

Nancy L. Stockdale

guage and culture as the bond between them all. Al-Husri
 hoped that by focusing on the great past of the Arab world
 rather than only Islam, Christian and Muslim Arabs would
 existence of various forms of primordial loyalties,
 join together to fight against foreign imperialism.

a
 persistent sense of national consciousness or cultural distinctness was by no
 means absent from premodern Iran. It

Fellow Syrians Michel Aflaq (1912–1989) and Salah al-
 sustained by a shared cultural heritage, and above all by
 Din al-Bitar (1911–1980) followed al-Husri’s lead by merg-
 Persian language. From the sixteenth century it was
 ing socialist anti-imperialist thought with pan-Arabist ideals.

by Shi ism. In the nineteenth century, Iran be-
 Founders of the Ba th (“resurrection”) movement in the
 arena of rivalry between imperial Russia and the

1940s, Aflaq and al-Bitar drew on the past of the Arabs as
 Empire and lost territory, particularly to the Russians,
 leaders of the Islamic world and called for a revival of unity to
 humiliating wars. The ruling Qajar dynasty tried to

Islam and the Muslim World

503

Nationalism

maintain the county’s precarious independence by exploiting
 Seeking to refute the charges of dependence on
 Anglo-Russian rivalry. The growing influence and presence
 Anglo-American support, the shah, Muhammad Reza Pahlevi,
 of Europeans in the country created resentment, while Euro-

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tracts: Arabism First, On

IRANIAN

Despite the

was

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in two

alliance.

advocated

“positive” nationalism, in contrast to what he
 pean ideas enabled the Iranian intelligentsia to articulate
 characterized as the “negative” nationalism of Mosaddeq.
 their diagnosis of the country’s ills in nationalist terms. They However,
 in 1964 the issue of granting immunities to the
 came to view meaningful national self-determination as the American
 forces stationed in Iran was seen by the opponents
 prerequisite of national regeneration. The burgeoning na- of the
 regime as a clear affront to Iranian national dignity and
 tionalism manifested itself in the Constitutional Revolution sovereignty.
 from 1905 to 1911, which signaled a crucial stage in the
 transformation of the country into a nation-state and sought Like his
 father, Muhammad Reza Shah promoted a cult to create a modern state structure and
 establish institutions tural nationalism that tended to glorify Iran’s
 pre-Islamic
 that embodied the will and sovereignty of the nation. past. A
 notable instance of this was the replacement, in March
 1976, of the Islamic calendar by an imperial one. This and
 Following the coup of 1921, which eventually established similar measures
 antagonized the religious establishment and
 the Pahlevi dynasty, nationalism became the guiding ideol- the pious
 middle classes, contributing to the revolution of
 ogy of the centralizing state and grew as a result its educa- 1978 and
 1979 and the overthrow of the monarchy.
 tional and other modernizing policies. Manifestations of the
 prevailing nationalism ranged from the architecture of state
 Following the revolution, despite the declared ecumenical
 buildings to the attempted purification of the Persian lan- objectives
 of the emerging Islamic regime, nationalism conguage. In the vein of its
 nineteenth-century predecessors, the tinued to be a major force in Iran’s
 social, political, and
 nationalism of the era of Reza Shah Pahlevi invoked the pre- cultural
 life, as well as its foreign policy. The Iran-Iraq war of
 Islamic period of Iranian history as the locus of an authentic 1980 to 1988
 saw the rekindling of strong nationalist senti-
 Iranian national identity and pride. ments, and
 the regime was gradually forced to come to terms
 with or even embrace the Iranian cultural nationalism that it
 The outbreak of the Second World War and the Allied had tried to
 suppress. Similarly, civic nationalist aspirations
 occupation of Iran in 1941 again underlined national vulnera- for popular
 sovereignty, political equality, and meaningful
 bility and enhanced foreign influence. Toward the end of the citizenship
 continued to grow.
 war, Iranian resistance to the Soviet demand for an oil
 concession in northern Iran resulted in the refusal of the See also
 Iran, Islamic Republic of; Mosaddeq, Moham-

Soviet government to withdraw its forces from the country mad;
 Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi; Nationalism:
 and its encouragement of autonomy movements in Iranian Arab;
 Nationalism: Turkish; Revolution: Islamic Revo-
 Azarbaijan and Kurdistan. Iranian efforts and international lution in
 Iran.
 pressure eventually resulted in the Soviet evacuation and the
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 in Iran and the preponderant position of the Anglo-Iranian
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 Oil Company (AIOC). The failure of negotiations to extract
 nian Nation, 1884–1946. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Unifrom the company a
 greater share of the oil revenues for Iran
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 strengthened a nationalist movement, led by the veteran
 parliamentarian Mohammad Mosaddeq, who had spearheaded Vaziri,
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 National Identity. New York: Paragon House, 1993.
 the Iranian refusal to grant an oil concession to the Soviets.
 The movement resulted in the nationalization of the AIOC
 and the premiership of Mosaddeq. Mosaddeq pursued an
 Fakhreddin Azimi
 anti-imperialist, civic nationalism that embraced liberal democratic values and
 was inclusive of all Iranians, regardless of TURKISH
 ethnicity, language, or religion. He saw the nationalization of During the
 nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the
 the oil industry as a legitimate move that expressed and multiethnic,
 multireligious Ottoman Empire was transformed
 strengthened Iranian national sovereignty, facilitated popu- into a
 collection of nation-states in the Balkans and the
 lar self-determination, and provided the needed resources for Middle East.
 This was the result of social and economic
 national regeneration and modernization. developments
 and cultural changes brought about by internal
 and external forces at work in the empire. Although the
 The overthrow of Mosaddeq’s government through the reforms of
 the Tanzimat era (1839–1876) streamlined the
 Anglo-American sponsored coup of August 1953 dealt a empire’s
 administrative and financial institutions and estabsevere blow to Iranian civic
 nationalism. Iran abandoned her lished new ones, it also inadvertently
 helped advance ethnic
 neutralism and, in 1955, formally joined a pro-Western awareness.

Islam and the Muslim World

Nation of Islam

The policies of Ottomanism pursued during the 1870s and 1880s, with the concept of citizenship replacing an Ottoman; Nur Movement; Nursi, Said; Panindividual's status as subject of the sultan, were unable to retain the loyalty of the various ethnic groups in the European provinces of the empire. After the loss of most of the

See also

Empires:

Balkan territories and increasing European political and financial control of the Ottoman government's affairs, Sultan

Lewis,

Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 2d ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Abd al-Hamid II's (1876–1909) policies were affected accordingly. With the influx of Muslims into the empire, mostly from the Caucasus, and the influence of Muslim intellectuals both at home and abroad, pan-Islam replaced

York: I.

A. Uner Turgay

Ottomanism. Islam became the social and political basis of the empire, and the Sultan emphasized his role as caliph, identifying with the anti-imperialist tendencies of Islam.

NATION OF ISLAM

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 brought about fundamental changes. The Union and Progress Party, in charge of the newly established parliament and controlled by Fard Muhammad in 1930 with the lectures of this

The Nation

of Master

urban

Michigan.

the Young Turks, pursued secular and—in some important areas, such as education—pro-Turkish policies. The Arab

At the center of these lectures was the teaching

Revolt in 1916 against the Istanbul government during the large number of Africans enslaved in the Americas were

that a

First World War clearly directed the course of nationalism in that Islam was the “true religion” of these

Muslims and

the Middle East. The nationalist movements of non-Turkish

people.

With knowledge of their Islamic heritage, clean

Muslims, Albanians, and Arabs gave impetus to Turkish a demand for freedom, justice, and equality, these

living, and

nationalism. They influenced the emergence of a Turkish would regain their humanity that had been lost in

Muslims

nationalism with secular tendencies, which received intellectual practice, the Nation of Islam was cemented as a

slavery. In

tual nourishment from its chief ideologue, Ziya Gokalp

religious

community under the leadership and guidance of (1876–1924). Gokalp took a deep interest in the history of the the Honorable Elijah Muhammad by 1934.

ancient Turks and argued that the basis of nationality was Members of the Nation of Islam believe in “the One God culture (hars). This included all feelings, judgments, and whose proper name is Allah, in the Holy Qur an and in the ideals, as distinct from civilization (medeniyet) which encom- Scriptures of all the Prophets of God,” according to Elijah passed rational and scientific knowledge and technology. Muhammad (Message of the Blackman, 1965). Initially there Through his poems and essays, Gokalp sought a national was a belief in a mental resurrection of the dead to which has revival of Turkish history and language. This, along with his been added the Islamic belief in the Day of Judgment. search for new values, led to his movement of Turkism Concurrent with these beliefs the leadership aims at the (Turkculuk). Thus, he in effect underwrote the ideals of reformation of the character of the African-American com- Turkish nationalism.

munity. As with all Muslims, members refrain from drinking alcohol, gambling, and eating pork. Additionally, they avoid During the War of Independence (1919–1922), the narcotics, cigarettes, slang, and profanity and use language National Pact (1919), with its territorial definitions and that encourages courtesy and good manners. populist expressions, set the agenda for the formation in 1923 of the Republic of Turkey. The first two decades of the Malcolm X was a member of the Nation of Islam from Turkish Republic were a period of political and cultural 1952 until his ouster in 1964. Malcolm X was known as a consolidation under its first president, Mustafa Kemal charismatic national spokesman for the Nation of Islam. His (Ataturk). The government relied heavily on Turkey’s past to unauthorized comments on the assassination of President bolster national pride and integration. Kemal blamed the John F. Kennedy precipitated his ouster. Pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, inspired him to permanently leave the Nation of Islam to religious leaders for opposing the spirit of Islam, and effec- of Islam to tively reinterpreted religion and its role in the society accord- Muhammad ing to nationalist ideas. Being aware of the symbolic powers upon the death of his father, the Honorable Elijah Muhamdisestablished the then-existing political, legal, and educa- mad, in 1975. He moved the majority of the community from

tional institutions of Islam, replacing them with adaptations of Western models. Turkish nationalism substituted itself for all loyalties and values earlier expressed through religion, and thus became the ideology of the Republic. toward stricter observance of Islamic rituals and

Islam and the Muslim World

505

Nawruz

practice. In the twenty-first century this development complements a continuing focus on the plight of African Americans. by Ehsan Yarshater. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. See also Farrakhan, Louis; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Muhammad, Warith Deen; United States, Islam

Anne H. Betteridge

in the.

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Mu tazilite thinker. He was born in 782 C.E. and grew up in Essien-Udom, E. U. Black Nationalism. Chicago: University was trained by his maternal uncle Abu 'l-Hudhayl alof Chicago Press, 1962.

Allaf, and took part in scholarly

debates there in his early youth. He moved to Baghdad in the early 820s, where he Aminah Beverly McCloud received the support of the Abbasid caliphs until his death

sometime between 835 and 845. He taught many Mu tazilite scholars of the ninth century, among whom was his follower al-Jahiz.

NAWRUZ

In addition to his skills as a poet, Nazzam was interested in Nawruz, literally "new day," is the Iranian holiday that philosophy and ancient Iranian culture. Though he celebrates the beginning of spring. Nawruz was observed in various discussions with Muslim scholars, most of his Zoroastrian Persia and has long been celebrated in areas directed against Christians, Jews, dualists, and

influenced by Persian culture. Nawruz begins at the vernal naturalists. He wrote many books (estimated at thirty-nine), equinox on the first day of Farvardin, the first month of the all of which are lost with the exception of some fragments, Iranian solar calendar, and lasts thirteen days. Renewal of mostly relating to scientific or philosophical issues, including home and of social ties are evident in the housecleaning that a refutation of Aristotelian logic.

precedes Nawruz and in the visits paid to relatives and friends, in order of seniority, throughout the holiday. People Nazzam disagreed with Abu 'l-Hudayl's atomist theory of wear new clothes at Nawruz, and children receive presents physics by rejecting the existence of isolated particles within of money. the created bodies, and their change through accidents.

Changes occur in bodies, according to Nazzam, with the Central to the Nawruz celebration in Iran is the sofreh-e appearance of hidden (kumun) interior components by a leap haft sin, or "cloth of the seven s's"—a decorative arrangement of motions (tafra). Acting bodies are subjected to infinite divisions of seven objects whose names in Persian begin with the letter by their created nature (khilqa), though not all motions s. These are usually sumac (somaq), hyacinth (sonbol), garlic are perceptible. Nazzam did not focus on the attrib- utes of God in his theological system. Regarding the protecsprouted wheat or other greens (sabzi), all of which are tion of Qur anic revelation, he developed the theory of its

displayed together with a mirror, candles, colored eggs, a being prevented (sarfa) from challenges of unbelievers by goldfish in a bowl, and the holy book of the family that is God rather than earlier theories about the linguistic impossicelebrating the holiday. bility (i jaz) of its being imitated. He also recommended a critical approach toward the acceptance of transmitted re-

Nawruz is a national Iranian holiday, celebrated by memports and traditions (akhbar). The original views of Nazzam bers of all religious groups, and a marker of ethnic identity gained support and elicited reactions both inside and outside among groups associated with Persian culture outside Iran. of his school. Thus, he created an intellectual liveliness in the Nawruz ends with a picnic (sizdah beh dar—"thirteenth out-Muslim scholarship of that era. side"), at which each family's sabzi is tossed away, preferably into running water, to take with it any lingering unhappiness See also Kalam; Mu tazilites; Mu tazila. of the past year.

See also Ibadat; Ritual; Vernacular Islam.

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506

Islam and the Muslim World

Networks, Muslim

Frank, Richard M. *Being and Their Attributes: The Teachings of* presided

over a vast system of constant exchange and negotia-

Basrian School of the Mu tazila in the Classical Period. Albany: tion. The

sultan was a Muslim networker par excellence. The

State University of New York Press, 1978. wealth of

his tiny court depended on tribute levied from

neighboring regions, but also from the ships that used the

M. Sait Özervarli harbor at Aceh. Later, in the sixteenth century, the

sultan of

Aceh fought, with initial success, against the invading Portuguese, who were

using the Indian Ocean to establish their

own trading network. However, he was never able to consoli-

NETWORKS, MUSLIM date his

own regional power beyond Aceh, due in part to the

emergence of other like-minded Muslim sultanates in neigh-

Muslim networks, like all networks, are decentralized circuits boring

port-city states that were strewn along the vast Malay

of communication and exchange that depend on mutual trust

archipelago.

and reciprocal need. Muslim networks are very old, dating back to the seventh

century. They embrace the pre- Later sultans of Aceh were

able to benefit from expanded

Muslim networks of pagan Arabia, trading networks that networks

that linked them to powerful overseas Muslim

linked a merchant named Muhammad to the citied world of allies,

both in India (the Moguls) and Turkey (the Ottomans).

Mesopotamia and beyond. Because

he served as the common overlord of others, the

prince carried the title of sultan. This was so even though the

Early History

sultans never subdued the interior of the island, and even

Trading networks include travel in search of knowledge,

though Aceh itself was divided into many smaller districts, pilgrimage on behalf of faith, and proselytizing networks to each governed by hereditary chiefs.

spread the faith. The fourteenth-century network of the famous traveler Ibn Battuta reveals a vast Islamic world that office of sultan marks both the power and limits of extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the Malay Peninsula. Its persistence from India to Indonesia demonstrates the cultural diffusion of a major Islamic political institution. Even the seal of the sultan of Aceh was linked to one another through port cities upon which they fold, paralleling that of the Mogul emperors, and like his

depended for sea trade and the transportation of both people counterpart, the sultan of Aceh claimed to be the and goods. The annual pilgrimage, or hajj, presupposed God on Earth. Yet the two seals applied to very overland and sea connections to the Hijaz region on the Red politics. While the shadow of God on earth projected the great Mogul as the semi-divine lord of a vast realm, and reinforced these same networks.

the sultan of Aceh ruled a domain no bigger than Goa, the Portugese enclave of western India. At the same time, the Proselytizing often occurred through Sufi orders, organninefold Mogul seal competed with another local emblem, ized male brotherhoods that traced their roots back to the the fivefold seal used by the hereditary chiefs of Aceh. The period of the prophet Muhammad and expressed Islamic latter signified the hand as a symbol of power, and meant the loyalty through devotion to saintly persons and pursuit of ability not only to project power over others, but also to inner purity. The role of Sufi orders was as inextricable from protect one's own possessions and territory. By retaining local politics as it was from transregional commerce, and both seals, the Achenese sultan sought to proclaim both his nowhere is that role more evident than in the expansion of Malay and his Mogul identity as equally authoritative, yet he Islam from South Asia to Southeast Asia through Indian remained a local ruler with aspirations that far exceeded his Ocean networks of trade, travel, and proselytization. practical resources and actual options.

The Case of Aceh

Aceh, a port city situated at the northern tip of Sumatra greater force of Indian Ocean networks may have astride the Strait of Malacca, exemplifies the ways in which

The

Muslim

Mogul

shadow of

different

jected

The

been in

the religious rather than the political realm. In the major nodes in the various networks of the early Muslim of Aceh, as in Mogul India, Islamic devotion was empires worked. Aceh was the first area of modern-day linked to the mediating power of Muslim saints. Just as Indonesia in which a Muslim kingdom was established. Marco traders came to the Malay Peninsula seeking ex-Polo observed a Muslim king on the north coast of Sumatra in markets, spiritual leaders who were identified with 1292, over a half-century before the oceanic voyage of Ibn institutional Sufi brotherhoods came with them, but seeking Battuta landed him further to the south on the same island. markets. These Sufi masters exemplified the appeal of the Muhammadan Way, and Islamic loyalty is often Ibn Battuta had traveled throughout the Muslim world with them—specifically with the tomb cults that from port cities in the Mediterranean to Arabia to India Aceh. While the actual Achenese tombs are less before finally arriving at Aceh in the Malay Peninsula. He than those of their precursors in Mughal India, both found the sultan of Aceh to be an orthodox Muslim who the persistent tradition of visiting saintly tombs. And

sultanate
often
Muslim
panded
different
identified
pervade
grand
reflect

Islam and the Muslim World

507

Networks, Muslim

the purpose of such local pilgrimages is functionally similar in effect, the Muslim networks of modern-day Indone-India, Indonesia, and throughout the Indian Ocean. What-mirror the politically centrist power of the colonial, then ever their background or status, pilgrims came to these tombs postcolonial state. The nodes were not equivalent; but all of with gifts and vows, seeking the spiritual favor of saints for separate provinces, from Aceh to Timor, came to reflect material or medical relief. the pre-eminence of Java, and its capital city, Jakarta.

state. In
sia
the

Two other features of all Muslim networks are evident in Southeast Asia, networks of colonization and the case of Aceh: internal difference and external limits. The proliferated throughout the Muslim world, from relation of formal religious authorities (ulema) to representa-Indian Ocean to the shores of the Atlantic. Though tives of indigenous traditions was marked by tension, nego-decentralized, they were marked by the same transregional tiation, and compromise. An oft-repeated dyad pits pre-mutual trust and reciprocal need. A notable example

Beyond
migration
the
logic of

conversionary (pre-Muhammad) disbelief (jahiliyya) against is the
new strand of Shi'ite loyalty that emerged during the
divinely revealed faith (iman/Islam). It evokes a radical experi-
eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at the same time as the
ential break between the old and the new, the impure and the Mogul and
Safavid empires were experiencing internal revolt
pure, the false and the true. In Southeast Asian Islam the dyad and
foreign invasion. From Karbala and Najaf, shrine cities in
is framed as *adat* (Ar. *ada*) and *hukum* (Ar. *hukm*), where *adat* the
Shi'ite heartland of Iraq, to commercial centers in Iran, to
refers to all that stands outside juridical Islam, and *hukum* princely
courts in northern India, there emerged a Shi'ite
means "laws," or the announced guidelines of Islamic collec-
network of scholarly and also familial connections. The
tive life. Yet the distinction is less observed in practice than it traffic
was two-way, providing material as well as spiritual
is proclaimed in theory. For Achenese Muslims, the two polar benefit
to all nodes on this extensive transregional circuit.
extremes of social identity can, and did, merge. Social rela- While
juridical scholars of Iraq and Iran received large sums
tions between so-called representatives of *adat*, the hereditary from
their wealthy Indian coreligionists, the scholars of India
chiefs, and and the champions of *hukum*, the ulema, were benefited
from the prestige of their northern neighbors. Each
more often marked by at least tacit politeness, and often of them
found that the pursuit of rational sciences, along with
mutual respect. Muslim networks in Aceh, as elsewhere, the
traditional religious sciences, not only enforced their own
inscribed difference even when they celebrated transnational sense of
academic prominence but also allowed them to
solidarity. engage
European science.

Colonial History

Though wary of rational sciences, the Sunni world also
From the seventeenth century on a major challenge to Mus- expanded
its networks of learning, through the travel and
lim networks came through the imposition of colonial rule. exchange
of reform-minded scholars. From the Arabian Pen-
Dutch and Portuguese, then British and French commercial insula,
whether the ritual heartland of the Hijaz or the
empires not only expanded overseas by oceanic routes, they strategic
port cities of Yemen, to the east coast of Africa and
also incorporated and then transformed the preexisting Mus- to the
Asian archipelago, Muslim reformers responded to the
lim networks. As Kenneth McPherson has observed, in his European
colonial incursions by forming their own scholarly

essay “Port Cities as Nodal Points of Change,” throughout networks, committed to reviving and expanding the textual the Indian Ocean region some ports became centers of Islamic subjects. More than a few of these Sunni European political, economic, and military power, while others declined or vanished. “The great European-controlled one of the most socially active of Sufi orders, the ports such as Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Rangoon, Naqshbandiyya. They promoted Islamic revitalization at all Penang, Singapore, and Jakarta grew at the expense of other and they also advocated a double jihad, militarily ports in Gujarat, Bengal, southern India, the Malay Penin- European imperialism and intellectually against imisula, and Java, which either declined or refocused their economies to become feeder points for these great ports or enclaves of local maritime activity.”	core of networks and to levels, against
	Muslim

Networks in the Information Age

The revolution in communications that marked the late
The fate of Aceh was poignant. During the last decades
twentieth-century global economy also transformed the naof the nineteenth
century, the harbor king, the sultan of ture of Muslim networks.
Cassette tapes helped foster the
Aceh, was able to keep his maritime polity cohesive by Iranian
Revolution. Satellite TV overrides governmental
subsuming hereditary chiefs under his authority, at the same controls
on local TV stations to beam alternative Muslim
time as he waged war against the Dutch. When the Dutch messages,
including cleric talk shows, fatwa workshops, and a
finally subdued the Achenese, after more than thirty-five variety
of Islamic entertainment to Arabic-speaking audiyears of warfare, they shifted
the reins of political power to ences. Since 1997, a major alternative
to CNN-style global
Java. A bloody guerilla campaign against Indonesian forces news has
been provided through the Gulf based Al-Jazeera.
persisted until 1956, when Aceh was recognized as an CD-ROMs,
too, have become popular, circulating both literautonomous province yet made
subservient to the Javanese ary texts and visual artifacts to
broad Muslim audiences.

\$ \$

" # Venice Cherson
45°N Genoa
S i l k R o a d

Ravenna

Constantinople
Naples Salonika Trapezus

Carthage Antioch
Silk R
oad Kashgar
Nisibis Samarkand
Ctesiphon
Tyre Seleucia
Damascus Ubulla
30°N Alexandria Jerusalem
Siraf
Yathrib Daybul

Canton
Mecca Muscat

Adulis

Aksum Aden

Calicut

15°W 0°
N

Trade Routes Across

! " #

the Muslim World of
the 7th and 8th Centuries

0 500 1,000 mi.
Trade route 45°E
15°S 0 500 1,000 km

City

120°E

60°E

75°E

90°E

105°E

Seventh- and eighth-century trade routes. XNR PRODUCTIONS/GALE

Finally, there is the Internet, which offers many networking options, from chat groups to websites, and, of course, e-mail.

George W. Bush marked terrorism as, above all, Muslim. All these options for expanded exchange and alternative inspired, even while proclaiming that Islam itself was not to authorities rely on access and speed but, even more, on the blame, just certain Muslims. Many news groups have referred need for new criteria of trust.

to al-Qa ida, the guerrilla organization linked to the Saudi dissident Usama bin Ladin and cofounded by the Egyptian. These new conditions for the exchange of information doctor Ayman al-Zawahiri, as a terrorist network. It is terrorhave generated new kinds of networks, most notably

ist because it intends to destroy Western, specifically Ameritransnational alliances of women who are working for con- can, targets wherever it can find them. And it is a network flict resolution, human security, and justice at the local and precisely because it is structured around nodes that commuglobal levels. Since the 1980s, and particularly since the 1985

nicate with one another in nonlinear space, relying on neither United Nations conference on women in Nairobi, networks a hierarchical chain of command nor conventional rules of of Muslim women have been fighting for their rights in a engagement. Al-Qa ida might be best defined as a coalition of newly Islamizing political context where women's rights and

dispersed network nodes intent on waging asymmetrical roles are highly contested. Some of these women's networks warfare. Like Colombian and Mexican drug cartels, they are local, like the ones that have appeared in Pakistan, Sudan, feature small, nimble, and dispersed units capable of peneand Algeria; others have a global reach, like the Women

trating and disrupting, with the intent to destroy, massive Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML), whose Islamic femi- structures. Often they elude pursuit and evade capture, alnist agenda is to empower women to seek their rights as

though in the case of al-Qa ida, its operatives kill themselves, observant Muslims, and it includes the exchange of informa- or are killed by others, in each nodal attack on a fixed target tion about ways to deal with gender discrimination and also or group.

transnational collaboration to reform Muslim Personal Law

to make it more friendly to women.

While the case of al-Qa ida has become compelling in the aftermath of 11 September 2001, there is another case that In the current era, as in preceding phases of rapid change, demonstrates the long-term organizational power of modern networks remain pivotal yet ambivalent. The war that inaugurated the twenty-first century was the U.S.-led attack on subject of intense scrutiny after the U.S.-led invasion in Islam and the Muslim World

509

Nikah

October 2001. Much media footage was devoted to the oppression of veiled, secluded, and often brutalized Afghan women, yet decades before 11 September 2001 a network of Afghan women had mobilized, and also projected themselves, the act of sexual intercourse, nikah is the term by their history, and their cause, via the Internet. RAWA, or the marriage is referred to in the Qur an. Islamic law Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, defines nikah as a civil contract whose main function is to predated the Internet. It was founded in 1977, even before the sexual relations between a man and woman licit. Any Soviet invasion, and it worked to defeat the Soviets but also to sexual relations outside the nikah contract constitute the provide help for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. It was a network crime of zina (illicit sexual relations) and are subject to of transnational cooperation and multitiered resistance punishment. In practice, nikah is enacted in a ceremony throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Now its pivotal role on intertwined with religious symbolism and rituals such as the behalf of Afghan women has been dramatized through its recitation of al-Fatiha, the first verse of the Qur an, usually website at www.rawa.org, where RAWA advocates strive to performed by religious functionaries, although Islamic law maintain a distance both from the Taliban and their would-be does not positively prescribe any service. successors, the Northern Alliance. RAWA, even more than al-Qa ida, demonstrates not just the persistence but the See also Marriage.

resilience of Muslim networks as a major form of social and political organization.

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Muslim networks are no longer primarily male-dominated Bousquet, Georges Henry. "La Conception du Nikah selon structures. They include women and others who resist op- les

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 pression and who participate in horizontal alliances that (1948):
 63–74.
 project Muslim values of justice. Above all, they seek to build El Alami,
 Dawoud. *Marriage Contract in Islamic Law*. London:
 structures that are at once democratic and capitalist, yet not Graham &
 Trotman, 1992.
 coeval with Euro-American imperialism. While it is too early Maghniyyah,
 Muhammad Jawad. *Marriage According to Five*
 to gauge their impact, it is impossible to ignore either their Schools of
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See also Globalization; Ibn Battuta; Internet; Qaida,
 al-; Travel and Travelers.

Ziba Mir-Hosseini

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 amma (Ar., niyabat al- amma) is a term most
 ture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Edited by commonly used
 in Imami jurisprudence to refer to the “gen-
 Leila Taraza Fawaz and C. A. Bayly. New York: Columbia eral
 delegation” of religious authorities and to the Imami
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ulema in the absence of the imam. In early Shiism, there was
 Moghadam, Val M. “Organizing Women: The New Women’s an
 acceptance that the imams, when present, designated a
 Movement in Algeria.” *Cultural Dynamics* 13, no. 2
 particular individual (naib) to perform particular tasks on
 (2001): 131–154

behalf of the imam. With the imam’s absence (ghayba), a
 Moghadam, Val M. “Women, the Taleban, and the Politics
 notion that the scholars (and more specifically the jurists)
 of Public Space in Afghanistan.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 25,
 no. 1 (2002): 1–13. were delegated (niyaba), as a
 class, to perform certain functions normally reserved for the imam developed in

the juristic

Robinson, Francis. "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems." *Journal of Islamic writings of scholars such as al-Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d. 1277) Studies 8, no. 2 (1997): 151–184.* and his influential pupil al-Allama al-Hilli (d. 1325). The delegation was eventually extended, through a series of Bruce B. Lawrence reinterpretations of the imams' words, to refer to a "general Miriam Cooke delegation" of the scholarly class to take the place of the imam

510

Islam and the Muslim World

Nizari

in those areas of the law where his presence is normally

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essential. The work of Ali al-Karaki (d. 1533) and al-Shahid Nizam al-Mulk. The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The al-Thani (d. 1588) in this area represent the earliest expressions of Siyasat-nama or Siyar al-Muluk of Nizam al-Mulk. Translations of this doctrine. These areas of law included duties such as outlined by Hubert Darke. London: Routledge and Kegan as the distribution of the religious levies, zakat and khums, the Paul, 1960.

leading of Friday prayer and, eventually, the waging of the jihad. The "general delegation" theory provided the basis for

Warren C. Schultz

the more directly political theory of wilayat al-faqih (Ar., velayat-e faqih) developed by Ayatollah Khomeini in the 1960s and 1970s.

NIZARI

See also Hilli, Allama al-; Hilli, Muhhaqqiq al-; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); Ulama; Velayat-e Faqih. The Nizari, or more properly the Nizari Ismaili Muslims, like other Shi'i communities, acknowledge Ali as imam after

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the Prophet. The Nizari Ismailis have continued to give Arjomand, Saïd Amir. The Shadow of God and the Hidden allegiance to imams descended from Ali, on the basis of the Imam. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984. principle of designation (nass) by the imam of the time. As of Calder, Norman. "Legitimacy and Accommodation in Safavid 2002, His Highness the Aga Khan, Shah Karim al-Husayni, is Iran: The Juristic Theory of Muhammad Baqir al- the forty-ninth hereditary imam. Sabzavari." *Iran 25 (1987): 91–105.*

Following the decline of the Fatimid Isma'ili dynasty and Robert Gleave the death of Imam al-Mustansir Billah in 1094, one group of Isma'ilis continued to give allegiance to the previously designated imam, al-Nizar (hence their name), and moved their headquarters to Iran and Syria, where they established independent principalities. Though under constant threat, their centers flourished under the imams as important places of learning, international trade, and diplomacy for almost two hundred years, before being destroyed during the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century.

Nizam al-Mulk ("good order of the kingdom") is the title by which the Seljuk wazir Hasan b. Ali b. Ishaq al-Tusi is most commonly known. Nizam al-Mulk rose to prominence serving Sultan Alp Arslan (1063–1072), and for much of the reign of Sultan Malik Shah (1072–1092) he was ruler in all but Faced by new challenges of reorganization, often in the name. Nizam al-Mulk was an individual of many talents: face of hostile opposition, the Nizaris gained control of several administrator, patron, military man, and author, as well as a strategically located mountain centers in Iran and Syria led, skilled and occasionally ruthless competitor in court intrigues. An ardent supporter of the Sunni ulema, he and Sinan, two leading da'is (representatives of the imam) of the structured and endowed a number of madrasas (centers for the time. These provided defensible centers from where to study of Islamic law) in Iran and Iraq, which were called to organize a decentralized and scattered community. They were continually Nizamiyyas after him, the most famous being the Nizamiyya attacked by successive Seljuk rulers but were able to offer a strong defense from their inaccessible castles. One legend that are not explicitly known, but these institutions certainly labeled them "assassins," which was developed by their contributed to the subsequent intellectual and political re-enemies and embellished by Marco Polo, became curial seen in Sunnism. In the last years of his life, Nizam al-Mulk was prominent in popular writings. However, modern scholarship has shown these Mulk wrote a model for princes known alternatively as the Siyasat-nama or Siyar al-muluk. This Persian-language work to religious bigotry, prejudice, and sheer invention than historical is noteworthy for its frank discussion of the steps necessary for an absolute ruler to administer his realm, and is sprinkled with references to philosophers and pre-Islamic kings as well During

the next five centuries after the destruction of the
as to Islamic concepts. The reforms it urged were never centers in
Iran in 1258, the Nizaris, though scattered and
implemented, no doubt due to the deaths of the author and often
persecuted, sustained their religious, intellectual, and
shortly thereafter its immediate intended reader, Malik Shah. community
traditions in Iran, Syria, Central Asia, and the
Nizam al-Mulk's assassination in 1092 was linked by contem- Indian
subcontinent. They maintained contacts with the
poraries (and near-contemporaries) to either the Assassins, imam of the
time living in Iran, and they further developed
the sultan Malik Shah, or both. the
Isma ili intellectual heritage in Arabic, Persian, and the
vernacular Central Asian and Indian languages that has sur-
See also Assassins; Education; Madrasa. vived in
written as well as oral forms.

Islam and the Muslim World

511

Nurcu

In the nineteenth century, the Nizari Isma ili imamat manifests itself
in its vision of the ideal society, one that is a
moved from Iran to India and then to Europe. Many follow- moral yet
educated and scientifically competitive collectivity.
ers migrated in the later part of the twentieth century to The message
is disseminated by its followers through an
Africa, Europe, America, and Canada, where they have also increasing
use of modern technologies of mass communicabeen joined by a small number of
Nizari Isma ilis migrating tion. However, adherents of the Nur movement
are selective
from Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria. In the early twenty-first in their
openness to modernity. The movement is also a
century, this community of diverse backgrounds is found in critique of
several characteristics of modernity. Nursi's teachall five continents and
some thirty countries. ings challenge individualism. As
Serif Mardin points out, Said
Nursi's primary aim was always to "repersonalize Turkish
The imamat (office of the imam) and the heritage of Islam,
society through the personalized stamp of the Risale-i Nur"
as expressed within Nizari Isma ili Shi ism, continues to be at
(p. 12). This was an attempt to preserve strong communal ties
the heart of the modern emergence of the community. It is
against the individualistic tendencies of modernization.
guided in the respective national contexts by constitutions
that bring a common pattern of practice and governance, and
The movement has been largely a product of the tension
a strong ethos of voluntarism and development in social,

between Islamization and secularization, which originated in educational, and economic spheres. Spiritual and devotional life is maintained in the Jamaatkhana, spaces of gathering, in order to reconcile Islam and Western constitutionalism during the each major place of Ismaili settlement, which in some cases late Ottoman period. Said Nursi suggested compromises in are buildings of outstanding Muslim design and architecture. order to deal with this tension under the rule of the Ottoman See also Aga Khan; Khojas; Shi'a: Ismaili. Empire. He challenged the division of education into three separate streams: medrese (Ar., madrasa, religious school), BIBLIOGRAPHY tekke (Sufi

hospice), and secular education. His suggestion Azim, Nanji. The Nizari Ismaili Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan was the reintroduction of religious studies to secular schools. Subcontinent. New York: Caravan Books, 1978. His aim was to incorporate competent ulema into the tekke. Jamal, Nadia Eboo. Surviving the Mongols: Nizari Quhistani After the fall of the empire, Said Nursi visited the new and the Continuity of Ismaili Tradition in Persia. London: parliament in Ankara once in 1922. Being frustrated by the I. B. Tauris, 2002. cold reception and tension, he withdrew from politics for good. After the consolidation of the secular Turkish Republic Azim Nanji in 1923, the tension between secularizing and Islamizing forces never ceased. Aiming at a radical break from the Ottoman Empire, the founding father, Ataturk, initiated a series of secularizing reforms that relegated Islam to the NURCU See Nur Movement private sphere and de-Islamized the public sphere, (for example, the ban of the fez and veil). When the sects were banned in 1926, the Nur movement continued to expand rapidly and soon after was seen as a threat to the secular state. The pendulum swung from repression to tolerance for Islam, NUR MOVEMENT when a multiparty system was initiated in the 1950s. The Nur Movement (Nurçuluk) is a Turkish Islamic movement. The Nur movement remained suspicious of politics. Some ment inspired by a modern reinterpretation of the Quran in followers became close to certain parties and state bureauthe volumes Risale-i Nur (Epistle of light). The risales (episcrats. The movement was known for its sympathy for and tles) of the leader of the movement, Bediuzzaman Said Nursi strong ties to the Democrat Party in the 1950s. Later, some (1876–1960), were first published in 1926. The Nur is not a sect but a social movement mainly because it does not have a Nur followers

were associated with Necmeddin Erbakan and formal structure and procedures for membership. Like a his religious party, National Salvation (1973–1981). Howschool, Nur has students. The followers of Nur constitute an ever, the strong faith and national feelings mobilized by the Islamic community movement that can be seen as a set of movement did not become a part of a separate political party. effective personal networks.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the political disagree- The primary goal of the movement is to revitalize faith ments and economic differences among the followers of Nur under the conditions of modernization. The movement as- led to fragmentation. The largest and most effective group pires to reconcile several apparent contradictions such as that emerged out of Nur is the Gulen Community movethose between modernity and tradition, religion and ration- ment, led by Fethullah Guler. Beginning in the early 1990s, it ality, faith and science, belief and doubt, and the West and became organized and institutionalized not only in Turkey Islam. This middle ground positioning of the movement but also internationally, particularly in the new states of

512

Islam and the Muslim World

Nursi, Said

Central Asia. Although the Gulen movement inherited the A. Arjomand. Translated by Hamid Dabashi. Albany: nationalist and modernist orientation of Nur, it deviated State University of New York Press, 1988. from its forefathers by the engagements with the secular state, and its expansion to the international realm.

Mohammad H. Faghfoory

See also Erbakan, Necmeddin; Nursi, Said; Secularization; Young Ottomans.

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NURSI, SAID (1876–1960)

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Said Nursi (also known as Bediuzzaman, or Light of the Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

Times) was born in Bitlis in eastern Turkey. He received his early education at various religious schools in the region, Berna Turam

mostly under the direction of the teachers who belonged to the Naqshbandi order (an orthodox Sufi order). In 1907 and 1908 in Istanbul and Salonica, he advocated the establishment of a university in Erzurum where physical sciences

NURI, FAZLALLAH (1843–1909)

would be taught alongside religious topics, and supported the
Hajj Shaykh Fazlallah b. Mulla Abbas Mazandarani Tehrani, Young
Turks's constitutional revolution.

commonly known as Fazlallah Nuri, was born in the village of
Although he supported Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) during
Nuri in Mazandaran. He was a prominent Iranian Shi'ite
the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1922), he was
scholar and the marja'-e taqlid (source of emulation) of
arrested in 1925 and exiled to Barla in the province of Isparta
Tehran at the turn of the twentieth century. He studied in
for his alleged participation in the Shaikh Said (Ar., Shaykh
Najaf with Mohammad Hasan Shirazi and reached the rank
of mujtahid at a young age. Sa'id)

revolt in eastern Turkey. Here he began writing his
Risale-i Nur (Epistle of light), the basis for the religious-
Nuri actively participated in the constitutional revolution intellectual
movement known as Nurculuk.

of 1905–1906. He played a controversial role in the events of
the revolution, first supporting and then turning against
Distrusted and opposed for his religious views by the
constitutional government. Nuri agreed with his opponents Kemalist
state, Said Nursi was arrested, imprisoned, and

on the necessity of the rule of law and restrictions on the exiled to
various Anatolian cities, although the accusations
tyrannical power of the king. Being cognizant of the dangers were never
proved. During the elections of the 1950s he
of a secular constitution to Islam and the Shi'ite ulema, supported
the newly formed Democratic Party. It was at this
however, he declared constitutionalism incompatible with time that
his major works were published in Latin script.

Islam. Instead, he advocated the mashrutah-ye mashru'ah, that After a
brief illness he died in Urfa in southeastern Turkey.

is, a constitution based on the laws of Islam. Later in the
same year his grave was moved to an unknown
location in Isparta.

Nuri published his argument against constitutional government in several
treatises including Nizam nameh-ye islami Through his writings Said
Nursi argued that religion

(Islamic constitution), Tadhkirat al-ghafil wa irshad al-jahil (A reflects
the social and human environment and that Islam

reminder to the negligent and guidance for the ignorant), and could be
interpreted according to the current needs of soci-

Lawayih (Letters) in which he argued that mashrutah (consti- ety. His

Risale-i Nur, a commentary on the Qur'an, explains

tution) was against the precepts of Shi'ite Islam. He became and expounds
the "truth" in the Holy Book. There he also

the most outspoken critic of the constitution of 1906–1907 that materialistic philosophy challenges Islamic ethics and the most ardent opponent of the constitutionalists. Nuri’s concepts of social and economic justice. agitation against constitutionalist forces brought him into conflict with them, who captured and finally hanged him in Nur Movement; Young Ottomans; Young Tehran in July 1909. Turks.

argues
and the

See also

See also Reform: Iran; Revolution: Islamic Revolution in Iran. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Islam and the Muslim World

513

O

ORGANIZATION OF THE

Mashet, Abdel Monem al-. The Organization of the Islamic Conference in a Changing World. Cairo: Friedrich-Ebert-ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

Stiftung, 1994.

Since the nineteenth century, Muslim thinkers have pro-Qamar-ul Huda

posed pan-Islamic ideas of uniting the Islamic community with common political, economic, and social goals. After the creation of modern independent states in the Muslim world, which were primarily governed by secularist, nationalists, and ORIENTALISM

socialist ideologies, King Faysal of Saudi Arabia desired to counteract the trend of secularization by cooperating with Orientalism as a field of scholarship that first emerged in the other Muslim leaders to create the Organization of Islamic eighteenth century, when European scholars of the Enlight-Conference (OIC). The formation of the OIC coincided with enment period consciously studied Asian languages and culthe successive military defeats in the Arab-Israeli wars and the tures to gain a richer understanding of the Middle Eastern

loss of holy sites in Jerusalem like the Al-Aqsa Mosque. As a literary and historical environment in which Judaism and, result, leaders of Islamic nations were compelled to meet in ultimately, Christianity, emerged. Some of the major French, Rabat to establish the OIC in May 1971.

English, and German scholars engaged in this endeavor were Armand-Pierre Caussin de Perceval (1795–1871), Ernest Renan (1823–1892), Edward W. Lane (1801–1876), Franz Bopp (1791–1867), Heinrich L. Fleischer (1801–1888), and Julian Wellhausen (1844–1918). Immediately following World War II, academic interest in Orientalism underwent a transinternational peace and security; and advance education, formation, ultimately splitting out into specialized area studies particularly in the fields of science and technology. In recent years the OIC evolved from a sectarian group solely focused on economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, and issues related to Muslim nations to an organization in-der studies, history, and religious studies. The field of Orientalism was no longer based in any one department or such as the Iraq-Iran war, the Persian Gulf war, the U.N.'s discipline, and this is credited to such illustrious scholars as peacekeeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Phillip Hitti, Gustave von Grunebaum, and Hamilton Gibb, who developed Orientalism curricula and divisions in major universities in the United States.

See also Pan-Islam.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) was a powerful critique of the

of the field, and its origins. In this volume, Said sought to illustrate how the study of Asian and Islamic cultures was connected to European imperialism and its goal of maintaining power and hegemony over non-Europeans. He argued that the Orient has historically served as a symbolic marker of European superiority and modern cultural identity. For Said, historical Orientalist literature was never interested in Islam

Orientalism

as it is viewed and practiced by Muslims. Rather, it was an Critics of Edward Said's work often come from the field of

exercise in self-identity created by means of defining the Eastern and South Asian studies. They assert that he “other.” In other words, Said suggested that Orientalists is unaware of contemporary methodologies and trends in treated others—in this case, Muslims and Asians—as objects scholarship. For instance, one of the major arguments against defined not in terms of their own discourses, but solely in Said’s Orientalism is that current scholars in the field are not terms of standards and definitions imposed on them from involved with any imperialistic agenda; that they are not outside. Among the influences underlying these definitions interested in proving the superiority of the Western culture was, in Said’s view, a long-standing Western concern with over non-Western cultures or in enhancing the self-identity presenting Islam as opposed to Christianity. of Western culture. According to many of these critics, Said may have contributed to a historical analysis of Orientalist In exploring the relationship of knowledge, power, and literature, but he is unaware of the astonishingly creative ways colonialism, Said is in agreement with Jean-Paul Sartre and in which cultures and religious traditions are explored within Franz Fannon that from the time of pre-Crusader rallies, current scholarship. They argue that he has erroneously Christian writers were consumed with attacking Islam and juxtaposed a disturbing past of scholarship with the works of the prophet Muhammad in order to earn legitimacy with modern scholars, without considering the immense achievement of fellow Christians. Polemical literature against Islam, like monuments that were accomplished in the field. John of Damascus, concentrated on how the Prophet falsified revelation, had multiple marriages, had used violence in his “Orientalism” is rarely used in the academy today, except lifetime, and experienced self-delusional spiritual visions. for a few centers and journals that have retained the title. The polemical literature created a cycle of hate and promoted Instead, the field is identified by its component areas of study, Islam as an evil religion with a demonically possessed prophet. such as Middle Eastern Studies, North African Studies, According to Said, Renaissance scholars like John Gagnier Iranian Studies, or South Asian Studies. In each area study, (d.1740) and Edward Pocock (c.1650) began translating Islamic scholars employ a wide variety of interdisciplinary approaches sources into European languages not to enhance opportunities and methodologies. For example, scholars who are trained in ties for crosscultural dialogue, but rather to assess the value of literature find it acceptable to incorporate gender studies, knowledge production in Islam. Notable scholars like Thoma-

comparative studies, and other related forms of knowledge
 mas Carlyle, Immanuel Kant, and Liebnitz viewed Islam as a
 as part of their work. Most recently, theoretical approaches
 rational and reasonable religion, but were more interested in
 such as post-colonial theory or subaltern studies
 pursuing the psychological makeup of the Muslims and have
 played an important role in scholarly research.
 learning how they went about constructing and sustaining a
 See also Colonialism.

religious tradition. Said argued that Orientalists of the Renaissance were
 driven to understand Muslims only to prove
 that Islam was a false religion and stood in the way of truth. By

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targeting the deficiencies of the Prophet and of Islam, Little,
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 Orientalist literature was connected to evangelical purposes, the
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 used to create a sense of Christian superiority and to ulti- North
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mately delegitimize the tradition of “the other”: Islam. Said,
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For Said, the field of Orientalism is thus the net result of a
 historical vision of Islam rooted in the Christian European
 Waardenberg, Jean-Jacques. Islam dans le miroir de l’Occident.
 imagination. In the terms of this imagination, Islam could Paris:
 Mouton, 1963.

only be viewed as monolithic, scornful of human life, unchanging, uncreative,
 authoritarian, and intrinsically factitious.

Qamar-ul Huda

516

Islam and the Muslim World

P

PAKISTAN, ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF over
 the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and Pakistan’s entry
 into American-sponsored defense alliances: the Southeast
 Pakistan secured independence on 14 August 1947 with the Asia
 Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact
 breakup of the British Indian Empire into two countries,
 (later the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTRO). After
 India and Pakistan. The idea behind the creation of Pakistan
 playing political games behind the scene for years, the miliwas to provide a
 separate homeland for India’s Muslims, who tary took direct
 power by declaring martial law in October
 were concentrated in the eastern and western parts of the 1958.
 General Ayub Khan introduced basic democracy, a

empire. The new country consisted of two parts, separated from each other by the Indian landmass; these became known as East Pakistan and West Pakistan, respectively. The two controlled, and that national energies must be concentrated on economic development.

The only binding force between them was Islam and political aspirations to seek independence from Britain and separate-ness from the Hindu majority in India. Founders of the new substantial economic progress and achieved a high degree of modernization. During the cold war, Pakistan political and economic networks that would further strengthen followed a foreign policy of alliance with the West and the idea of Muslim state and nationhood.

benefited greatly in economic and military assistance. In 1965, however, the country went to war with India over the Constitutional and democratic processes that could have formed the foundations on which the two wings might politically and undermined its economic growth. Popular base solidarity suffered immediately after the founder of the country, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, died on 11 to a second imposition of martial law in 1969. The new September 1948. His successors and the Muslim League, the military leader, General Yahya Khan, abrogated Ayub's 1962 party that he led, failed to pursue of his vision of a liberal, moderate, progressive democratic Pakistan. With repeated failure to develop understanding between East and election was split between the West Pakistan and East Pakistan on the questions of provincial autonomy and The Awami League party from East Pakistan swept the representation in the federal legislature and bureaucracy, elections and obtained a clear majority in the federal government. Denying the party its right to dominate led to a civil war.

Military intervention by India resulted in the military defeat of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh out of what was tary democracy, which Pakistan had inherited from the British.

Pakistan.

ish colonial rule in India.

With this military debacle, Pakistan returned to civilian

With the decline of political discipline in the political rule

under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a populist and charismatic

parties, their shifting alliances, and the failure to hold elec-

leader (1971–1977). He introduced socialist reforms and gave

tions for the national legislature, the political influence of the the

country its first constitution to be drafted by elected

civilian bureaucracy and the military increased. The military

representatives of the people. He faced agitation by the

gained further influence because of the dispute with India

opposition parties in 1977 over disputed election results and

Pan-Arabism

was overthrown by the army chief of staff, General Zia ul stripped

the president of the power to dismiss future elected

Haq. General Zia promised fresh elections within ninety

governments.

days, as stipulated by the 1973 constitution, and put the

country back on the road to democracy. It took him eight This

collaboration between the government of Nawaz

years to do so. In the meantime, he used a controversial Sharif and

the opposition parties didn't last very long. Sharif

murder conviction to order the execution of former prime had a

two-thirds majority in the parliament and was equipped

minister Bhutto. His rule for eleven years (1977–1988) was with

tremendous executive powers, and he began to act in an

further marred by the bitter legacy of the Soviet war in arbitrary

manner. The opposition dubbed him as a civilian

Afghanistan: rising religious extremism, Islamic militancy, dictator.

He forced a sitting president, a chief justice of the

Supreme Court of Pakistan, and an army chief of staff to

and political confrontation. Pakistan became an ally of the

resign. When he removed General Pervez Musharraf from

Western powers as a front-line state against Moscow's Afghan

office in October 1999, the military took over power for a

misadventure. It did better economically under Zia and

fourth time, through a bloodless coup. General Musharraf

developed nuclear capability during the Afghan war years.

designated himself as the chief executive of the country,

Zia was the first ruler of Pakistan who tried zealously to suspended the

constitution, dismissed the central and provin-

Islamize the state and society, although the nation had taken cial

governments, and promised social and national reforms

the designation of "Islamic Republic" under its first constitu- to

return the country to a workable democracy. His coup, like

tion, in 1956. It is debatable whether this was the result of his previous ones, was endorsed by Pakistan's Supreme Court, personal religious beliefs, or if he was using religion as a but with the injunction that he would hold elections and hand over power source of political legitimation. Whatever the reason, Zia to the elected assemblies within three years. interpreted the movement for the creation of Pakistan in National elections were set to be held on 10 October 2002, but Musharraf held a national referendum in April 2002 and purely Islamic terms and asserted that Islamization was the got himself elected as president for a five-year term. best way to secure and stabilize Pakistani society. He took drastic measures for building Pakistan as an Islamic society. An image of the Badshahi mosque in Lahore, Pakistan, appears He introduced Islamic taxes like zakat and ushr, and replaced in the volume two color insert. centuries-old British laws relating with Islamic penalties for offenses such as theft, robbery, adultery, and false accusation See also Awami League; Jinnah, Muhammad Ali; South Asia, Islam of adultery. He made the drinking of alcohol by Muslims an in.

offence punishable by six months' imprisonment and fine of 5,000 rupees. He established a separate federal Shari at (Is-

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lamic law) Court to hear appeals against convictions under Afzal, M. Rafique. Pakistan: History and Politics 1947–1971. the Islamic laws. Most of these laws and the Islamization Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002. process of the Zia regime have been controversial, but Zia's legacy in this regard lingers on.

Rasul Bakhsh Rais

The death of Zia in a plane crash returned the country to democracy in 1988. The elections in October of that year resulted in a divided mandate between the Pakistan Peoples Party of Benazir Bhutto and the Muslim League. Benazir

PAN-ARABISM

became the first women prime minister of Pakistan and the Also known as Arab nationalism, pan-Arabism is the ideology first to head up a democratic government in eleven years. The that calls for the political unity of Arab peoples and states. By Punjab, the largest province in the Pakistani federation, had a consensus, Arabness is defined not by religion or geographic Muslim League government headed by Mian Mohammad origin, but, as Sati al-Husri proposed, by language. Arabs are Nawaz Sharif, a former political ally of Zia. The political those whose mother tongue is Arabic and who identify with confrontation between the rival political parties, and the

the history and culture associated with it. president's willingness to use her powers to dismiss elected members of parliament, provincial assemblies, and govern- Although some scholars trace its origins to nineteenthments at the center and in the provinces kept the country century state builders such as Muhammad Ali of Egypt, or unstable. Four elected governments, two of the Pakistan religious reform movements such as the Wahhabiyya, or Peoples Party and two of the Muslim League, were dismissed intellectuals such as Abdallah al-Nadim and Abd al-Rahman between 1988 and 1996, followed, each time, by new elec- al-Kawakibi, pan-Arabism developed as a coherent ideology tions. The military continued to play a role in these dismissals and political movement at the time of the First World War. It from behind the scenes. Ultimately, the various political arose as a response to both European imperialism and to the parties in the parliament closed their ranks and, in 1997, mismanagement and pan-Turkic ideology associated with passed the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, which the Young Turk movement in the Ottoman Empire.

518

Islam and the Muslim World

Pan-Islam

When the Hashemite-led revolt against Ottoman rule during the 1991 Gulf War and in the months leading to the began in 1915, Sharif Husayn and his sons had managed to 2003 Iraq war that ousted him from power. More imporgain support not only in the Hijaz where they were based, but tantly, perhaps, Arab nationalism today finds institutional also in Syria. Husayn thought he had assurances from the expression in the continued existence of the Arab League, British government, represented by the high commissioner formed in 1945, and now consisting of twenty-two members, in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon, that he and his sons would as well as in continuing efforts to create subregional organizagovern all Arab territories freed from Turkish control. Yet, tions, the most successful being the Gulf Cooperation Coundespite the efforts of Husayn's son Faysal and T. E. Lawrence cil (GCC), formed in 1981 and comprising the six Arab states at the Versailles conference, the postwar mandate system that border the Persian Gulf. awarded Lebanon and Syria to France and Iraq and Palestine to Britain. The future of Palestine was particularly uncertain See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal; Arabic Language; Arab because in November 1917 the British had issued the Balfour League; Ba th Party; Ikhwan al-Muslimin; National- Declaration promising favorable consideration for the crea- ism: Arab;

Pan-Islam; Pan-Turanism; Revolution:

tion of a Jewish homeland there. The Hashemite project for Modern.
Arab unity was dealt a final blow when the Hijaz was conquered by Abd al- Aziz
ibn Sa'ud in 1924 and Husayn was BIBLIOGRAPHY
sent into exile in Cyprus, leaving only two of his sons as rulers Ajami,
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found two, initially cooperative, but later conflicting, expres- Kerr,
Malcolm. The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abd al-Nasir
sions. The first was religious, as articulated by the Muslim and His
Rivals, 1958–1970. London: Oxford University
Brotherhood (Ikhwan al-Muslimin), which saw the unity of Press,
1971.

the Arabs as the first step in pan-Islamic solidarity. The
second was secular, as articulated by the Ba'ath Party led by
Sohail H. Hashmi

Michel Aflaq and later by the Nasserists. The common
enemy for both was the lingering legacy of British and French
imperialism in the Arab world, signified by compliant Arab
elites, military bases, economic concessions, and the state
PAN-ISLAM
of Israel.

Pan-Islam is the ideology that calls for the unity and coopera-
Soon after coming to power in Egypt in July 1952, Jamal tion of
Muslims worldwide on the basis of their shared
Abd al-Nasser began transforming Egypt into a revolution- Islamic
identity. Apart from this general description, the idea
ary nucleus around which Arab unity would progress. He first of
pan-Islam has been formulated in myriad ways and used for
crushed the religious groups that had supported the Free various
political ends during the nineteenth and twentieth
Officer revolt against the Egyptian monarchy and had quickly centuries.
become disillusioned with his secularism. He then turned his
The term “pan-Islam” is of nineteenth-century European
attention to the conservative Arab monarchies.
origin and was used primarily to describe Ottoman attempts
The zenith of secular pan-Arabism came in 1958 when at promoting
Muslim unity to counter European imperial-
Egypt and Syria merged to form the United Arab Republic ism. Yet,
the central premise of pan-Islam, that all Muslims
(UAR). Syria withdrew from the union in 1961, however, form a

single community of believers (umma) that ideally because of growing dissatisfaction with Nasser's repressive should be united politically as well as spiritually, may be and pro-Egyptian policies. Subsequent efforts in 1963 to traced to the very origins of Islam itself. Several Qur'anic verses revive the UAR, this time with Iraqi participation following a refer to the Muslims as constituting a single community (e.g., Ba'athist coup there, proved unsuccessful. nity (e.g., 2:143, 3:110). Others warn against the dangers of fragmentation and internal strife (e.g., 3:103, 105). The Since the abortive UAR experiment, a number of events prophet Muhammad clearly tried to forge a sense of Muslim have allegedly marked the demise of pan-Arabism, including communal solidarity that transcended the traditional tribal the crushing Israeli defeat of Arab forces in the 1967 war, loyalties of the Arabs, as in the famous example of the Egypt's peace treaty with Israel in 1979, and Iraq's invasion of "Constitution of Medina," in which the migrants from Mecca Kuwait in 1990. Yet, Arab nationalism is still very much alive and the newly converted tribes of Medina are described as "a rhetorically, now once again tinged with strong religious single umma apart from all other men." Although the political overtones, as in the manifestos of fundamentalist groups and unity of the umma was shattered soon after the Prophet's death, the even in the propaganda of secular dictators like Saddam afterwards, ideal continued to linger for several centuries Husayn, who repeatedly invoked religion to rally Arabs as best demonstrated in the reluctance of political

Islam and the Muslim World

519

Pan-Islam

theorists to accept the legitimacy of multiple, simultaneous the leadership of their own rulers. By the 1870s, Afghani's caliphs. activism had assumed a decidedly pan-Islamic emphasis. He suggested that the only way to ameliorate the weakness of Numerous attempts to unite Muslims through a revival of individual Muslim states was to form a bloc of semi-Islamic faith may be found in Islamic history. But given the autonomous states, all recognizing the suzerainty of the far expanse of Islamic civilization, all of these were confined Ottoman caliph. Afghani thus sought to combine nationalism and geographically. Many factors converged in the nineteenth century to allow a far more pan-Islam, apparently seeing no contradictions between the two. universal scope for attempts to unite Muslims: the steady loss of Ottoman territories in

Europe, the advance of European colonialism into Muslim states in Africa and Asia, and the spread of mass communication media. Pan-Islam developed primarily as a defense mechanism to counter the military and political advance of European powers, primarily Britain, France, and Russia. The Ottoman Empire, the largest and most centrally located Sunni state, proposed to Abd al-Hamid as early as the late 1870s that he be sent as an emissary to Afghanistan to rally support for the sultan's claims to the caliphate. The sultan, suspicious of Afghan's motivations, responded by encouraging him to continue his agitation from abroad but doing little to assist him. In 1892, Abd al-Hamid invited Afghan to settle in Istanbul. and the guardian of the holy sites of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, was best suited to exploit rising concerns with sion and complaining that he was a prisoner of the sultan. European imperialism and to initiate pan-Islamic responses. Pan-Islamic appeals continued to be heard in the period before and Two men, more than any others, shaped the development of pan-Islam during the late nineteenth century: the Ottoman Ottoman jihad proclamation of 1914, but increasingly they were made sultan Abd al-Hamid II (1842–1918) and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897). Abd al-Hamid cultivated the pan-nationalism. The issue that most stirred pan-Islamic loyalties were made Islamic sentiments that had emerged during the 1860s and was the fate of the Ottoman caliphate, particularly among the Muslims of 1870s under the impact of German and Italian unification British India. Ulema of the Deoband school led during the reign of his predecessor, Abd al-Aziz (1830–1876), Indian Muslim opposition to the Arab revolt against the Ottomans, and gave them the status of an official ideology. As it did for seeing in it a British ploy to seize control of the central Abd al-Aziz, pan-Islam provided Abd al-Hamid a rallying Islamic lands. When Constantinople was occupied by the Allies at cry against both European powers and internal modernizers the end of the war, Indian nationalist leaders, chief among them the journalist Muhammad Ali, launched the Khilafat Movement to lobby the British government for Central to Abd al-Hamid's pan-Islam was the claim that the Ottoman caliph's retention of sovereignty over the Arab the Ottoman sultan was the caliph of Islam, or at least of the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Iraq, and Anatolia, the "spiritual Sunni Islam. The Ottoman claim to the caliphate dated back heartland" of Islam. Meanwhile, in 1919, groups of Indian

centuries, but under Abd al-Hamid the title was asserted
ulema organized the hijra (migration) of Muslims from the
with far greater vigor than it had been before within the
subcontinent to Afghanistan, arguing that Muslims could no
empire, and for the first time serious attempts were made to
longer remain in a territory ruled by Great Britain while it
win the loyalty of Muslims beyond the Ottoman realm. Inside
was attempting to destroy the caliphate. Approximately 18,000,
the empire, the sultan's pan-Islam meant the cultivation of
mostly poor, Muslims trekked to the Afghan border, only to
Muslim interests over those of Christian and other nonbe denied entry by the
Afghan government. Thousands lost
Muslim minorities as well as increased state support for
their lives to disease and hunger in the process. By the time
Islamic courts, schools, and religious orders. Outside the
the Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the Ottoempire, a propaganda
campaign was launched, using print
man caliphate in 1924, the Khilafat agitation had already
media and emissaries or spies, to spread an image of the sultan
diminished because of disillusionment and internal squabbling as a pious Muslim
ruler, the only one capable of effectively
bles. Hopes that a reconstituted caliphate might reinvigorate
uniting Muslims against Christian colonizers.
pan-Islamic sentiments died when two conferences held in
Abd al-Hamid's claims to the caliphate were challenged 1926, one in
Cairo, the other in Mecca, ended in bitter
immediately, and the general failure of his pan-Islamic cam- disagreements
over who should assume the title. A third
paign partly contributed to his deposition following the conference
held in 1931 in Jerusalem called only for solidarity
Young Turk revolt of 1908. Still, the fruits of Abd al- and
cooperation among Muslim peoples.
Hamid's propaganda may be seen in the Indian Muslim
agitation over the fate of the Ottoman caliphate following the Muslim
solidarity and international cooperation, rather
First World War. than any
supranational unity, is the way pan-Islam has generally been articulated in the
years since the Second World
Jamal al-Din al-Afghani's early career emphasized the War. Even
those Muslim intellectuals who challenge the
need for reform within particular Muslim countries, under legitimacy of
separate Muslim nation-states according to

520

Islam and the Muslim World
Pan-Turanism

Islamic values do not propose any meaningful political union the true

religion, namely the people who did not accept
 of Muslim states and in fact generally focus their activism on
 Zoroastrianism. However, later the term Turan commonly
 gaining control of a particular state. referred to
 the land north of the Amu Darya River (the Oxus
 River of antiquity), where the non-Iranians of Central Asia
 The most prominent manifestation of pan-Islam today is and chiefly the
 nomadic Turkic peoples lived.
 in the host of transnational nongovernmental and intergovernmental Islamic
 organizations. During the 1950s, Pakistan In the late nineteenth
 century the tsarist empire, by
 initiated the creation of the Mu tamar al- Alam al-Islami, but invading the
 Caucasus and Central Asia, incorporated a vast
 disagreements with secular Arab governments over the or- number of
 Turkic peoples into its realm. The Russification
 ganization's purpose led to its failure. During the 1960s, the policy
 adopted by tsarist Russia in this region caused a
 campaign to create pan-Islamic organizations was revived number of
 local elites to promote an alternative to Russian
 by King Faysal of Saudi Arabia. With his backing, the pan-Slavism.
 However, their activities prior to the First
 Rabitat al- Alam al-Islami was created in 1962 to provide a World War were
 mainly confined to organizing all of Rusnongovernmental forum for the
 discussion and dissemination sia's Muslim congresses and the
 publication of certain periof Islamic viewpoints on issues facing Muslims
 around the odicals such as Yeni Fuyuzat (New abundance) and Shelale
 world. In 1969, following Israel's capture of Jerusalem in the (Cascade) in
 Baku or Turan in Tashkent.
 Six Day War, twenty-four Muslim states voted to form the
 The growing solidarity among Russia's Turkic peoples
 Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). In 2003 the
 was welcomed in the Ottoman Empire, which was suffering
 OIC consisted of fifty-seven members, and though it is
 from a long-lasting and humiliating decline. Among the
 frequently criticized for its ineffectiveness, it remains the
 leaders of the ruling Committee of Union and Progress in the
 most important and universal expression of pan-Islamic po-
 Ottoman Empire were personalities such as Enver Pasha,
 litical aspirations since the abolition of the caliphate.
 who aspired to forge a Turanian empire that would bring
 Turkic peoples together and result in gains in the Caucasus
 See also Afghani, Jamal al-Din; Caliphate; Empires:
 and Central Asia. The entry of the Ottoman Empire into the
 Ottoman; Khilafat Movement; Organization of the
 First World War was partly motivated by such a desire. The
 Islamic Conference; Pan-Arabism; Pan-Turanism;
 Ottoman propaganda campaign in the First World War was

Young Turks.

dominated by two distinctive trends of pan-Islamism and pan-Turanism. While pan-Turanism aimed at the Turkic

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Balkan peninsula, the Caucasus, northern Iran,

Khan, Saad S. Reasserting International Islam: A Focus on the and Central Asia, the pan-Islamist propaganda was still largely

Organization of the Islamic Conference and other Islamic directed at the peoples of the Near and Middle East, and even

Institutions. Karachi and New York: Oxford University as far as the

Indian subcontinent. In Iran and Central Asia,

Press, 2001.

with their diverse ethnic composition, the Ottomans em-

Kramer, Martin. Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim ployed a combination of pan-Turanism and pan-Islamism

Congresses. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. resulted.

Landau, Jacob. The Politics of Pan-Islam. Oxford, U.K.:

Clarendon Press, 1990. With the end

of the First World War and the fall of the

Ottoman Empire, there were only a handful of political

adventurers that still pursued pan-Turanism, among them

Sohail H. Hashmi

Enver Pasha, who was killed in 1922 while fighting the

Bolsheviks in Central Asia.

In the Republic of Turkey, while local nationalism with

PAN-TURANISM pan-Turkish

allusions was tolerated and even encouraged,

pan-Turanism never became a significant political trend. It

Pan-Turanism is an ideology that originated in the late

was only with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and propagated a

late 1980s and early 1990s that the call for unity among the

strong cultural attachment among all Turkic peoples. Although

Turkic peoples was once more heard. Although this call was

pan-Turanism is correlated to pan-Turkism, its adherents

promoted by the cooperation pacts realized among the new

differ. While historically pan-Turkism was chiefly confined

independent Turkic republics of the Caucasus, Central Asia,

to the Turks living in the Ottoman Empire and its border- and Turkey,

the profound rivalries both on the regional as

lands, pan-Turanism had broader pretensions. Pan-Turanism well as the

international level nevertheless hampered any

aimed at joining all Turkic peoples that claimed descent from noteworthy

achievements.

Turan, including the Mongols. The name Turan is connected to a mythological

plateau in Central Asia. In Avesta See also Balkans, Islam in the; Central

Asia, Islam in;
the people called Tura were represented as the enemies of Empires:
Ottoman; Pan-Arabism; Pan-Islam.

Islam and the Muslim World

521

Pasdaran

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and battle to

quell civil disorder. The Basij allegedly also

Atabaki, T. "Recasting Oneself, Rejecting the Others: Pan- monitor the
activities of citizens, and harass or arrest women

Turkism and Iranian Nationalism." In Identity Politics in and men who
violate the dress code.

Central Asia and the Muslim World. Edited by E. J. Zürcher,
and W. van Schendel. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

The Pasdaran

have maintained an intelligence branch to

monitor the regime's domestic adversaries and to participate

Landau, J. M. Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation.

London: Hurst, 1995.

in their

arrests and trials. Khomeini demonstrated his acceptance of the Revolutionary
Guards' involvement in intelli-

Touraj Atabaki gence when he congratulated them on the arrest of Iranian
Communist (Tudeh) leaders. Not only did the Pasardan

function as an intelligence organization, both within and

outside the country, but they also exerted considerable influ-

PASDARAN

ence on

government policies.

The Pasdaran (Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enghelab-e Eslami, or

The

Pasdaran have been quite active in Lebanon. By the

Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) was established under a summer of

1982, shortly after the second Israeli invasion of

decree issued by the Ayatollah Khomeini, as leader of the Lebanon, the

Pasdaran had nearly one thousand personnel

Islamic revolution, on 5 May 1979. The corps of Revolution- deployed in

the predominantly Shi'ite Biqa Valley. From

ary Guards were intended to guard the revolution and to their

headquarters near Baalbek, the Pasdaran have provided

assist the ruling clerics in the day-to-day enforcement of the consistent

support to Islamic Amal, a breakaway faction of the

government's Islamic codes and morality. The Pasdaran, as mainstream

Amal organization, and then Hizb Allah, which

the guardians of the revolution, would counter the threat contemplate

the establishment of an Islamic state in Lebanon.

posed by either the leftist guerrillas or the officers suspected

of continued loyalty to the shah. The revolution also needed See also

Iran, Islamic Republic of; Revolution: Islamic

to rely on a force of its own rather than borrowing the Revolution in Iran.

monarchic regime's tainted forces, however disorganized and undertrained such a force might be in the first years of establishment. The Pasdaran, along with its political counterpart, Crusade for Reconstruction, brought a new order to Iran. The Pasdaran and Crusade for Reconstruction had their own separate ministries in the first decade after revolution, but then they were merged with other ministries.

In time, the Pasdaran came to duplicate the police and the judiciary in terms of its functions. It even challenged the performance of the regular armed forces on the battlefield.

The Pasdaran was designed as an organization that would be historically been, after Arabic, the most prestigious literary language in the Muslim world and a vehicle of the Islamic Republic of Iran entrusted the regular army with expression in Ottoman Turkey, Central Asia, Mogul guarding Iran's territorial integrity and political independence. Thus the Revolutionary Guards could only have the literature and Persicate culture therefore covered a responsibility of guarding the revolution. Involvement in from the Balkans to Bangladesh, and from the politics is a part of the Revolutionary Guards' mission to Gulf to north of the Jaxartes River in Central Asia. defend Islamic authority. Despite differences, the Pasdaran is the official language of Iran and Tajikistan, and the regular armed forces have cooperated on military the two official languages of Afghanistan (along matters.

Persian is also spoken by small residual communities in neighboring countries, such as Turkmenistan,

By the end of the war between Iran and Iraq in 1986, Pakistan, the Persian Gulf states, and Iraq, as the Pasdaran consisted of 400,000 personnel organized in newly established enclaves abroad: Persian-speaking battalion-size units that operated either independently or immigrants to Israel, and the diaspora to North with units of the regular armed forces. In 1984 the Pasdaran Europe, and Australia that resulted from the political upheavals and wars in Iran and

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PERSIAN

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Persian has

India and,

Persian

wide region,

Persian

Today Persian

and one of

Uzbekistan,

well as in

Jewish

America,

Afghanistan during the 1970s and the 1980s, up to three million volunteers were organized under the control of the Revolutionary Guards as the Mobilization (Basi) Corps. Since the end of the war this number has decreased, as those units are used to control the internal situation or to strengthen one political faction above another. Linguistically speaking, the nomenclatures “Farsi,” “Dari,” and

Note that in recent decades the term “Farsi” has erroneously gained currency in English in place of Persian. Linguistically speaking, the nomenclatures “Farsi,” “Dari,” and

522

Islam and the Muslim World Persian Language and Literature

“Tajiki” denote varieties of Persian spoken in Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan, respectively, just as one might describe Persian literature as consisting of American, Australian, and British varieties. Though distinctive regional accents and some differences in vocabulary or even grammar exist, the spoken literature. It also includes “books of counsel” (pand namak), or varieties of Persian are united by a common literary and literature providing moral or ethical precepts and cultural heritage and are mutually understood by speakers in the “Wise Maxims of Bozorgmehr.” Other texts across the Persian linguistic continuum. Nevertheless, Persian literature has been developing in distinctive and even divergent directions in modern Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan since each country became a centralized nation-state. This is especially true of Tajikistan, where the written form of Persian was radically altered in the Soviet period by cultural exchange with India was quite strong, as the adoption first of the Roman (1928) and shortly thereafter by a Middle Persian treatise on chess and a number of the Cyrillic (1940) script in place of the traditional Arabic translations of works of Indian origin, including Kalila wa Dimna (from the tales of Bidpai), Barlaam and Josaphat, and script, used in Afghanistan and Iran. Tajikistan was therefore the Sindbad nameh. The frame tale structure is thus borrowed oriented toward Russian, as well as Turkic Central Asia, in its from India, but the bulk of the Middle Persian Hazar Afsanak

recent cultural and linguistic development, whereas Afghanistan ("Thousand tales"), the main source of stories for the Arab world has been in the cultural orbit of Pakistan and India, as "Thousand and One Nights" cycle (Alf Layla wa layla), seem well as the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union in to be of Persian origin.

the last decade of the twentieth century, and of the Taliban in the first years of the twenty-first, along with technological

Although spoken Persian continued to evolve grammatical innovations (such as Persian-language programs broadcast by *Radio Liberty* into something like what we now recognize as new

Internet radio and satellite television across the region) have, Persian, Zoroastrian works continued to be composed in

however, brought increased opportunities for cultural interaction. Middle Persian until at least the ninth century, by which time

change across the Persian speaking countries, and begun to *Iranianize* the majority of Iranians had become Muslim. Many religious, reverse the isolation of previous decades. *Avicenna* literary,

and scientific works written in Arabic at the same time were penned by men of Iranian, or half-Iranian parent-
Language History

age, including Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. 760), translator of *Kalila wa*

Persian is classified as a member of the Iranian branch of the

Indo-European family of languages. Indeed, it was partly

(d. 810), who includes a few words of Persian in his poetry; from his knowledge of Persian and its similarity to Latin,

the historian and Qur'an commentator, Tabari (d. 923); and Greek, and Sanskrit that Sir William Jones (1746–1794)

the physician Rhazes (Zakariyya al-Razi, d. 925). Indeed, postulated the existence of an Indo-European proto-language

many authors of the tenth through twelfth centuries who from which the modern languages of Europe, India, and Iran

lived in Persian-speaking milieus and would have had the devolved. As such, many modern Persian words (for example,

option to write in Persian nevertheless chose to write their *madar*, *baradar*) share a common root with their modern

most important works in Arabic. This was the case for, among

German (*mutter*, *brüder*) or English (mother, brother) equivalents, al-Biruni, who was born in Khwarazm in 973 and died

lents, and the verbal systems exhibit similar features. How in 1051 in Ghazna;

Ibn Sina (Avicenna), born near Bukhara in

ever, the neighboring Semitic languages, especially Aramaic

980, died in Hamadan in 1037; and Mohammad al-Ghazali,

and Arabic, which functioned in different eras as *lingua*

of Tus, who lived from 1058 to 1111.

languages of the Near and Middle East, have made an enormous

impact on Persian, in terms not only of vocabulary and script, By the tenth century, however, some three hundred years but also of literary forms. after the Arab conquest of Persia, the spoken Persian language had re-emerged as a language of literary standing in its own right. The Persian language is divided into three historical suitably for use in discussion of science, philosophy, and religion, as well. It was now written in the Arabic alphabet, survives chiefly in cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid which was easier to read than the Middle Persian kings, written in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E., but it has script, and which also derived from a Semitic alphabet, bequeathed few if any direct literary traces to the modern Aramaic. language. On the other hand, a large body of literature survives in Middle Persian, much of it subsequently trans- Persian Poetry lated or adapted into Arabic or Persian during the Islamic The earliest Persian poetry of the Islamic period is in dialect form period. Most of this was written in the Sassanian period count (fahlavīyat), probably based on accentual or syllable-meters. Evidence of some prosodic experimentation

Islam and the Muslim World

523

Persian Language and Literature

and variation is discernible in the earliest recorded specimens admired, so that rhetorical ornamentation could become a of Persian verse, though it seems that the Persian poetry of justification in and of itself. Metaphors, tropes, and symbols the ninth century was already following quite different prin- (for instance, the rose and nightingale, the bow of the becuples of versification from Middle Persian poetry, notably loved's eyebrow firing the arrows of his or her eyelashes, the rhyme and quantitative metrics. Some Persian meters are ringlets of the beloved's hair as polo sticks sending the lover's heart borrowed from Arabic, or at least they are explained accord- skittering over the ground, and the like) were repeated from ing to Arabic models by the Persian manuals of prosody and generation to generation, though subtle variation and innovations rhetoric written in the twelfth century. However, Persian applied to the conventions have always been greatly poets rarely employed some very common Arabic meters admired. The stylistic trends have been described as evolving (such as tawil and basit), whereas some of the frequently from heavy rhythms, rhetorical directness, and sparse

occurring meters in Persian poetry (such as motaqareb and the use of
 Arabic in the tenth-century poetry, to the more mellifluous
 roba i meter) seem quite uncommon in Arabic poetry of the
 and rhetorically ornamented poetry (internal rhyme, play
 same period. Persian poetry is furthermore fond of including
 on words, display of Arabic erudition) associated with the
 a refrain (radif, which can be several syllables in length) after
 flowering of the ghazal, and the era of the great classical
 the rhyming syllable. We may conclude, therefore, that in
 poets such as Sa di (d. 1292), Rumi (d. 1273), Hafez (d. 1390),
 addition to the influence of Arabic, native Persian phonology
 and Jami (d. 1492). Poetry of the “Indian style” (sixteenth
 and prosody also played a distinctive role in shaping the new
 through eighteenth centuries) continued the focus
 system of versification. on the
 ghazal, which became conceptually more abstract and
 philosophical, even recherché, with a distinctive taste for the
 The privileged literary mode in Persian was poetry, or subtle conceit
 and imagism. The neo-classical “return” of the
 rhymed and metered “speech.” It was composed and per-
 eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rejected this trend in
 formed in a variety of milieus for various social functions, favor of a
 simpler more direct prose style, and an imitation of
 acquiring the greatest prestige and widest publicity through the past
 masters. This gradually gave way to the influence of
 the patronage of the royal court, including sultans/shahs but European
 letters in the twentieth century and led to the
 also wazirs or other men of state, army commanders, and development
 of a significantly new, modernist poetic.
 regional governors. It might also be commissioned by the
 Quatrains (Roba iyyat)
 landed gentry, or alternatively, circulated through Sufi
 The quatrain (do-bayti, taraneh, and later roba i), rhyming
 networks.
 according to the pattern a-a-b-a and conforming to a special
 meter of its own, emerged from a popular milieu to become a
 Most dynasties of the Persian-speaking world considered
 literary genre unto its own, the roba iyyat. Roba is can treat
 it the duty of a civilized ruler to cultivate science and literaamorous themes
 or commemorate a historical occasion (such
 ture, and doing so increased the ruler’s prestige. Some rulers
 as the death of a famous person), but most famously deliver a
 even dabbled in composing poetry of their own, as a literate
 mystical or philosophical apothegm. The eleventh-century
 person was expected to be able to compose some amount of
 “naked” hermit, Baba Taher, sang quatrains of human love
 formal verse, lines of which were used as proof texts to

and devotion to God in impromptu quatrains, some of which illustrate points and conclude arguments in letters, homilies, are preserved in their original Hamadani dialect form. Anand in conversation. Not only aspiring poets, but also secreteother poet known exclusively for roba is is Mahsati of Ganja

taries and men of letters, were expected to have a huge (fl. 12th century), one of the few classical poets with a repertoire of poetry at the tip of their tongues, and were uniquely feminine voice, and a far from chaste perspecsometimes called upon to compose extemporaneously at

tive on love.

court. The work of successful professional poets was circulated in albums dedicated to particular patrons or particular The most famous practitioner of this genre is the mathethemes. These albums would later be collected into divans, matician and astronomer Omar Khayyam of Nishapur (d.

though often not by the poet himself. Early poetry divans 1121), thanks in no small part to Edward FitzGerald's imwere organized thematically, but from the sixteenth century mensely successful 1859 English translation/adaptation, The

onward they were usually divided into sections according to Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Khayyam acquired a posthumous

verse form (qasideh, ghazal, qet eh, strophic poems, and roba i) reputation as a composer of roba iyyat of a materialist or

and then further organized alphabetically according to the agnostic temperament, some of them quite blasphemous,

final letter of the rhyme or refrain. although

the actual evidence for him as author is rather

flimsy. What is clear is that over the centuries, the corpus of

Themes were largely conventional, and the poets usually quatrains

attributed to Khayyam grew suspiciously, so that

presented a persona rather than a personal biography, though scholars in

the twentieth century sought text-critical princithis in no way deterred

critics from reading biographical data ples, to separate the forgeries

from the real Khayyam. The

into the poems. The imagery grew in hyperbole and com- divans of

most subsequent poets include numerous roba is;

plexity over the centuries, and technical virtuosity was greatly Rumi's,

for example, has nearly 2000.

524

Islam and the Muslim World

Persian Language and Literature

Court Poetry

Mo ezzi

was accidentally shot and seriously wounded by

Panegyrics in Arabic by the great poets had conveyed prestige prince

Sanjar's arrow; and Adib-e Saber was drowned by the

and authority on the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, so that Khwarazm shah as a spy of Sanjar.

Persian princes on the eastern edges of Persia naturally Courts in the west of Iran also cultivated Persian poetry. gravitated toward the practice as they began realizing their In Azerbaijan, Qatran (d. 1072) wrote for numerous patrons, practical independence from the Abbasids. In cities like including a poem on the major earthquake in Tabriz in 1042, Nishapur (near modern Mashhad), Balkh (in modern Afghanistan) and many strophic poems. When Naser Khosrow, a poet (stan), Samarkand, and Bukhara (in modern Uzbekistan), from eastern Persia, came to Tabriz in 1046, he wrote in his panegyrics in Persian were presented to the ruler or men of fascinating travelog that Qatran was a good poet, who, state on ceremonial occasions: Iranian seasonal festivals like however, did not fully understand Persian. This shows that, Nawruz or Mehregan, Islamic holy days, royal investitures, though dialectical variation must have existed, Persian was victory celebrations, wine drinking parties, and the like. widely spoken and written by the mid-eleventh century. Poems for such occasions typically took the form of a qasideh, Khaqani of Shirvan (d. 1199) wrote ghazals and panegyrics, a long mono-rhyme (a-a-b-a-c-a-d-a), usually between 40 and but is best known for his elegies on the death of his son and on 100 lines, typically beginning with an encomium on the the ruins of a Sassanian palace. Although a declared follower arrival of spring, on the beloved, or on wine. This would then of Sana i of Ghazna in the religious/didactic themes of his verse, he segue into an enumeration of the virtues and glories of the mother was incorporated Christian themes in his poetry. His ruler, encouraging him in the process to uphold principles of travels a convert from Nestorian Christianity, and his generosity, forbearance and just governance. brought him into close contact with Christians in Georgia and Constantinople.

The greatest of the early Persian poets, Rudaki (d. 940), who was also a musician, composed many narrative poems, of Epic Poetry which precious little has survived. Many examples of his fine, Ferdausi of Tus (near modern Mashhad) has often been credited thoughtful lyric poems (not yet clearly differentiated in form extinction with rescuing the Persian language from virtual as ghazals or qasidehs), in a clear and unornamented style “Book of characteristic of early Persian prose and verse, must have been performed at the court in Bukhara, for the Samanid form to

Mahmud of Ghazna, in about 1010. This hyperbolic prince Amir Nasr II (r. 914–943). In these poems, Rudaki view ignores the half-century of court poetry that preceded praised the ruler and his capital, rhapsodized on the process Ferdausi's work, including some earlier treatments of epiof making wine, or meditated on the decrepitude brought by sodes from the national epic. Ferdausi himself incorporated a age. This latter, rather melancholy, idea afforded early poets thousand lines from the story of Zoroaster as versified by the occasion to draw the moral that life is short, so live right. Daqiqi (d. 981 or before) in his own work. Nevertheless, This is then interpreted in either ethical terms, to do good Ferdausi's Shah nameh would play a central role not only in works (since your name, good or ill, is all that will live on), or Iranian national consciousness, but even in the self-identity in epicurean terms, to live happy and well (for the opportuni- of non-Iranian rulers, especially Turks and Mongols, who ties for pleasure are limited). The lack of appeal to the Qur'an adopted Persianate culture and traditions of kingship. and outwardly religious sentiment may reflect the survival of Ferdausi alludes to various sources for his account of Persian religion and philosophy. events, including a learned Zoroastrian priest and a member The classical form of the Persian qasideh was created at the of the Persian landed gentry. The existence of a tradition of professional reciters orally recounting stories from the Iracourt of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (in modern Afghanistan), nian national epic in a popular (sub-literary) context has led to who gathered a number of great poets to his court in the first heated scholarly debate about possible oral sources for Ferdausi. half of the eleventh century. Among these were the poet However, Ferdausi did have an established written tradition laureate Onsoni (d. 1040); Farrokhi (d. 1038), who delighted to draw from, and appears to have studied the matter and in the description of spring and the celebration of musical carefully crafted his tale. Various versions of the Persian wine soirees; and Manuchehri (d. 1041), famous for his "Book of kings" (Khoday nameh) were already written down in adaptation of classical Arabic qasidehs. The rival Seljuk court Middle Persian in the sixth and seventh centuries, and several to the north and west also supported its poets, among them of these had been translated into Arabic in the eighth and Amir Mo'ezzi (d. 1127), "prince of poets" to sultans Malik ninth centuries, as part of the discourse of shu'ubiyya, or Shah and Sanjar, and Anvari (1126–c.1189), generally acethnic pride among non-Arabs, especially Iranians. At the knowledged as the ultimate qasideh poet for his erudite,

initiative of Abu Mansur, a committee had translated the ornamented yet fluid style. Panegyric poets were richly rewarded and got to travel with the court, yet the profession could be a hazardous one. Mas'ud Sa'di Salman (d. 1121) was a poet who covers the mythical era of kingship in Iran, imprisoned for long periods on suspicion of treason; Emir during which the rites and ceremonies of kingship were

The

during

Islam and the Muslim World

525

Persian Language and Literature

established, the demons were subdued, cooking and clothing the Ahl-e Haqq sect in Kurdistan. All of these, were introduced, cultivation of the soil begun, fire was discovered, metal worked, the social castes created, and the literature, in contrast to Ferdowsi's Shah nameh, for celebration of Nawruz (the spring equinox and Iranian new creation of large, sumptuously illustrated manuscript) initiated. Death enters this idyllic realm due to the scripts in royal ateliers became common during the Mongol

leaders of

however,

Persian

which the

hubris of the king, Jamshid, and Zahhak comes to tyrannize later. In fact it was almost de rigueur for each the land. Accursed by Satan's kiss, Zahhak has a snake Safavid monarch to commission such a royal copy, growing from each of his shoulders, each of which must feed famous of which was the copy made for Shah daily on the brain of an Iranian youth. Feridun eventually snatches the throne from Zahhak and restores justice, dividing state to the Ottomans, and eventually found its way to ing his realm between his three sons before he dies. The two sons who inherit the lands to the east and west of Iran grow (at least the surviving illustrated folios) to Iran.

period and

successive

the most

Tahmasp (r.

gift of

Europe and

repatriated

jealous of their brother, who has inherited the realm of Iran.

They conspire to murder him, and this engenders generations of internecine conflict between Iran and her eastern

Romance

spun-off from the Shah nameh are a number of romance, although the Persian narrative verse

Also

tradition is also

fed by other sources. To have an authoritative or popular

This sets the stage for many sagas and adventures, which have been an important prerequisite to

source seems to

revolve thematically around the question of fate and free will, undertaking

a narrative poem of several thousand lines (in and the tragic forces that impel kings to conflict with their variably in the rhyming couplet form of the mathnavi), which enemies, their sons and the champion warriors to whom they might either be commissioned by a patron, or presented to owe their throne. The father-son conflict usually ends poorly one with a dedication in the introduction in hopes of a for the son (Rostam and Sohrab, Kay Kavus and Siyavash, reward. Trying one's hand at an original imaginative story Goshtasp and Esfandiyar), and the king is far less frequently could be somewhat risky under these circumstances; in any wise and just (as in the tale of Kei Khosrau, in which the king case, there were many classical stories reflecting the glorious abdicates and disappears) than tragically flawed or impetuous culture of pre-Islamic Iran from which to draw inspiration. (as in the case of Kay Kavus). These include a poem of Parthian origins, Vis and Ramin, versified by Fakhr al-Din Gorgani circa 1054 for the governor. The Shah nameh is not aware of the great Achaemenid nor of Isfahan from a Middle Persian version. It tells the story of kings Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, as it takes notice of the of Vis, promised in marriage before her birth to King Mobad. historical era only as Iran is about to be conquered by The latter's younger brother, Ramin, falls in love at the first Alexander. It mostly ignores the successors of Alexander, fast- sight of her, and eventually wins her over. Through the help forwarding to the Sassanian rulers, whom it covers in some of Vis's nurse, the pair escapes from Mobad and are eventually detail, both historical and legendary. The 50,000-line epic ally united as king and queen, in a saga not without similar comes to a close with the Arab conquest of Persia, a sad fate ties to that of Tristan. indeed, even though Ferdausi writes as a Muslim with Shi'i loyalties. Other tales of stymied love include "Varqa and Golshah," based upon an Arabic story, and versified in Persian in the The tremendous success of the Shah nameh led other motaqareb meter during the first decades of the eleventh authors to elaborate on portions of the epic cycle (transmitted century by Ayyuqi. This pair never unites, except through a in oral renditions by popular professional reciters) which chaste ideal love that they take with them to the grave. A Ferdausi either passed over in silence or did not fully develop. similar story, both in its outcome and in its Arab origins, is These focused on elaborating and embellishing the story of Nezami's version of the star-crossed lovers Layli and Majnun, various champions, as in the "Book of Garshasp," written in in a poem of 4,000 lines written in 1188. This tale was told

1066 by Asadi of Tus (also the author of an important early dictionary of Persian), about a hero even more outlandishly strong than Rostam; or the legendary history of the Iranian Zoroastrian priest Zartosht and retold by subsequent Persian poets (most successfully by Maktabi of Shiraz in 1490), as well as by imitators writing in Turkish and Urdu. The retellings usually resolve the powerprophet Zoroaster, told by the Zoroastrian priest Zartosht ful psychological ambiguity in Nezami's work and rarely Bahram Pazhdū in 1278. The influence of Ferdausi is apparent even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in works very fine divan of shorter poems, Nezami (d. 1209) also like the Shahanshah nameh (The king of king's book) by Saba authored four other long narrative mathnavis, including an (1765–1823), describing a victory by the Qajar king, Fath-Ali ethico-didactic poem modeled on Sana'i, a Persian version of Shah (r. 1797–1834) over the Russians in the same archaic the Alexander romance (Sikandar Nama), and two poems set terms found in the Shah nameh; or in the verse history in the Sassanian period. The first of these is Khosrau and Shirin, a Shahnameh ye haqiqat, written by Mojrem (1871–1920) of the legend about King Khosrau Parviz (r. 590–628) and

526

Islam and the Muslim World Persian Language and Literature

his Armenian bride, Shirin, who is loved devotedly by Farhad, having been studied and taught throughout the Ottoman domains, who moves a mountain to attain her, but is tricked by across Iran, and into the Indian subcontinent. Khosrau into thinking she is dead. The other is Haft Paykar, The about Bahram (r. 421–439) and the seven beautiful princesses love imagery of the ghazal, beginning with Sana'i, was from the seven climes with whom he enjoys a variety of also turned into a vehicle of mystical expression. Rumi conadventures. The five narrative poems by Nezami were often tinued the project of the mystical ghazal, conceiving his bound together in one volume and frequently illustrated. spiritual mentor Shams (d. after 1247) as the object of love, indeed Such was Nezami's achievement that many later poets tried adopting the voice of his absent master in a huge body of ghazals that almost always point to transcendent signifi- their hand at composing a similar quintet, following his cance. Other poets, such as Sa di of Shiraz (d. 1292), continmodel. This tended to limit the initiative of later poets in ued to address ghazals to both amorous and mystical objects creating new material, but Jami (d. 1492) introduced two new

of love. This creates room for much ambiguity in the ghazals stories to the traditional subjects of romance: the mystical of Hafez of Shiraz (d. 1390), who intertwined mystical and reworking of the Joseph and Zoleikha story (very loosely physical love in a sublime fashion that is difficult to unravel, based on Qur an, sura 12), and the story of Salaman and Absal, about a Greek king who has a magician genetically Persian lyrical poetry, though this often fails to come through engineer him a perfect son, who, however, is seduced by his in English translation, as the translators typically try to beautiful nurse.

reduce him to one thing or the other. Goethe and the Religious and Mystical poetry German Romantic poets derived much inspiration from Hafez. The extensive literature of imaginative poetry and prose, as Prose Genres well as commentaries that address various aspects of religion Continuing the Sassanian tradition of advice books, the Qabus and spirituality is immense. All long poems, from the Shah nameh, written in 1082 by Kay Kavus b. Voshmgir, a local prince on the Caspian shore of Iran, provides instruction to his son in lines in praise of the prophet Muhammad, as well as fre- enjoyment of the arts of government, social graces, and the life. About the same time Nezam al-Molk (Ar. majority of classical Persian poets were Sunnis of the Hanafi Nizam al-Mulk; d. 1092), after whom the first university in the Muslim world is named, composed his Siyasat nameh to instruct the early period, notably Naser Khosrow (1003–1060), an proper ways the Seljuk Turks, to whom he served as wazir, in the Isma ili poet, and Qavami of Rayy (fl. 12th century). Both of these charming books are written in a straightforward prose, whereas Nasr It was the mystics, however, who created the most success- Allah Monshi’s version of Kalilah wa Dimna (written between ful poetry of religious expression, reaching its pinnacle in the 1143 and 1145), which set the prose standard for later authors mystico-didactic poetry of the mathnavi form. Sana i (d. to match, used animal characters to convey its lessons. This 1135) initiated the genre with his Hadiqat al-haqiqat, a comvolume requires more work to grasp because of its erudition pendium of tales, some humorous, that were used to illustrate and its taste for the rhetorical artifices made possible by homilies and moral injunctions, and which focus chiefly upon Arabic

morphology. These tales, derived ultimately (via Arabic control of the baser passions and correctly understanding the Arabic, via Middle Persian) from the Panchatantra, were brought to the interior meaning of the Quran. Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1221) brought to the then-contemporary style in 1505 by Hosein Vaez-e Kashfi perfected the story-telling element of the mystical mathnawi (d. 1505) as Anvar-e Soheili.

genre, juxtaposing within a frame-tale structure various unrelated anecdotes and vignettes of an entertaining or inspiring nature. Along with many other such collections of tales in prose or verse, a nature to illustrate an overarching theme (as was also common in the huge body of prose literature, including the serial mon in the European literature of the period). The best adventures of picaresque heroes, manuals for writers, lives of known of these include the Elahi nameh, in which a king and the poets, local and world histories, as well as literary and father passes life wisdom to his sons, and the Manteq al-Tayr, a collection of fables, mystical disquisitions, and philosophical texts, a poem of mystical psychology about a band of birds in search of their spiritual king, the mythical Simorgh, which was the work of their spiritual king, the mythical Simorgh, which was the work of Persian literature is preeminently associated is, completed in 1177.

However, the Golestan of Sa'di, written in 1258 and loosely organized in eight chapters by theme (kingship, dervishes, modeled on these, but less thematically structured, is the youth, contentment, and so on). Throughout it one encounters "Spiritual Couplets" of Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–1273), com- ters entertaining anecdotes, wittily expressed, that advocate a posed piecemeal in six books through the 1260s. Its opening practical, situational ethics. It weaves together simple, unapologetic of the reed pipe, severed from its spiritual home, adorned prose with rhymed prose and verse to create a new, remains the single most influential expression of mystical unified literary idiom that set the future standard of emulatheology in Persian, perhaps in the entire Islamic world, tion. Frequently imitated, the Golestan became a textbook of

Islam and the Muslim World

527

Persian Language and Literature

Persian language and Islamic ethics for Turkish speakers, as In Afghanistan, Mahmud Tarzi helped to introduce the many Turkish commentaries and translations of the lations of European literature and radically new modern sixteenth and subsequent centuries attest. It was also used as a literary forms in his journal Seraj al-Akhbar (1911–1918). textbook for Persian instruction in India, where Persian, and The Iranian

poet-singer Aref (1882–1934) turned his back then Urdu, commentaries were written on it. It was also used on a court career to compose populist political ballads, for British students of Persian to study the language in the ghazals, and song lyrics, which reached a mass audience when he sang them eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. European translations in concert. Reform was urged also from within the aristocratic class, many of whom learned foreign languages or studied abroad, such as Iraj Mirza (1874–1926), among others. who held a post in the Qajar government but was noted for his biting satirical indictment of the custom of veiling of women.

Persian in India

It was under the Ghaznavids and their aggressive policy of Political agitation did not always turn out well. The poet conquest in South Asia that the first wave of Persian poets Mirzadeh Eshqi was assassinated after satirically caricaturing moved toward the sub-continent. Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (d. Reza Shah in 1924. Abu 'l-Qasem Lahuti was obliged to flee from Tabriz 1121) lived in Lahore, and his contemporary, Abu al-Faraj from Tabriz in 1922, after leading an unsuccessful revolt there. He Runi, was born there. Of Indo-Turkic parentage, Emir settled in Dushanbe, in the Soviet Union, where he wrote Khusrow of Delhi (1253–1325) was a competent imitator of Persian poetry for a Tajiki audience, modernizing the quintet of Nezami and of well-received ghazals. He classical themes and celebrating the socialist enterprise. The popularized Persian poetry at the Muslim courts in India, and fiction writer Bozorg Alavi also fled Iran for East Germany, also among the Sufis. The poetry of Rumi and Eraqi (d. as a result of his Communist Party membership. In Tajikistan, authors 1289) was also popular among South Asian Sufis. Timur managed to champion the Central Asian peasants and enjoyed Persian books and Babur composed Persian poetry of collectives, as well as the creation of a new society, in his own. The Moguls made Persian the language of govern- artistically successful ways, especially Mirza Torsonzadeh ment in 1582, commissioning their court histories in Persian. (1911–1977) in poetry and Sadriiddin Aini (1878–1954) in fiction. Akbar (1556–1605) actively enticed a whole series of the best Persian poets of the era to come to Delhi from Iran and also encouraged translations of Hindu works to Persian. Dara Poets continued to compose in the traditional forms, but Shokuh (1615–1659), son of Shahjahan, and Zib al-Nesa introduced modern themes and imagery, including descrip-

Makhfi (1639–1703), daughter of Aurangzib, both composed tions of modern inventions, as in some of the poems of the excellent Persian poems of mystical and ecumenical bent. literary scholar and parliamentarian, Mohammad Taqi Bahar Bidel of Patna (d. 1720) was the last major representative of (1880–1951). The monazerat (debate poems) of Parvin E tesami the Indian style, and he remains more appreciated in Afghani- (1910–1941), the first of three important women poets of the stan and India than in Iran. century, championed the cause of the poor and downtrodden. In Afghanistan, Khalil Allah Khalili (b. Kabul, 1909, d. Urdu eventually replaced Persian as the primary literary Pakistan, 1987) carried on the classical tradition in a convinlanguage of South Asian Muslims, but some Urdu poets, such ing modern voice. as Ghalib (1796–1869), also wrote in Persian, while Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), the intellectual father of The ghazal retained its thematics of love, but became Pakistan, wrote major poems, such as his Javid Nama, in slightly more personal and more modern in its sentiments, Persian, a more widely understood language in the Mus- tinged with European romanticism, but developing toward a lim world. contemporary idiom, as in the poems of Simin Behbehani, who headed the Iranian Writer's Congress. Poets, however, Modern Literature also began to separate poetry from traditional verse. First The twentieth century saw a sea-change in Persian language came an effort to break down the classical meters into their and literature, as modernization, revolution, centralization constituent feet and combine these feet in new patterns. The and Marxist-Leninism greatly altered Tajikistan and Iran, in first experiment in this direction came in the early 1920s with particular. First of all, with the advent of lithography and Afsaneh (Romance) by Nima Yushij (1895–1960), who develprinting in the nineteenth century, books became more oped toward free verse in the following decade. Though some affordable, and more importantly, the appearance of newspa- poets, such as Mehdi Akhavan-e Sales (1928–1990), continpers created a different and wider audience for literature. For ued to compose in both free verse and traditional meters, the various short periods of time, the press became relatively free, most outstanding achievements in the post–World War II era and there were a number of journals published in Persian were by poets working in free verse, foremost among whom outside Iran, which made it possible to openly advocate stands Ahmad Shamlu (1926–2001), whose work demonreform or political opposition to the crown. strates a commitment and capability to uphold

political and

528

Islam and the Muslim World

Pilgrimage

artistic values simultaneously in his best poems. Forugh Browne, Edward
G. A Literary History of Persia. Cambridge, U.K.:
Farrokhzad (1935–1967) pushed poetry toward inner au- U.K.:
Cambridge University Press, 1951.
thenticity by infusing it with personal experience and focus- Canfield,
Robert, ed. *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective*.
ing on everyday topics, such as sexuality, sometimes from an Cambridge,
U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
explicitly female point of view. She was rewarded for her France, Peter,
ed. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English*
sincerity with public condemnation as an “immoral” woman.
Translation. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Her poetry, however, speaks eloquently and profoundly for
Hanaway, William. “The Iranian Epics.” In *Heroic Epic and*
itself. Meanwhile, painter and nature poet, Sohrab Sepehri
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(1928–1981) beautifully adapted the mystical perspective of Epics.
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The modernist literary idiom was entirely secular, and Kamshad, Hassan.
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ed. *History of Iranian Literature*. Dordrecht, Holof freedom (dawn, day) as
opposed to those of oppression land: D. Reidel, 1968.
(night, winter), and in inspiring revolutionary sentiment Levy, Reuben.
An Introduction to Persian Literature. New
against the shah of Iran in the 1970s. Part of this process York:
Columbia University Press, 1969.
involved purging Persian poetry from its classical themes and Meisami,
Julie. *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*. Princeton, N.J.:
dynamics, and creating believable characters. In prose litera- Princeton
University Press, 1987.
ture, Mohammad- Ali Jamalzadih (1892–1997) forged a new
Morrison, George; Baldick, Julian; and Shafi’i-Kadkani,
idiom for imaginative prose literature with his short stories,
Muhammad-Riza. *History of Persian Literature: From the*
as did Sadeq Hedayat (1903–1951), whose novel *The Blind Beginning*
of the Islamic Period to the Present Day. Leiden:
Owl (1969) remains the best known modern Persian work E. J. Brill,

1981.

abroad, in part because of the author's connections with Schimmel, Annemarie. *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of expressionist and existentialist writers in Europe, and his Persian Poetry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Simin Daneshvar) wrote short stories and novels, *The School* Yarshater, Ehsan, ed. *Persian Literature*. Albany, N.Y.: Principal (1974) being the most interesting, but he is best *Bibliotheca Persica*, 1988.

known in the Muslim world for his 1962 attack on the hegemony of Western culture, Gharbzadegi. Several historical novels also deal with the theme of Western, especially

Franklin D. Lewis

British, imperialism in Iran: Sadeq Chubak's *Tangsir* (1963), based on a true event in southern Iran; Simin Daneshvar's *Savushun* (1990), a political love story told from the woman's point of view; and the ten-volume novel *Kelidar* (1978–1983) PHILOSOPHY See Ethics and Social Issues;

by Mahmoud Dowlatabadi. In the 1970s and the post-Kalam; Knowledge; Science, Islam and

Revolution period, female prose writers have achieved popular and critical success (among them, Mahshid Amirshahi, Goli Taraqqi, and Fattaneh Hajj Sayyed Javadi). Others, like Shahrnush Parsipur and Moniru Ravanipur, succeeded in introducing magical realism to Iran. PILGRIMAGE

An image of a 1650 Persian manuscript appears in the volume HAJJ

two color insert.

Kathryn Kueny

See also Arabic Language; Arabic Literature; Biography and Hagiography; Biruni, al-; Ghazali, al-; Grammar and Lexicography; Hadith; Historical Writing; ZIYARA Richard C. Martin

mar and Lexicography; Hadith; Historical Writing; Ibn Sina; Iqbal, Muhammad; Libraries; Rumi, Jalaluddin; Tabari, al-; Urdu Language, Literature, HAJJ and Poetry; Vernacular Islam. The Islamic

hajj refers specifically to the annual pilgrimage to

Mecca, Arafat, and Mina during the second week of the Dhu

BIBLIOGRAPHY l-Hijja, the

final month of the Islamic lunar calendar. Called a

Arberry, Arthur J. "Islamic Literature: Persia." In *Near East- duty of humankind to Allah in the Qur'an* (3:97), and the fifth

ern Culture and Society. Edited by T. Cuyler Young. of the five pillars of Islam, in recent years the hajj has attracted

Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951. about two million

Muslims annually from approximately 160

Islam and the Muslim World

529

Pilgrimage

countries. All adult Muslims with proper intentions (niya), proved to me the power of the One God.” In reality, distinct inadequate resources, good health, and sound mind are requirements among pilgrims exist, as illustrated by the vastly different required to perform this duty once during their lifetimes. Other essential services and accommodations enjoyed by those of diverse pilgrimages exist in Islam, including visitations to saints’ nationalities and classes. In perception, the community reshines (ziyara), but these are not officially sanctioned. reflects unchallenged unity and equality.

The Kaaba, the focal point of the hajj with its heavenly black stone, was a pilgrimage site long before the time of pilgrims who confront major transitions in their lives, including Muhammad. Shortly before his death, Muhammad claimed marriage, retirement, illness, or death. As a rite of passage, it this site for Islam, and determined a sequence of symbolic also functions as a symbolic affirmation of faith for converts rituals to be performed around it by all Muslims. These or those who are returning to or renewing their beliefs. In rituals reenact events in the lives of Ibrahim (Abraham), the some societies, the hajj transforms ordinary individuals into archetype for Islam as founder of monotheism (hanifiyya) and extraordinary pious exemplars, or social elites. In parts of builder of the Kaaba, his wife Hagar, and their son Isma’il Egypt, those who have completed the hajj receive an elevated status (Ishmael). Collective and individual rites at this site not only close to that of a saint. As possessors of blessings replicate the actions of Muhammad, but also recall the sacred (baraka) extracted from the holy land, returning pilgrims movements of pious biblical prophets who predate Islam. become saintly individuals reborn free of sin, deserving of paradise. Having successfully navigated the difficult journey Prior to the hajj, pilgrims undergo a ritual cleansing that to Mecca and back, pilgrims are likened to Muhammad who also made the tough trek to Jerusalem and paradise in the identities, and allows them to enter sacred space and time as a middle of the night. Hausa Nigerians use the pilgrimage to unified group of believers before God. Men wear a simple export local healing practices (involving spirits) into orthodox white garment to

symbolize their unity as Muslims; women dox Saudi culture, for which they are greatly but clandestinely wear customary dress, which demonstrates the meeting of compensated. These healers return home to enjoy loftier diverse cultures on the common holy ground of Mecca. The social and economic positions as a result of their craft. In both initial rite of the hajj (tawaf), which includes a sevenfold Egyptian and Nigerian examples, the hajj accentuates local circumambulation of the Ka ba, is followed by the “running” Muslim practices that challenge the orthodoxy and sense of (sa y) of pilgrims between two hills. This action recalls Hagar’s monolithic communal unity asserted through collective ritual. frantic search for water. The apex of the hajj is the “standing” of all pilgrims on Mount Arafat from noon until sunset as they The hajj serves both as a spiritual and political arena. pray individually and collectively to their one God. After Nineteenth-century Muslim anti-imperialist movements were sundown, all spend the night at Muzdalifa before the next inspired by the hajj. In 1822 and 1823, Sayyid Ahmad perday’s ritual performances of the “stoning” and the “sacrifice” formed the pilgrimage, and then launched a jihad against at Mina. Both actions reenact the sacred drama of Ibrahim’s British influence in Egypt. Imam Shamil of Daghestan and attempted sacrifice of Isma il. Pilgrims throw seven stones at Shaykh Abd al-Qadir of Algeria met during the hajj to discuss the a pillar representing Satan who tried to divert Ibrahim from French presence in North Africa and the Russians God’s command to sacrifice his son; they sacrifice to cele- in the Causasus. Recent global controversies are played out on the pilgrimage stage, since control of the hajj is directly associated with leadership in the Islamic world. In 1935, an attempt over the world in gratitude for God’s mercy. After the was made to assassinate Ibn Sa ud during the hajj, in protest of sacrifice, pilgrims may perform another tawaf and sa y, and Wahhabi control of the shrines. Recent Saudi control then gradually reenter profane space by cutting or shaving among those over the hajj has bred resentment and favoritism billion Muslims who now have access to the hajj through the rapid air, land, and sea travel of the modern age. The Islamic pilgrimage preserves, elevates, and reinforces In 1986, when King Fahd of Saudi Arabia declared himself to be collective and individual Muslim identities in a constantly custodian of the holy sites, Iran challenged his authority by delivering changing world. Collectively, pilgrims confirm the basic

sets of revolutionary sermons condemning America, including the affirmation of God's oneness, Mecca, Israel, and other enemies of Islam (including the Saudi government). The Libyan leader Mu ammar al-Qaddafi byinity, and the importance of their prophetic past. Many passed Saudi authority when he invoked independent judgment to deny the hajj as an essential pillar of Islam. In 2002, the Iraqi government provoked the Saudis to take action when they sent civilian planes to transport pilgrims to differences. As Malcolm X pronounced in his autobiography the holy land without prior notification of the United Nations Security Council, a direct violation of a 1999 agreement, from all over the world coming together as one! It has been a triumph. Through increased media coverage of the hajj, along

530

Islam and the Muslim World Pilgrimage

Hajj: Pilgrimage to Mecca

One day is measured from sunset to sunset.

Medina

Jeddah

MECCA

The 3 Jamarat

3 Stone Pillars

al-Khayf Mosque

MINA

MUZDALIFA

Al-Mash'ar

al haram

N PLAIN OF 'ARAFAT

DAY 1: 8TH DHU-1-HIJJA

Yaum at-Tarwiyah (Day of Deliberation)

Site of the Prophet's Farewell Sermon

Jabal al-Rahma

TAWAF al-QUDUM: The initial circumambula-

Mount of Mercy

tion of the Ka bah is performed

Namira Mosque

Personal prayer is made (du a)

Ta'if

Prayer is made at the station of Abraham

2 4 6km

(MAQAM IBRAHIM)

0

The pilgrim drinks the water of ZAMZAM

The pilgrim performs the SA'Y or courses

between SAFA and MARWA

The pilgrim spends the night at MINA

DAY 2: 9TH DHU-1-HIJJAH

DAY 3: 10TH

DHU-1-HIJJAH

DAYS 4, 5, 6: 11TH, 12TH, 13TH

DHU-1-HIJJAH

i

Yaum Arafat (Day of Arafat)

Yaum an-Nahr (Day of

Sacrifice)

Ayyam at-Tashriq (Days of Drying Meat, that

WUQUF (a presence, like the multitudes on

The pilgrim prays the

dawn prayer (SUBH) and is, taking provision)

the Day of Judgement, between noon and

visits the MASH AR

al-HARAM

The pilgrims stay at MINA, and each day

sunset on the plain of Arafat or on the "Mount

The pilgrims gather

49 or 70 pebbles at between sunset and sunrise throw seven

of Mercy" (JABAL RAHMA)

Muzdalifa to stone

the JAMARAT

stones at each of the 3 JAMARAT

Frequent recitation of the Abrahamic TALBIYA

They go to MINA via

WADI MUHASSAR

It is permissible to terminate the Pilgrimage

("Here I am, O Lord...")

on the 12th if departure takes place by

sunset

They cast seven stones (RAMI-I-JIMAR) at the

After sunset the IFADAH ("overflowing") or

JAMRAT al- AQABA

A new covering (kiswa) is put on the Ka ba

NAFRA ("rush") takes place; this is a rapid

Upon departure, a final circumambulation of

The animal sacrifice is made between now

departure for MUZDALIFA

and day 6

the Ka ba is made: TAWAF

al-WADA

Night prayers (ISHA) are combined with the

("circumambulation of farewell")

A lock of hair can be clipped terminating

delayed sunset prayer (MAGHRIB) and

most of the conditions of consecration

performed near the MASH AR al-HARAM, a

(IHRAM) between now and the final day

station of the pilgrimage in Muzdalifah

The pilgrims spend the night at MUZDALIFA

The pilgrims return to

Mecca and circumambulate the Ka ba (TAWAF al-IFADA)

SOURCE: Glassé, Cyril. The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989.

Illustration of the pilgrim's trek to Mecca.

with computer access to the virtual hajj, these tensions among

An image of pilgrims praying at Mount of Mercy appears in the
the many conflicting faces of Islam will only increase, as will
volume two color insert.

efforts to make the hajj a venue for common Muslim religious
identity around the world.

See also Ibadat; Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Ritual.

Islam and the Muslim World

531

Pilgrimage

Grand Mosque floorplan

N

- 1 The well of Zamzam
- 2 The Maqam (station of) Ibrahim
- 3 The Hatim, or semi-circular wall round the Hijr Isma'il where
Isma'il and Hajar Hagra are buried
- 4 The Mataf, or open circumambulation area round the Ka ba
- 5 The Ka ba
- 6 The door to the Ka ba. The Multazam ("the place of holding")
is the area between the door and the Black Stone
- 8
- 7 The Black Stone
- 8 The Mas'a (the place of running back and forth) between
Safa and Marwa
- 9 Steps down to Zamzam faucets
- 10 The portion of the Sa'y which is run, not walked
- 11 Safa (the hill is enclosed in the Mosque)
- 12 King Abd al- Aziz Gate
- 13 Marwa (the hill is enclosed in the Mosque)
- 14 Gate of the Umra
- 15 Salam Gate

Note: Mutawwifs (Guides) can be found near the Maqam Ibrahim and near Safa.
Wheelchairs and litters can also be found near Safa.

SOURCE: Glassé, Cyril. The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam. San Francisco:
Harper & Row, 1989.

Floorplan of the Grand Mosque.

532

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or near the Muslims who visit the shrines, thus

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Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1991. boundaries
between their communities. This differentiates

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State University of New York Press, 1990. have been practiced. For example, in premodern times of

Long, D. The Hajj Today: A Survey of Contemporary Pilgrim- overland
travel, pilgrims from Spain and North Africa on
age to Mekkah. Albany: State University of New York their way to
Mecca to perform the hajj would often plan a stop
Press, 1979. in Tanta, in

the Egyptian Delta, to visit the shrine of Ahmad
Peters, F. E. The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Badawi
(1199–1276). Although such rituals are traditional
the Holy Places. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University and premodern
in their origins, modern urban Muslims in
Press, 1994. regions where

ziyara pilgrimage is customary and deeply rooted in local practice are often seen among the pilgrims celebrating the anniversaries of these saints. (1982): 241–260.

See also Ibn Hanbal; Pilgrimage; Hajj; Saint; Tasawwuf.

Wolfe, Michael. *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage*. New York: Richard C. Martin Grove Press, 1997.

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PLURALISM

Kathryn Kueny
Irene Schneider

ZIYARA

POLITICAL

In and Shi ite Islam, the concept of ziyara is found in many
Krämer Gudrun

diverse parts of the Muslim world, especially those parts for which Sufism was the main agency for the spread of Islam. The chief exception to the tolerance of ziyara historically is LEGAL AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS

found in those regions where the Hanbali school of law has Several Qur'anic verses as well as hadiths seem to confirm the predominated. Since the eighteenth century this has been acceptance of ethnic and religious diversity or pluralism. One such primarily in the Arabian Peninsula under the influence of Wahhabi and Salafi forms of Islamic Puritanism, which shuns have created you from a male and female; and we have made all innovations in worship that were not clearly sanctioned by you in confederacies and tribes so that you might come to the Prophet. know one another. The noblest among you in the eyes of God is the most pious, for God is omniscient and well-informed." Nonetheless, throughout most of Africa, Anatolia, as well This verse offers no prejudice, but rather expresses a consciousness of difference and emphasizes that piety is more visited shrines for centuries, with many local variations in important than the birth. Ethnic pluralism, that is the existence of groups defined primarily by performance. The mazars are visited ence of groups defined primarily by race, language, or other by pilgrims throughout the year, to seek blessing (baraka) cultural, historical, and in some sense geographical criteria from the saint buried at the shrine tomb. Often, one or two was thus accepted from the beginning in Islam. However, the "deputies" or respected followers of the saint will be buried in unity of the Islamic umma (community of believers) was the same complex. The anniversary of the death of the saint emphasized and was thought of as a kind of superstructure (urs, which also means "wedding"), is the occasion of a major upon which other identities, whether tribal or ethnic, visitation and celebration by his devotees. For major saints were hung. urs was an occasion for a ziyara marked by joyous celebration, dancing, and ritual orations. The Spread of Islam to Other

Cultures

From the time of the first conquests, Muslims spread out Although many reform-minded local religious elites (ulema) from the Arabian Peninsula to people who neither spoke Arabic nor have argued that visitation to Sufi shrines was an un-Islamic Arabic nor could claim Arab descent. Different ethnic groups, as well as innovation (bid'a) and thus forbidden, many others have as well as different religions, were incorporated into the new empire. The accepted such practices as local expressions of Muslim piety. empire. The

integration of people from other races and
 Ziyara rituals and performances often attract Christians, cultures did
 not pose great legal or religious problems,
 Hindus, and members of other religious communities who although in
 the first two centuries, the institution of wala

Islam and the Muslim World

533

Pluralism

(clienthood) was used to affiliate non-Arab Muslims to the Legal
 Pluralism
 developing Muslim society. This reflects the struggle be- Islamic
 law can also be called pluralistic. It derives its norms,
 between the pure-Arab, conquering aristocracy, who claimed rules, and
 judgements from the holy texts (Qur an, sunna),
 ethnic and social superiority, and the Muslim converts among but in
 cases where these sources provide no clear rules, they
 the conquered, who could claim neither ethnic nor familial are derived
 through the method of analogy (qiyas). Rules and judgements
 advantage. Thus, the cohabitation of different ethnicities and
 derived in this way were then gradually accepted through the
 races was never without problems. The idea of racial inno-
 consensus of the jurists (ijma), which, however, was not
 cence and total racial (and ethnic) harmony in Islam is, in
 institutionalized. Thus, from the beginning, there existed a
 other words, a Western creation, as Bernard Lewis argues in
 wide range of acceptable legal resolutions to probhis 1990 volume, Race and
 Slavery in the Middle East. lems. Over time these were derived
 from the texts by the
 jurists (fuqaha) and laid down in the legal literature. This
 Accommodating Other Religious Practices process of
 derivation was based on the independent juristic
 Religious pluralism, on the other hand, must be dealt with on
 interpretation of the texts, called ijtiha. Codification of law
 several levels. Whereas the acceptance of the “people of the only
 began in modern times, starting in the Ottoman Empire
 book” (comprising Muslims, Christians, and Jews) was stated with the
 mecelle in 1877. The methodological tool of ijtiha
 from the beginning, and whereas Christians and Jews had an and the
 pluralism of different legal norms and rules have
 acknowledged (but not equal) position in the Muslim society, always
 supplied Islamic Law with a certain flexibility.
 people belonging to other, “non-book” religions were required to convert to
 Islam. However, even within Islam, Four major legal schools have
 emerged over time. These
 belief itself is not and cannot be considered monolithic. are the
 Maliki, Hanafi, the Shafi , and the Hanbali. In

Pluralism existed in Islamic formal theology as well as in addition there are the Shi'ite schools of law, the most unpopular belief.

tant of which being the school of the Twelver Shi'a. On the institutional level, this pluralism led the rulers of the Mamluk Empire, in Egypt in the thirteenth century, to create the offices of the four judges, each associated with one of the four Sunni schools of law. The common belief in Islam is based on the acknowledgment of the unity of God, and Muhammad being the prophet of God. It also requires the acknowledgment of the other four pillars of faith: prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and the payment of alms. Those who did not accept these basic tenets were considered to be unbelievers. On the other hand, within this restricted to the Muslim community, and the legal framework, a wide range of different forms of religiosity independence of the Jewish and Christian communities was developed, as evidenced by the rise of the mystic orders, accepted to a certain degree. Thus, Islamic law could be especially since the fifteenth century. defined as a personal law and not as the law of a territory. In the Ottoman Empire, the millet system began as a coexistence of religious communities, each with its own administrative issues, including the analysis of the concept of God, the autonomy and jurisdiction. This system finally led to a change ontological and cosmological proofs, and the politics of the whereby the personal law became more territorial, application of divine rule to the community. Different theological schools came into existence, such as the Murji'a, the Ottoman Empire and not only to the Muslim community. Qadiriyya, and the Mu'tazila. These have been complemented by diverse approaches to mystical and philosophical Legal pluralism describes the (legal) situation observed in theology and, more recently, by a theology that reflected the the Islamic countries today, but it is by no means exclusive to them. From the lawyer's point of view, legal pluralism denotes a state's recognition of the existence of a multiplicity of legal sources that constitute its legislation: international treaties, level must be looked at in a historical perspective, taking into customary law, religious law, and the like. From the socioconsideration Islam's adaptation to the manifold political, logical point of view, legal pluralism can be defined more

economical, regional, and social conditions, and the different broadly, to acknowledge that a plurality of sometimes intercultural backgrounds and separate historical developments active social fields produce norms of legitimate behavior. For that prevailed in the vast areas into which it spread. There is, Islam, the term not only recognizes the coexistence of modhowever, a limitation to tolerance, a turning point where ern, secular modern laws alongside shari a norms, but also the different beliefs must be judged as unbelief (kufr). Just where existence of customary practice beside, or even in opposition this turning point occurs is still under discussion today, and to state law.

transgressions are still prosecuted. An example is the case of Nasr Abu Zaid (b. 1943), who was considered an unbeliever Throughout its history, the legal structures of Islamic for his interpretation of the Qur an. As punishment, he was society have made room not only for the coexistence of shari a forced to divorce his wife in 1995 (although the marriage was and qanun (that is, religious and secular law), but also for later reinstated). customary practice (urf). An example of this is the so-called

534

Islam and the Muslim World

Pluralism

“secular justice” of the mazalim, an institution dealing with Lewis, Bernard. Race and Slavery in the Middle East. Oxford, grievances that not only is rooted deeply in the theory of U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Islamic constitution but which has also been practiced through centuries. The problem of accommodating multiple sources

Irene Schneider

of the law, however, gained special importance under the influence of modern, secular Western law in nineteenth and POLITICAL twentieth centuries. In response to the growing importance Contemporary positions as formulated by Islamic thinkers of Western law in Muslim societies, a powerful political Islam and activists can be roughly divided into two opposing views: arose in the 1970s that was rooted in the belief of the one deeply suspicious of pluralism as menacing Muslim necessary implementation of Islamic law. Thus, Islamic law power and unity, the other supporting pluralism as contributwas rediscovered as a national legal tradition, and was held up ing to Muslim strength and creativity. In a kind of political in opposition to the influence of the Western law. tawhid (the theological doctrine of the oneness of God), the first gives priority to the unity of the community, which

Kilian Bälz, a turn of the twenty-first-century legal scholar figures so prominently in the Qur'an and sunna of the Prophet. whose work has focused on the problem of the legal pluralism This corresponds to the concept of *ijma*, that is, the consensus in Muslim society, has argued that the coexistence and of the Muslim community as expressed by its religious relation between the modern Western law and the *shari'a* has modern scholars in juridical theory (*usul al-fiqh*) to which authors frequently refer when trying to ground their notions in shown that in Egypt, as in many other Islamic countries, the the Islamic tradition. Taken to its extremes, the emphasis constitution holds the principles of *shari'a* to be the primary on unity can imply the rejection of all divergence of source of legislation. In 1994, however, Egypt's highest court opinions, or any kind of criticism or opposition to the defended the autonomy of the secular legal order by taking dominant doctrines and practices, which are denounced as fitna, control of the interpretation of Islamic law. As Bälz reports, that is, a menace to, and sin against, not just the given the court reserves to itself the right to interpret Islamic rules, sociopolitical system but the divinely ordained order at large. and it reconstructs Islamic law on the basis of secular para- If there is only one truth, and if it can be identified without doubt or digms. This is, however, nothing new. The interpretation of mistake, there is no room for free debate, political shari'a has historically been flexible, as can be seen in the competition and institutionalized pluralism, for there are only two existence of several different schools of law (*ikhtilaf*) and "parties" (or rather groups or communities): the party of through the practice of *ijtihad*, which is the legal interpreta- party of God (*hizb allah*) and the party of the devil (*hizb al-ta'at* of the Qur'an and other textual sources by jurists. Thus, shaytan). Political parties represent particularistic interests at the Islamic legal pluralism refers not only to multiple sources of expense of the common good (*al-maslaha al-amma*), the law (religious or secular), but also to multiple interpreta- dividing and thereby weakening the community. tions of any given law. Quoting a well-known Qur'anic verse (Sura 49:13) and an Also important to the analysis of Islamic legal pluralism is equally famous Prophetic saying (*hadith*) according to which an examination of rules, other than those enacted by the state, the "diversity of opinion [*ikhtilaf*] among my community is a which govern and shape social conduct. Social norms and blessing," advocates of the alternative view point to the customary practices can in no way be considered uniform elements

of diversity and pluralism in the religious, legal, and through out the lands of Islam, yet they operate within or historical heritage of the Muslim community (including most alongside of formal legal structures. An important example of notably the different Sunni and Shi'ite schools of law, sing., this is the *haqq al- arab*, a form of conflict resolution in madhhab) as one of the very sources of its flowering, resilient modern Egypt (and other Muslim countries), that operates ience, and attractiveness. Even though there is only one truth, outside of both religious and formal secular law, yet enjoys at there is no guarantee that humans will be able to find it with least partial official recognition.

infallible certainty. Free debate is therefore both legitimate and necessary, and given the conditions of modern mass See also: *Ada*; *Hadith*; *Law*; *Qur'an*; *Shari'a*; *Sunna*.

society, political pluralism may have to be institutionalized in political parties and associations to become effective.

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However, there are clear limits to legitimate diversity and

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from the Islamic viewpoint: they are defined by

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law and revelation. Debate must fall short of any

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critique of religion, or its dominant interpretations,

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readily denounced as blasphemy, heresy (*kufr*), or

Dupret, Baudoin; Berger, Maurits; and al-Zwaini, Laila. apostasy

(*rida*). The crucial issues of religious authority and

Legal Pluralism in the Arab World. The Hague: Kluwer effective

power of definition are largely left unaddressed. As

Law International, 1999. long as the

religious categories of truth and falsehood, right

Islam and the Muslim World

535

Poetry, Literature

and wrong, licit and illicit are used to evaluate political shari'a, or

about the precise nature of the Islamic state or

opinions and decisions, political pluralism remains confined system

they wish to establish. While the term is mostly

to what the powers-that-be define as consistent with the applied to

groups and associations, including political parties,

public order, which in its turn can be identified with prevalent

individuals can also be labeled Islamists. To the extent that

understandings of religion, custom and morals. Islamists

engage in politics, they are part of political Islam. An alternative term, “integralism,” is derived from the French, See also Pluralism: Legal and Ethno-Religious. where it is more commonly used than Islamism. Both terms are, by and large, synonymous.

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Islamist trend (Ar. al-tayyar al-islami) that is active in the political sphere. Political Islam is not synonymous with conduct, or a repertory of images and metaphors relevant to violent, radical, or extremist Islamism, and it is not restricted to politics, as well as to various attempts to define an “Islamic opposition groups. The spectrum ranges from advocates of state” or “Islamic order.” an Islamic republic to sympathizers of an Islamic monarchy or a resuscitated caliphate, and from self-declared liberals to The “Islamic Trend” uncompromising conservatives. Some Islamists are com- Like any other term that is used to define the broad and monly classified as moderate or pragmatic, others as radical, heterogeneous “Islamic trend,” such as Islamism, integralism, militant, or extremist. For practical reasons, the term is best and even more so, fundamentalism, the term “political Islam” used for organized groups, movements, and parties, keeping is problematic and contested. “Islamism,” as the most com- in mind that there may be considerable numbers of individuals who share the basic objectives and assumptions of political Islam describes the fact that “Islamists” advocate the establishment without being affiliated to any particular group or party. of an “Islamic order” (nizam Islami) that is usually defined by the “application of the shari’a,” that is, the implementation of Intellectual Origins: The Salafiyya Islam’s divinely ordained moral and legal code regulating all Political Islam is one of the most conspicuous, and at the same time most human activity, including the organization of state and soci- time most controversial, phenomena of modern Muslim societies. ety. It does not indicate how they intend to establish such an societies. It builds on earlier reform movements of the late nineteenth order. For example, it does not specify whether they consider nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which in their turn took up the use of force to be legitimate, nor does it say whether they took up core concerns of major reformers of the eighteenth and early would use, or even privilege, the political sphere in their and early nineteenth centuries. The reformers included Shah Wali Allah activities. It also says nothing specific about their concept of Wali Allah (1703–1762), Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab

536

Islam and the Muslim World

Political Islam

(1703–1792), Uthman Dan Fodio (c. 1754–1817), Muham-
 displaced by a triumphant West only because of its superior

mad al-Shawkani (1760–1839), and Muhammad b. Ali al-power. material

Sanusi (1787–1859), all of whom possessed very different assumptions, approaches, and activities. Political Islam today As an intellectual force, the Salafiyya exerted considerable influence builds on the call to invigorate Islam through ijihad (inde- on (Sunni) Muslim reformers from Morocco to Hadhramaut, pendent reasoning), while departing from the earlier reform- India, Turkestan, and Java. Organizationally speaking, ers in several important ways. Among the reform movements however, it was a weak, loosely connected group of urban of the turn of the twentieth century, the Salafiyya stands out scholars and intellectuals based in the major cities of Egypt, as having had the most important intellectual influence on Syria, and Iraq, as well as their colleagues, friends, and family. later generations of Islamists.

Major figures in the movement included Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897), Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), The Salafiyya movement was named after its objective to and Rashid Rida (1865–1935). The Salafiyya made systematic use of the revive the spirit of the first generations of Muslims (Ar. al- newly emerging press and book market, disseminsalaf al-salih). It sought to accomplish this by recreating a nating their writings over much of the Islamic world within a relatively vibrant Muslim society in the modern era, thereby bringing short period of time. However, they were not linked to about the rebirth, or renaissance, of Islam (al-nahda) after any formal association or party, and consequently there was centuries of weakness and decadence. The Salafiyya defined a no mass support for the ideas and ideals that they espoused. number of themes that are still relevant to many Islamists today: that Islam constitutes the essence of Muslim identity; Ideologues of Political Islam: al-Banna, that it is more than the belief in God and the prophet Maududi, and Qutb Muhammad; that it provides for a specific way of life; and Political Islam proper came into existence after the First that, if properly understood, it is entirely compatible with World War, with the emergence of organized movements modernity, notably modern science and the spirit of rational that reached beyond the limited circles of Muslim scholars, inquiry. However, the Salafiyya also believed that, in order writers, and journalists. The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood for Islam to serve as the principal source of inspiration and was among the most influential of these movements, and its guidance to Muslims in the modern age, it first had to be freed leader, Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949), became one of the bestfrom the many

misunderstandings and distortions that had known representatives of political Islam. Founded in 1928 in been accumulated over the centuries.

the Egyptian provincial town of Ismailiyya, the Muslim Brotherhood (jama at al-ikhwan al-muslimin) grew from a For the Salafiyya, Islamic reform consisted of cleansing rather insignificant association dedicated to moral reform Islam of these misunderstandings and distortions. Only thus into a broad-based mass movement that made a considerable could the creative spirit of the early Muslim community be impact on Egyptian society and politics. Over a period of restored. This required not only dedication but also the several decades, it also expanded into several Arab countries, systematic use of reason. Faith and reason do not contradict from Sudan to Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. Hasan aleach other, but on the contrary, are mutually reinforcing.

Banna excelled as the charismatic leader of his organization, Ijtihad, meaning the effort to “discover” the spirit of divine but he was not an innovative thinker, and is mostly rememlaw rather than blindly following the letter of traditional bered for his activism, not for his contribution to Islamic Islamic jurisprudence (so-called imitation, taqlid), provides thought.

the chief instrument of reform. Muslim jurisprudence, along with its rules and regulations, is not identical with divine law, The opposite could be said of two of the most prominent figures for although God’s law is infallible and unchangeable, War II of political Islam of the interwar and the post-World humans—and the systems of jurisprudence that they may Qutb period: Abu l-A la Maududi (1903–1979) and Sayyid Both of these men were prolific writers, jurists’ law had to be critically revised in order to make it journalists, and to a lesser extent also political activists, the wholly suitable for modern life. This revision could be done former in his native India and Pakistan, the latter in Egypt. by distinguishing between shari a and fiqh. Their major works continue to be read all over the Islamic world. Living under very different circumstances, in societies Shari a comprises the eternal laws and general principles that had little in common except for having been under that had been set down by the divine lawgiver in the Qur an British colonial rule, these men nevertheless shared certain and exemplified by his prophet in the sunna. Fiqh, on the convictions concerning modern society, and they introduced other hand, although based on scripture, refers to the detailed certain key terms that have since become part and parcel of

rules and regulations that were later elaborated by Muslim the
Islamist vocabulary.
jurists. For the Salafiyya, the shari a provides the best guidance for Muslims
in the modern age, allowing them to regain Perhaps foremost of these
terms was their conception
the position of strength and confidence that they so glori- of
sovereignty, which they attributed exclusively to God
ously occupied in earlier times, and from which they had been
(hakimiyya). From His sovereign authority flows the moral

Islam and the Muslim World

537

Political Islam

and legal code that regulates human affairs. This is the shari a, Under
Jamal Abd al-Nasser's regime (1952–1970), the
as it is contained in the Qur an and sunna. Every Muslim Muslim
Brotherhood was severely suppressed inside Egypt.
believer is, thus, able to discover God's law by studying In Syria,
Iraq, and Jordan, by contrast, sister organizations
revelation, and is obligated to apply this law to his or her own were mostly
able to function within the given political framelife. From this perspective,
it follows that all human attempts work. In the 1970s, Egyptian president
Anwar al-Sadat
to create rules and laws of their own design are not only futile,
(1918–1981) revised Nasser's course in favor of a more open
but are also illegitimate. Such attempts constitute a heinous Egyptian
political economy. After rapprochement with the
sin, for they manifest the human will to set oneself up as United
States and ultimately peace with Israel, the Muslim
God's equal, if not as God's rival. Making and following laws
Brothers were able to reorganize, though they were never
other than the shari a is therefore a sign of heresy and granted
official recognition. Their past experience of violent
polytheism (shirk) and must be dealt with as such. For both
confrontations with the government had resulted in terrible
Maududi and Qutb, contemporary Muslims had neglected losses, and
the majority of activists opted for a return to a
their religious duties to such an extent that they had fallen reformist
strategy. The new focus was to be on spreading the
back into a state of (religious) ignorance (jahiliyya). If this message of
Islam (da wa) by all possible means and in all
ignorance could be excused at the time before revelation, it is possible
arenas. The Brotherhood began to use the media and
no longer forgivable, for all men and women are now capable the
educational system more effectively, and to engage in
of hearing the truth and obeying the Lord. Contemporary social and
charitable work, in professional syndicates, trade

Muslims therefore are Muslims by name only. In reality, they unions, and other associations of “civil society.” Muslim Brothers have renounced Islam and have reverted to unbelief (kufr). Both Maududi and Qutb spoke of the possibility to practice recognized political parties. They did not attempt to found a political party of their own, however, even though Islamists in the community of believers (often described as other parts of the Muslim world—from Morocco, Algeria, and “excommunication”). Yet they were much more reluctant and Tunisia to Turkey, Pakistan, and Malaysia—were willing than many of their followers to call for violent measures and able to do so.

against these defective Muslims, and were similarly reluctant to propagate takfir and jihad against society as a whole. They The Islamic Revolution and Its Aftermath did, however, declare un-Islamic any government that im- The Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 had an enormous impact on posed laws and practices not exclusively based on the shari a the Muslim world, and on Islamist activists more and insisted on the duty of all true Muslims to fight with all particularly. It seemed to prove that in spite of the Egyptian their might for the establishment of an Islamic order based on experience, a system as powerful and repressive as the Iranian the shari a. monarchy could be overthrown and replaced by an Islamic republic, provided that the Islamist movement had strong The radical stand taken by Sayyid Qutb in the late 1950s leadership, an effective organization, and the support of the and early 1960s is often explained by the ruthless suppression masses. For accomplishing this feat, the revolutionaries led by that the Muslim Brotherhood in general, and Qutb in par- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989) were admired well ticular, suffered at the hands of the Free Officer regime. The beyond Islamist circles. Still, Khomeini’s theory of the Free Officer movement came to power in Egypt in July 1952 “guardianship of the jurisconsultant” (velayat-e faqih) that and quickly turned against all potential critics and rivals, vested the most qualified Shi ite cleric with political power, including the Muslim Brothers who had initially supported remained controversial among the highest-ranking Shi ite their coup. The Brotherhood likened its experience of perse- scholars, and entirely unacceptable to their Sunni countercution, torture, and exile to the trial and tribulations (mihna) parts. Islamists drew inspiration from the initial success of the

suffered by such venerated figures as Ahmad b. Hanbal Iranian revolution, hoping to follow its example in their own (780–855) at the hands of Muslim rulers in earlier times, and countries. However, with the exception of certain Shi ite they left a lasting imprint on both the collective memory and organizations like Hizb Allah in Lebanon, which initially the individuals concerned. Qutb’s vastly influential book, propagated velayat-e faqih but later adopted different models Ma alim fi l-tariq (Signposts), was written in prison, and Qutb of an “Islamic order,” most Islamists generally avoided comhimself was executed in 1966, becoming a martyr to his cause. ment on the Iranian model of government, declaring it to be Maududi, from whom Qutb had adopted and adapted the suited to Shi ite traditions perhaps, but not to Sunni Islam. notions of hakimiyya, jahiliyya, and takfir had been fortunate enough to work under much more auspicious circumstances, In the wake of the Iranian revolution, Islamist opposition for he endured no such hardships. State persecution can groups and movements grew more active even in those parts of the Muslim world where previously they had not been very prominent to certain parts of the public, as evidenced by Qutb’s or visible. They arose or became stronger in the Maghrib, radicalization, but Maududi’s example shows that radical Lebanon and Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and different parts of positions cannot be reduced to the effects of persecution. Central and Southeast Asia. If previously there had

538

Islam and the Muslim World Political Islam

been individuals and associations advocating an “Islamic outside of it. Its links to existing Islamist leaders and organisolution” to the ills of state, culture, and society in all of these zations have yet to be systematically explored. What can be areas, they had not engaged in the same kind of organized, said is that, within the Muslim world, and not just among and often militant, activity that became the hallmark of the Islamists, the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York 1980s. Yet even after 1979, political Islam remained highly City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., were admired diversified in terms of ideology, strategy, and organization. by many for their sheer boldness and unprecedented At no point did there emerge an Islamist “International” effectiveness. At the same time, even radical Islamists were appalled capable of coordinating Islamist activities around the globe. by the loss of life, condemning the indiscriminate

While there clearly existed cross-links between various groups use of violence against innocent men and women as utterly and individuals, individual groups mostly continued to oper-un-Islamic.

ate within a regional order that was defined by the existing The Islamic Alternative: Visions of an “Islamic Order” state boundaries.

Political Islam draws much of its strength and support from In the 1980s, militant Islam was on the rise and receiving its critique of the existing power relations, blatant injustices, much attention. The assassination of Egyptian president and rampant corruption both within the various Muslim Anwar al-Sadat in 1981; the abortive Islamic uprising in Syria states and societies and globally. More particularly, Islamists in 1982; violent clashes between Islamist activists and the present Islam as the only alternative to the world’s existing powers and ideologies, from capitalism to communism, and state authorities in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Pakistan, and from liberalism to fascism. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, other parts of the Islamic world; the formation of Hizb Allah the United States and the West more generally have been and HAMAS in Lebanon and Palestine, respectively, all identified as the most powerful external enemy of Islam. contributed to the impression that the Islamic world might be Within the Muslim world, secularism is singled out as the swept by a revolutionary tide originating in Iran. It did not most dangerous internal threat to Muslim identity and auhappen. Even in the 1980s, militant Islamism constituted thenticity, notions that have high priority on the Islamist only one segment of the ever-broadening “Islamic trend.” agenda. Most of the themes and slogans put forth by Islamists The majority of Islamists continued to follow a pragmatic have to be judged within the framework of this competition path, combining energetic activities in the public sphere with other powers and ideologies, both within the Muslim (da wa) with grassroots social work as well as economic and world and beyond. With the spread and intensification of political activities of various kinds, including local and naglobalization, however, distinctions between internal and tional politics. The Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, the external trends and elements have become increasingly diffi-Islamic Tendency Movement in Tunisia, the National Is-cult to make.

lamic Front in Sudan, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the Reform Movement in Yemen, the Salvation Party in Turkey, With the exception of Iran and Afghanistan, Islamist the Jama at-i Islami in Pakistan, the Pan-Malayan Islamic

opposition movements have not been able to overthrow the
 Party (PAS) in Malaysia, and numerous other organizations ruling
 regimes under which they have arisen, nor to replace
 advocated a pragmatic strategy of nonviolence without com- such
 regimes with Islamic republics. The 1989 military coup
 pletely excluding the use of force where and when it was in Sudan
 may have been staged with the help of the National
 deemed necessary. Islamic
 Front led by Hasan al-Turabi (b.1932), but the
 resultant government was not controlled by the Islamists.
 These organizations did not necessarily shrink from using The kingdom
 of Saudi Arabia, which in several respects
 pressure or even intimidation in order to implement their conforms
 to Islamist ideas, was founded as a result of dynastic
 ideas of proper conduct. Such measures were mostly directed
 conquest, not of an Islamic revolution. In most other states
 against women, artists, and intellectuals. At the same time, with
 significant Muslim populations, or a Muslim majority,
 they condemned takfir of Muslims and armed jihad against
 Islamist groups and parties have been kept under close state
 the government. Despite serious setbacks in the 1990s, when control
 and restrained as much as possible as autonomous
 Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front was prevented from win-
 political actors. In national elections Islamists in several
 ning an electoral majority in 1992, and Turkey's Salvation
 instances have been able to win as much as twelve to twenty
 Party was forced by the military establishment to dissolve and percent
 of the vote, but as a rule they have not been allowed to
 reorganize under a different name, the pragmatic or "moder- play
 an independent role in parliament, let alone to join the
 ate" strategy was upheld by most Islamists throughout the
 government. Turkey, Morocco, Kuwait, Yemen, and Lebanon
 final two decades of the twentieth century. are
 among the few exceptions here. The fact that Islamists
 outside of Iran have proved unable to stage a revolution and
 The same seemed to hold true for the aftermath of 11 to capture
 power in the aftermath of 1979, combined with the
 September 2001. The terrorist attack revealed the existence fact
 that in both Iran and Afghanistan their performance fell
 of a new kind of transnational Islamist network that was able well
 short of expectations, has led a number of observers to
 to recruit and operate within the Islamic world as well as declare
 the "failure of political Islam."

Islam and the Muslim World

Political Islam may well have failed, at least when politics and social fields. Foreign policy and security affairs have been less is narrowly defined, but such a judgement completely ignores affected by Islamist concerns, which tend to focus on Islamic the very deep impact Islamist themes, demands, and activities solidarity, a vociferous critique of the West, and hostility to have had on public debates, social behavior and legal practices Israel. It is in domestic politics that the Islamist impact has all over the Muslim world and among expatriate Muslim been most deeply felt. It remains to be seen to what extent the communities. Islamist activists may have been prevented failure of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and the unimfrom playing an independent political role in most of their pressive economic and social record of the Islamic Republic home countries, but their concerns have been adapted in of Iran will reduce the appeal of political Islam in other parts various ways by the ruling elites, whether as consciously of the world.

employed "Islamic" language, symbols, and imagery (using Islamic formula in their public speeches, building mosques See also Banna, Hasan al-; Fundamentalism; Ikhwan aland Islamic schools, restoring Islamic monuments, and so Muslimin; Islam and Islamic Law; Maududi, Abu lon), or as acts of ostentatious piety (praying in front of TV A la ; Qutb, Sayyid; Revolution: Islamic Revolution in cameras, going on pilgrimage, or giving up trivial pursuits Iran; Salafiyya; Secularization; Shari a. and "immoral" entertainment or alcohol) to present themselves as devout Muslims.

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social milieus. In light of these developments, which affected Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revoluthe public as much as the private domains, Islamism in tion. The Jama at-i Islami of Pakistan.* Berkeley: University of general and political Islam in particular have been tremen- of California Press, 1994.

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This was possible because, contrary to widespread perceptions, Islamist ideas have not been restricted to militant Gudrun Krämer

opposition movements, but have been shared by a considerable portion of the broader Muslim public. With its combination of catchy slogans (“Islam is the solution,” “application of the shari a,” “the Qur an is our constitution,” and the like), its

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

commitment to social and charitable work, and its occasional application of pressure and intimidation, Islamism has ap- The primary model for Muslim political organization has been the peeled not just to the young, the desperate, and the unedu- been the early Muslim community in Medina, ruled by the prophet cated, but also to many members of the urban middle class. It prophet Muhammad, whose foundation in 622 C.E. marks the year 1 of has found a sympathetic hearing from government officials as year 1 of the Muslim calendar. Rather than maintaining the well as the well-educated, affluent, and widely traveled pro- segmentary system of tribal organization, it demanded that fessionals, academics, and businesspeople, including active all residents submit to the authority of the Apostle of the representatives of civil society. The term “political Islam” is, Faith and accorded second-class status to non-Muslims. Musfor practical reasons, mostly applied to organized move- lims tend to evaluate all further political developments acments, which as a rule have to work in opposition to the cording to how closely they replicate Muhammad’s precepts,

regimes in power, but the ideas and demands implicit in the example, and the life of the early community. Many political phrase have permeated large sections of society, and have changes have occurred since then, but they have been legitieven influenced government policies, at least in the legal and mized by their congruity with Medinan precedents.

540

Islam and the Muslim World

Political Organization

The enormous conquests of the first Muslim century first century; and the revelation of Islam, which trumped all created two new problems: the nature of leadership in the the rest. absence of the Prophet, and the relationship between the few Muslims and the vastly more numerous and sophisticated The cultural assimilation of Arabs to non-Arab civilizaconquered peoples. The first problem was solved rather tion, accompanied by resistance from purists, became an simply, by the institution of a monarchy (khalifa: “caliphate”), entrenched cultural pattern in Muslim society from the first. initially elective and subsequently hereditary. Disputes over This conflict shaped the atmosphere in which political develqualifications and selection processes generated divisions in opment took place. Since the purists held the high moral the community: Kharijites wanted to select on merit, choos- ground, every step toward the adoption of sophisticated ing the best Muslim as leader; Shi ites demanded a ruler from governmental techniques that had not been practiced in Medina was disguised, awkwardly over-justified, and incesthe Prophet’s family who shared his charisma; while the santly challenged.

majority Sunnis settled for whoever could maintain order in the community, by force if necessary.

Medieval Islamic Government

Initially, convinced Muslims were few. To achieve his con- The caliphs adopted many characteristics of non-Muslim quests, the caliph Umar (634–644) recruited nominal conmonarchs but were legitimated by their claims to relationship verts and Christian Arabs into the army, but rewarded Muslim with Muhammad and by their enforcement of the law of God. fighters by establishing a salary register (diwan) that listed Over time the caliphs were weakened and finally eliminated combatants (plus dependents and the Prophet’s relatives) in (1258), but at first they were assisted, then dominated, by order of conversion with the earliest Muslim converts receivwarlords who used the titles emir and sultan. These warlords ing the most pay. When the caliph Uthman (644–656)

eventually took the title of caliph for themselves. The order reversed this order in favor of members of the Quraysh tribe. The fall of the caliphate caused political unity to disappear, but because of their administrative expertise, Islam's great civil and cultural relations continued to unite the Muslim world. In the seventh century, a civil war was ignited, leading to the split between the Sunni and Shi'ite factions. In the twentieth century some sultans became kings, while others were replaced by presidents and premiers. Ideologically, the Umayyads (661–750). They adopted the Byzantine and Sasanian bureaucracies and their land and tax revenues as legitimate political successors to Muhammad, but most believe that the caliphate was a political order, which were translated into Arabic beginning in 697 C.E. They developed an Islamic coinage, replacing images of kings with death were not binding on future generations. Substitutes for sacred texts. They created a standing army whose commanders Muhammad's religious leadership are found in the Qur'an became provincial governors responsible for political, and the Prophet's example (sunna) and their interpreters, military, fiscal, and religious duties. As their numbers grew more extensive, they raised the caliph from tribal chief to emperor and adopted imperial court protocol and organization. The second problem, the relationship with non-Muslims, was less tractable. Political subjugation of non-Muslims was responsible for guarding the curtain separating the hajib was accomplished through disarmament, discriminatory taxation of caliph from his subjects, thus regulating access to the ruler. (jizya, kharaj), and the imposition of civil disabilities. Non-Muslims were afforded a legitimate, if secondary, status in The revolution ushering in the Abbasid dynasty (750–945) was based in Islamic administration; they could serve as government bureaucrats, tax farmers (private contractors for tax collection), "foreign" political practices, but such practices nevertheless continued. or auxiliary troops, but could not hold primary power. If they The Abbasids were famed for their pomp and splendor, bore arms, they were excused from jizya. Since most non-Muslims were based on the wealth of Iraq, which they made their capital Muslims were accustomed to subject status in imperial systems, this was not a difficult transition for them. law and court systems, co-opting the ulema into the bureaucracy and imposing upon them responsibilities for urban administration. Culturally, however, this order of subordination was reversed.

and taxation, despite the ulema's own misgivings. Non-Arabs and non-Muslims, having been fully literate, were reluctant about serving secular rulers. A second governmental element, the scribes, were organized in bureaus (also called diwans) in most fields: agricultural and craft techniques; urbanization; and social stratification; cooking and building; literature, art, and music, and dance; theological and legal argumentation; administration and record-keeping; royal governance; and court governance, and provincial scribes employed preprotocol. Three Arab achievements drew general admiration, Islamic forms of taxation and reporting. A scribal culture of encyclopedic knowledge and cosmopolitan politesse developed. Non-Arabic poetry as well; military prowess, at least in the adab, which was valued at court, conveyed in the literature of adab, which

Islam and the Muslim World

541

Political Organization

blended Islamic and non-Islamic influences. The third administrative element was the military. Military commanders held the actual power. They multiplied their followers by broadening the iqta system. The military bureaus of the held provincial governorships and ministerial posts, while administration expanded to manage iqta s, and provincial their subordinates governed local areas. bureaucracies developed.

Imperial organization, court protocol, and standardized taxation were justified in Islamic terms with quotations from Nomad Invasions The Impact of

replacement of the Buyids by a series of nomadic Turkish The Kitab al-kharaj (Book of taxation) of Abu Yusuf (d. 798). tion of Buyid-style iqta s and Abbasid-style bureaucratic government. Conversion and settlement altered the early system, in which Speaking no Arabic and little Persian, the invaders ernment. conquered non-Muslims paid taxes to the ruling Arab Muslims replaced local iqta holders with their own men, but they depended lims. As more people converted to Islam, political distinctions depended on indigenous administrators, sharia courts, and local between Arab and non-Arab Muslims were eliminated. All local

authorities to govern the realm. This pattern lasted through Muslims, regardless of origin, paid tithe (ushr) unless they acquired non-Muslims' lands. In that case, they paid the non-regimes until the modern period.

Muslims' higher land tax (kharaj). Jizya, initially a communal Politics at the center became a matter of competition for tribute, became a poll tax paid by military-age non-Muslim the throne among members of the royal house and jostling males in lieu of service. Non-Muslim groups retained their for power and wealth among the dynasty's supporters. As the communal structure and personal law (administered by the historian Ibn Khaldun observed, during and immediately clergy) but used Islamic courts for state-related purposes, after the initial takeover the ruling group was united in although their testimony was supposedly invalid. Islamic law pursuit of conquest and control, but over time fragmentation (shari'a) in its various schools (madhhab) systematized the of power and competition from other interests weakened interpretation of Qur'an and sunna and was administered in group cohesion, permitting conquest from outside or inter-Islamic courts under Muslim judges (qadis). Royal courts nal takeovers. In the tug-of-war between cohesion and dissonance (mazalim), administered by the ruler, adjudicated problems lution, centrifugal forces included hereditary devolution of outside Islamic law, such as treason and governmental coruption or iqta, tribal disaffection, unjust treatment and conseruption, carrying on an ancient tradition of justice based on quent loss of loyalty, and neglect of irrigation or blockage of custom and rulers' edicts (urf). trade routes, leading to decreases in revenue. Conversely, rulers exercised control by building up revenue in their own In the Abbasid period the Arab military force united by treasuries, rewarding their followers generously, maintaining religious and tribal ties was replaced by a standing army of the infrastructure, putting down crime and rebellion, ensuring Khurasanian troops and a caliphal bodyguard of slave (mamluk, ing the proper functioning of administrative and legal sysghulam) soldiers, mainly of Turkish origin. At the same time, tems, and supporting the symbols of religion: the caliph (until taxation became politicized, that is, the right to collect certain 1258), the ulema, and Islamic law. Equally important was the taxes became a political reward. This system, called iqta relationship between the regime's officials and local authorities ("division," apportionment of revenues), was soon used to ties who were respected by the common people. reward the military forces, allowing the new military groups

access to money and land and creating a new aristocracy (not Peasants, tribesmen, and city-dwellers were insulated from quite feudal, as the new “aristocrats” had no responsibility for dynastic and court politics by a layer of local notables (a yan). the lands or people from which their revenues came). Iqta These men—large landholders, rich merchants, ulema, memholders lived in the cities, patronizing culture and religion. bers of old elites superseded by new conquerors—acted as They collected revenue in the countryside but left peasant intermediaries between the government and the people, producers to their own devices, widening the gap between presenting the people’s needs to the new rulers, providing urban and rural cultures. information on local conditions and revenues, and interpreting royal decrees locally. The a yan were connected by family, Members of this aristocracy became provincial governors educational and sectarian commonalities, marriage relations, uncontrollable by Abbasid civil administration, and indepen- and patronage. Patronage also built vertical hierarchies with the people dent emirates soon emerged, such as the Samanids in the people of town and village, and with members of the ruling Transoxiana (874–999). These local dynasties sent no reve- elite. nues to the caliph, even if they acknowledged his nominal authority, but they copied the Abbasids’ administration and Provincial politics was largely based upon patron-client slave army. In 945 C.E., even the capital, Baghdad, was relations passed down through generations, within which captured by Shi ite warlords, the Buyid emirs (945–1055); marital politics had an important part. Although women possessed nearly simultaneously Cairo was taken by rival Isma ili ca- no political rights in medieval Muslim society, they played a liphs, the Fatimids (969–1171). The Abbasid caliph became a significant political role through creating family figurehead, dispensing legitimation for the warlords, who alliances, transmitting information, and preserving property

542

Islam and the Muslim World

Political Organization

within the family. In rural areas these relations were com- The Seljuks abolished the barid, but probably later reinstated it. Both the pounded by debt patronage, as large landholders and urban Abbasids and Samanids also had a bureau for the “crown tax farmers loaned money, seed, and draft animals to peasant lands” that went under various names (diya, khass). The Samanids farmers, using the future crop as collateral. Tribal clientage,

had separate bureaus for the market inspector
 ever-shifting and based on power and wealth, determined (muhtasib)
 and pious foundations (awqaf); the Seljuks developed nomadic politics. These
 relations, and the local power struggles opened separate bureaus for iqta s
 (muqaa at) and confiscations
 gles to which they gave rise, continued independently of (mufradat).
 whoever held the capital or sat on the throne. Since they were
 inseparable from the revenue-producing system, they were The
 central government's administrative bureaus included a
 only disturbed from above when the revenue stream was diwan
 al-a la, bureau of the wazir; diwan al-kharaj or diwan alistifa , finance
 bureau; diwan al-insha or diwan al-ughra,
 interrupted by oppression or diverted by corruption, or when
 correspondence bureau; diwan al-ishraf, bureau of inspection;
 the fortunes of war brought battling armies to a particular
 and diwan al- ard, bureau of the army. The Ghaznavids had a
 location.
 bureau for the royal household (wikala). The Abbasids and
 The Seljuk Turks, who conquered Baghdad in 1055, ruled Samanids had a
 bureau for the post system (barid), which also
 Iraq, Iran, and Syria for a century and dominated Asia Minor encompassed
 a system of spies, whose job was to notify the
 for two. Despite their origin as Central Asian tribal nomads ruler if the
 powerful were oppressing the weak. The chief
 (considered rude and barbarous by contemporaries), they officials
 besides the wazir were the treasurer (mustawfi) and
 wove all these disparate political elements into a single the
 chamberlain, keeper of the royal household (wakil or emir
 system. As Sunni Muslims, they supported the caliph and the al-hajib);
 civil bureau heads were paralleled by the heads of
 religious establishment, unlike the Buyids and Fatimids, military
 contingents and guard corps. Some provinces were
 whose Shi ism ran counter to the dominant religious trend.
 bureaucratically governed; others remained under their own
 local dynasties. The offices of provincial governor and treas-
 The Seljuks also employed a professional scribal staff, urer were
 sometimes combined, but more often they were
 which expanded as the regime split into several autonomous separated
 for firmer central control. The few civil officials in
 kingdoms. The scribal cadre's ideas on governance, derived the
 province were outnumbered by the military, which was
 from Abbasid and even pre-Islamic precedents, harnessed dispersed
 throughout the province both for security purposes
 imperial and tribal ideologies and practices to an Islamic and for
 pasturage for their horses.
 vision of governance and the creation of a just Muslim
 The administration of the Seljuks was admired and imitated in society. These ideas were

expressed in the wazir Nizam al-Mulk by all their successor states, from the Ayyubids of Mulk's Siyasat-nama (The Book of Governance) and the teacher Egypt (1171–1250) to the Khwarazmshahs of Transoxiana al-Ghazali's Nasihat al-Muluk (Counsel for Kings), and were (1150–1220). The most important imitators were the Ilkhanids made the basis of administration at all levels through dissemination (1258–1335) and the Mamluks (1250–1517). nation to governors and officials in royal edicts. An official called emir-e dad presided over the mazalim court, dispensing justice on issues outside Islamic law. The Seljuks replaced Anatolia to Iran and Central Asia. They initially exploited their tribal military forces with a salaried slave bodyguard and exploited this territory as a reservoir of resources, but under a standing army supported by iqta's, giving iqta holders several great Persian wazirs they adopted an organization like greater responsibility for security and prosperity on their that of the Seljuks. Originally all officials had Mongol superior iqta's and granting military commanders important positions visors and all taxes were sent to Mongolia, but later the region as governors and tutors of royal princes. They also presided over a restoration of administratively independent from the Mongol home agriculture through irrigation works, land. Since its terrain would not support the Mongols' nomadic reversing temporarily the economic decline of the central economy, iqta's were assigned to the military forces. Persian, Islamic lands. They recruited Sunni ulema to serve as administrators and judges, and their construction of mosques and records in Persian and drew up manuals for government Islamic colleges (madrasas) and expansion of pious foundations (waqf) gave the ulema employment and financial security. future generations.

A letter attributed to the wazir Nizam al-Mulk recommended that the Mongol Empire soon fragmented, the successor states preserved Ilkhanid organization on a smaller scale; blessing and abundance would not depart from the world. Jalayirid and Akkoyunlu copies of Ilkhanid secretarial manuals still exist in Turkish libraries. As for the officer and bureaucrat to become a kind of co-ruler, the Mamluks, their fiscal administration was unique due to the highest ranking of the non-Turks. He headed an administra-

peculiarities of Nile Valley agriculture, but their secretarial
 tion modeled on that of the Abbasids and their successors, the and judicial
 organizations show Seljuk influences. They too
 Samanids and the Ghaznavids of Afghanistan (976–1186). produced
 influential correspondence and finance manuals,

Islam and the Muslim World

543

Political Organization

compiling traditions of the past and changes introduced by Urban
 areas were also surveyed, but their revenues were
 the Mamluk regime. usually
 assigned to provincial governors (beylerbey) or district
 governors (sanjakbey), who supported their retinues from
 The Early Modern Period these larger
 allocations (khass). The retinues performed po-
 Beginning in the sixteenth century, Ilkhanid and Mamluk lice and
 guard duties. Governors also commanded provincial
 administrative traditions were combined in the three ma- or district
 troops on campaign. Subordinate officers received
 jor empires of the early modern Middle East: Ottoman medium-sized
 timars called zeamets. The sultan’s khass until
 (1299–1923), Safavid (1501–1732), and Mogul (1526–1857). the
 mid-sixteenth century comprised half of the empire’s
 The sixteenth century was a time of population growth, revenues and
 paid the expenses of the palace, harem, and
 urbanization, monetarization of the economy, and techno- janissaries
 and other elements of the standing army and
 logical advancement; it was also a time of political and palace guard.
 Collection of urban revenues such as market
 commercial expansion and increased governmental stability. taxes, tolls,
 customs dues, and manufacturing taxes was man-
 Like contemporary European countries, the Ottomans, aged by
 agents or farmed out to wealthy merchants or
 Safavids, and Moguls expanded through conquest and trade, moneylenders.
 Timar records show that the military forces
 creating stable empires that lasted centuries rather than and
 administrative cadres were diverse in origin, with memdecades. Long-lived
 ruling families traded the charisma of bers from many religions and
 ethnicities. All were united by a
 military prowess for dynastic legitimacy, proclaiming abso- common
 culture called “the Ottoman way,” comprising relute rule but actually
 sharing power with family members and ligion, language, and etiquette,
 acquired through decadestop administrators. The palace and harem replaced the
 mili- long training in the palace, administration, or military service.
 tary camp as centers of power. Women became political
 Besides organizing the timars, qanuns regulated the palace

actors in their roles as rulers' wives and mothers, and as organization from at least the era of Mehmed the Conqueror. guardians of minor heirs. Administrators and courtiers grew These qanuns and those regarding timars were updated by in influence, and rebels and rivals were co-opted and incorporated by subsequent rulers. Suleyman the Magnificent was called rated through power-sharing. Court politics became not just "The Lawgiver" because in his reign the qanuns were reconstituted through a struggle for power but a contest over policies. ciled with Islamic law and issued throughout the empire. Modifications continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, legitimized by reference to Mehmed and Suleyman. The greatest development of bureaucratic administration came under the Ottoman timar system. In the late fourteenth century, timars succeeded iqta's as economic support for the posts were reserved for those who had attended and taught at cavalry forces. Timars were individual land revenue assignments for the best madrasas. The highest religious official (shaykh al-Islam) whose rank reflected the ranks of the holders and were (Islam), who oversaw the legal and educational hierarchies, determined by a revenue survey held once every generation. also advised the sultan on the religious legitimacy of his Sultan's agents recorded all revenue sources—crops, herds, decisions. He appointed preachers and guided the empire's mills, fisheries, mines, manufactories, jizya and extraordinary Sunni Muslim orientation. levies, commercial taxes—and the names and obligations of all taxpayers. Survey results were recorded in registers of In the late sixteenth century, gunpowder weapons initiated taxes assessed (mufasssal defters) and timars allocated (ijmal) effected a military transformation from a cavalry aristocracy to an infantry recruited from the lower classes. Recruits were paid amounts recorded in the registers, plus some fees and fines. in cash rather than land grants, and increasingly taxes were collected in They were also responsible for police duties in their timars collected in cash rather than kind. They could therefore be collected by and could be mustered for military service during the campaigning season. collected by government agents or private contractors rather than cavalry paigining season. members, and administration gradually became demilitarized. In other strata, too, changing recruitment Timars were reassigned regularly to prevent formation of patterns altered traditional relationships. Troops recruited local ties and could be revoked for transgressing the registers for the campaigning season and then discharged staged a

or local regulations (qanun). Qanuns were compilations of series of rebellions, the “Jalali revolts,” and were defeated and co-opted only sultanic decrees and local customs or conditions (especially with difficulty. Janissaries stationed in the empire’s cities engaged in commerce, and urban merchants were modified to accord with Islamic law. They were administered locally by qadis (officially appointed judges), working farmers, commoners and slaves became scribes, and Muslim children together with provincial governors whose soldiers enforced the judges’ decisions. Qanun and defter thus governed the economic distress struck the empire; rapid inflation and currency state’s relationship with both timar holders and peasants, and devaluation played havoc with state budgets and salaries. their imposition marked an area’s incorporation into the Ottoman system. legitimated Old ways had to change, but traditional practices still the ruler and maintained the elite. Attempting to

544

Islam and the Muslim World

Political Thought

alter too much too fast, as Osman II (1618–1622) did, risked with non-Islamic village, caste, and clan councils. Imperial violent resistance and deposition. Instead, devolution of power politics was overwhelmingly a politics of the nobility, a created political factions around statesmen satisfying the competition among the religious, ethnic, and factional deneeds of elite groups, while sultans were reduced to arbitrat- mands of the state’s powerful servants. Some rulers’ unwilling between these factions.

ingness to incorporate non-Muslim elites and/or their inability to provide care and protection to productive groups alienated The dominance of the Köprülü faction after 1656 permit- their loyalties and contributed to state fragmentation and ted administrative reform but led directly to war in 1683. British takeover. Apparently, only the Ottoman state was Fiscal reforms in the 1690s instituted new jizya allotments both powerful enough and close enough to Islamic political and lifetime tax farms. These innovations improved govern- norms to receive the caliphal title in the nineteenth century. ment finances, but war revealed the empire’s military inadequacy. Eighteenth-century sultans adopted policies of reform, See also Caliphate; Empires: Abbasid; Empires: Byzbecoming in the process leaders of their own pro-change antine; Empires: Mongol and Il-Khanid; Empires: factions. Reform, however, came in Western dress, and anti- Mogul;

Empires: Ottoman; Empires: Safavid and Qajar; reform factions clung to traditionalism and Ottoman patriotism. Reforms were often more successful in the provinces, as Qanun; Sultanates: Delhi; Sultanates: governors far from Istanbul modernized their military forces; Sultanates: Mamluk; Sultanates: Seljuk. and engaged in capitalist agriculture outside imperial oversight. This conflict of interests contributed to the provinces' growing autonomy, as did an accumulation of wealth in the provinces. Harold et al., eds. The Cambridge History of Iran. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1968–91.

The Safavid state, based on Shi'ite Islam, consisted of Turkish warriors, Persian administrators, and a bureaucratized religious hierarchy under a ruler (shah) who was also a spiritual master. The warriors, called Qizilbash, were followed by F. R. C. Bagley. London: Oxford University Press, 1971. The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001. Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali's Book of Counsels of the Safavid Sufi order that conquered Iran and instituted for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk). Translated by F. R. C. Bagley. London: Oxford University Press, 1971. Defeat by the Ottomans at Chaldiran in 1514 shattered the myth of Safavid invincibility and world conquest. Over time, the shah's charismatic authority and the Qizilbash's political influence decreased, while the palace personnel and a slave army of Georgians, Circassians, and Armenians gained power. A council of officials conducted government business; law was administered by religious judges. Royal workshops produced goods for sale as well as artistic products, augmenting royal income. Provincial taxation followed traditional norms, but in provinces under direct royal control (whose number grew in the seventeenth century), the farming out of taxes to nongovernmental collectors led to

Black, Antony. The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

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Inalcik, Halil. The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600. Translated by Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973. Reprint. Orion Books/Phoenix, 1994.

Mawardi, al-. The Ordinances of Government. Translated by

overextraction and impoverishment. By the eighteenth century, military weakness permitted conquest by Afghan tribesmen who made themselves heirs of the Safavid system. al-. The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama. Translated by Hubert The Mughal dynasty of India was perhaps least affected by London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978. these trends. Muslims, though the rulers, were always a minority in the state, forcing emperors to balance imposition

Linda T. Darling

of Islamic governance against the need to conciliate Hindu officials and officers. By the 1570s Islamic-style bureaucratic administration gained prominence, but it administered less of the country's revenue than elsewhere (about 60%), and that POLITICAL THOUGHT

indirectly. In the mansabdari system, counterpart of the timar system, military administrators collected land revenues to During the premodern period, Islamic political thought found cover their expenses, but between them and the peasants expression in a diverse group of writings such as legal comstood a layer of zamindars (large landholders and former pendia, theological treatises, philosophical writings, liternobility), who administered the land itself. Islamic law courts ary works on the subject of statecraft, wisdom literature, were provided by the state, but they shared legal jurisdiction historiography, and even poetry. In the modern period,

Islam and the Muslim World

545

Political Thought

political thought may be found in some of these branches of Islamic tradition, into the modern period. The most freliterature, but also in separate works directly concerned quently invoked Qur'anic passage, in discussions of political with political topics, such as the nation state, government, matters, is 4:59: "Obey God, obey the Prophet, and those in constitutionalism, law, human rights, and the Islamic state. authority among you." This verse has been interpreted in some quarters as an injunction to obey rulers even if they are The diffusion that characterizes the wide range of unjust, while other commentators have regarded the phrase premodern political thinking results from many factors, two "those in authority among you" as a reference only to holders of of which deserve particular mention. First, writers in the of religious or religio-political authority. For a number of premodern period often treated aspects of politics and gov- Sunni scholars, the Qur'anic phrase refers to religious scholernment not in

isolation from other topics but in the context of the Qur'an or ulema; in Shi'ite tradition, it refers to the imams. On the larger subjects and a variety of intellectual disciplines. On the earthly plane, kingship is depicted as a great but sometimes treacherous boon that human beings are often predisposed to covet. Satan seeks to tempt Adam with the prospect of imperishable sovereignty (20:120); the Children of Israel the larger Middle East; these cultures contributed to the shaping and expression of the range of Islamic political ideas. (for example, 5:20; 38:20); and Solomon prays for kingship. In the wake of the conquests, and with the formation of an Islamic imperial order, Muslim polities had at their disposal, is associated with overweening pride; Nimrod argues with Abraham over it (2:258), and Pharaoh boasts of his claim to immensely ancient and awesomely persistent institutions, metathe kingdom of Egypt (43:51).

phors, iconographies, and propositions concerning power, and most particularly concerning power in relation to the Early Political Developments

sacred, which they welded into distinctive forms." (al-Azmeh Islamic political thought, as expressed in Qur'anic exegesis 1997, p. 10) and elsewhere, evolved in conjunction with Muslims' historical experiences. The history of the early Muslim community

The close association between religion and politics in is one of extraordinary political success. After facing initial adversity, the prophet Muhammad went on to unify Arabia which this association has been interpreted in Islamic history and to create a state based largely on ties of common religious allegiance. Much political thinking in the Islamic tradition takes as its point of departure the view that all sovereignty belongs to God, who alone governs the universe. (His is the "sovereignty over the heavens and the earth," as integrally linked with his role as political head of state. The Qur'an states repeatedly.) Many Muslim thinkers came to early Islamic polity, moreover, continued to grow in the agree that the role of human government was to ensure that decades following the Prophet's death in 632. It rapidly

God's will, as expressed in the divine law, was enacted on expanded to comprise the regions of the northern Middle East earth. The ideal earthly ruler, called an imam, was a leader (Syria-Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, and Iran), and from there who ruled according to God's laws and who was consequently it spread across North Africa and into Spain, and eastwards into entitled to the loyalty and obedience of his community. northern India. Although the pace of the expansion did While these ideals have been widely expressed, Muslims have not remain constant, Islamic political thought, like other naturally differed in their understandings of the implications branches of the Islamic tradition, was inevitably shaped by the experience of the relationship between the religious and political realms. of a success which seemed to validate the new In fact, the historical experience of Muslim societies has dispensation and to attest divine favor towards the Muslim community. generated a large repertoire of political ideas, many of which The construction on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem assume or accommodate themselves to certain premises or of the Dome of the Rock, completed under the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik in 691, suggests a striking confidence substitute a wide-ranging body of thought. on the part of the city's rulers in the stability and endurance of the Islamic polity.

The Qur'an

While the Qur'an, like other scriptures, does not treat political topics in a comprehensive way, it refers in several places to Prophet in 632, issues such as the nature of political leadership and those who exercise it. The Qur'an presents sovereignty and the identity of the rightful holder of political authority as a divine prerogative, and all forms of earthly authority were much disputed. The leaders who succeeded the Prophet (prophetic or political) are wholly dependent on God's Prophet were addressed as Commander of the Faithful (amir dispensation (see, for example, 3:26). This emphasis on the al-mu'minin) and bore the title of caliph (khalifa), a term which came to be understood as meaning deputy of, or reality is one that has left an imprint on many areas of the successor to, the Prophet of God. The Prophet himself had

546

Islam and the Muslim World

Political Thought

exercised both religious and political authority, the continuous ruler, as well as action taken by one Muslim against another

ing conjoining of which formed the basis of the religio- without
 any involvement on the part of the state.
 political ideals of the Shi'ites. The early debates and struggles
 over leadership eventually crystalized in the emergence of A
 related area of ambivalence towards the role of the state
 distinct sectarian communities (generally grouped as Kharijites, concerns
 the extent of the duty of obedience. Many medieval
 Shi'ites, and, eventually, Sunnis). Sunni
 thinkers held that obedience was incumbent on Muslims, regardless of whether
 the ruler was just or tyrannical,
 The Role of the Ulema pious or
 irreligious, as long as such obedience did not involve
 The institution that emerged most successfully from, or in the
 subject in transgression of the shari'a. In this connection,
 the face of, these disagreements was that of the caliphate, it is
 important to note that many scholars held themselves
 exercised first by a series of respected individuals who had aloof
 from political power. While some of the most influentsurrounded the Prophet,
 and, following the conclusion of the tial political thinkers served the
 state as judges and in other
 first civil war in 661, by dynastic families: the Umayyads
 capacities (for example, Abu Yusuf, Ibn al-Murtada, al-
 (661–750) and, after a revolution, the Abbasids (750–1258).
 Mawardi), the refusal to serve the holders of political power
 It has been suggested that the early caliphs, including the retained
 prestige and was widely regarded as morally prefer-
 Umayyads and early Abbasids, may have expected to wield able, as
 numerous historical incidents, anecdotes and folk
 not only political authority but also some degree of religious tales
 demonstrate.
 authority as part of their office. The caliphs' claims to
 religious authority encountered resistance, however, with the The
 Formation of Shi'ite, Kharijite, and Sunni Views
 emergence of numbers of religious specialists, who came to of
 Political Leadership
 be known collectively as the ulema (scholars) or "those The
 mainstream Shi'ite view of political leadership, subpossessed of religious
 learning" (ilm). As the Islamic polity sumed in the doctrine of the
 imamate, regards certain Qur'anic
 grew in extent and in the diversity of its population, the claim texts and
 acts of the Prophet recorded in hadiths as proofs
 of this new intellectual elite to religious leadership and that the
 Prophet, contrary to most Sunni opinions, nomiauthority among the Muslims of
 the empire was itself con- nated as his successor his cousin and
 son-in-law, Ali. Ali,
 tested by some individuals who held that such authority however,
 had, according to Shi'ites, been wrongfully deshould be centralized and held by

the ruler, rather than by a deprived of the position that was his due, with the result that the number of loosely associated specialists over whom the ruler community had fallen into error. Following Ali's death in 661, had little control. An argument for limiting the power of the Shi'ites held that only descendants of Ali could claim the ulema in favor of the caliph was advanced by the Persian imam. (Partly in order to distinguish between the rightful holders of authority and the actual ruling powers, Shi'ites unsolicited warnings to the caliph al-Mansur (754–775) went refer to the persons whom they regard as their leaders as imams unheeded and were rarely repeated so plainly in later periods. rather than as caliphs.) During the first two centuries of Islamic history, many Shi'ite groups attempted to seize power for was made under successive caliphs in the first half of the ninth century, in the course of the their imams. Their efforts were largely unsuccessful, in the course of the mihna, an inquisition during which prominent religious scholars were interrogated in Umayyad rule mounted by Husayn, a grandson of the Prophet, who was order to establish their adherence or lack thereof to a particular theological doctrine; this attempt too failed, and its failure suppressed. killed in 680), and Shi'ites were often ruthlessly suppressed.

marked the voluntary or involuntary ceding of religious authority to the ulema. In the course of the eighth century, most Shi'ites adopted a politically quietist stance, and they abandoned the attempt The scholars formulated the religious law, the shari'a, to establish general leadership for their imams, whom they continued with only incidental reference to the state, and it was chiefly to follow as leaders within their own communities. when the political power located in the institution of the Shi'ites gradually developed a distinctive body of political ideas caliphate could no longer be taken for granted that jurists ideas based on the concept of the imamate, which they came to regard began to address larger political questions concerning the state and government. The collectivity of the Muslim community was invested with certain duties and responsibilities Most Shi'ites belong to the Imami community, and believe that the last of their imams is now hidden, and therefore that could, under certain conditions or in times of political inaccessible to the vast majority of his followers. Even during crisis, operate regardless of, or even in opposition to, the the period

of the presence of the imams, however, there
 workings of the state. One such collective (and occasionally, appears to
 have been some dispute among Imami Shi'ites as
 individual) duty is that of "commanding right and forbidding to the
 extent of the imams' authority. As the work of Hossein
 wrong" (al-amr bil-ma'ruf wal-nahy 'an al-munkar), a duty
 Modarressi suggests, the power of the imams was limited not
 that in the view of many Muslims fell, ideally, to the imam, only by
 the adverse conditions that confronted them and
 but which could also require or justify rebellion against a their
 followers, but also by the view held by some of their

Islam and the Muslim World

547

Political Thought

prominent supporters that the scope of their powers should Sunni
 thinkers distinguished between the caliphate of
 be limited in theory as well as in practice. these first
 four "rightly guided" caliphs and later holders of
 the office, many of whom degraded it to kingship (mulk) and
 Gradually, however, Imami Shi'ites reached a consensus, were sometimes
 oppressive. Yet while later Islamic leadership
 agreeing that the role of the imamate was to provide compre- may not have
 been perfect, it remained legitimate, and the
 hensive leadership over religious and worldly matters. Thus, community,
 as a result, remained within the confines of the
 under the leadership of the imam, the realms of religion and law. In the
 gradual emergence of this consensus, Sunni
 state were indistinguishable. The imam was not only the thinkers
 adopted the principles of certain earlier groups,
 rightful political leader of the community, but he also pos- whose first
 priority had been the preservation of the unity of
 possessed immunity from sin and error (isma). Accordingly, he the
 community; accordingly, it was preferable to accept
 was the rightful collector and distributor of religious taxes shortcomings
 in the political life of the community than to
 and the only legitimate leader of jihad, and, as heir to the risk further
 schism and discord.
 knowledge of the Prophet, he possessed a complete and
 perfect knowledge of the religious law. After the onset of the The
 Political Thought of the Classical Sunni and
 occultation in the late ninth century (when the imam became Shi'i
 Jurists
 hidden), however, Imami Shi'ites could no longer turn to Most
 famously among Sunni jurists, al-Mawardi (d. 1058)
 their imam directly, and they, like Sunnis, turned increasingly formulated
 what came to be regarded as the classical Sunni

to their religious scholars for guidance in religious matters. position on the caliphate. By the eleventh century, the caliphate had been weakened by its subservience to a succession of The Kharijites were hostile to both the Umayyad (and, military leaders who had taken over some of its territories and later, to the Abbasid) and the Shi'ite positions, and held that established polities of their own. When al-Mawardi came to leadership belonged to the most excellent member of the write his treatise, *al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya* (The ordinances of government), community, regardless of his genealogy or background. A few government), however, the caliphate was for the moment believed that the office of the imamate could be held by a enjoying a certain reascendancy, which the jurist sought to enhance through his exposition of the legal status of the office. tory, although some, most notably the Najdiyya, did not Al-Mawardi asserted that the imamate is obligatory by revelation, consider an imam necessary if the community were able to not by reason, and he listed seven necessary qualities function in accordance with justice without one. (Some for the imam: descent from Quraysh; possession of Mu'tazilis and other thinkers similarly denied the obligatory religious knowledge; probity; soundness and maturity of nature of the imamate.) If the imam violated the divine law, body and mind; and the capacity to execute the political and military most Kharijites held that he forfeited his legitimacy and had duties of the office. even lapsed into unbelief. The Kharijites continued to challenge the power of the Umayyads and the Abbasids for at Of al-Mawardi's stipulated qualities, descent from Quraysh may be the least two centuries before those groups that survived re- most significant, since it allows for the legitimacy treated to remote areas and lived as separate, but generally of all the Sunni caliphs, while it does not limit legitimacy to quietist, communities. descent from the Prophet himself; but the same criterion excludes most other rulers, such as the Buyids, who controlled Baghdad The mainstream Sunni conception of the caliphate, con- during al-Mawardi's lifetime. At the same time, sensus on which emerged gradually over the first four centu- al-Mawardi argued that rule by military emirs was legiti- mites of Islamic history, held that the Qur'an provided no as long as such rulers acknowledged the authority of the specific injunctions regarding the leadership of the commu- caliphs and implemented Islamic law. The caliph nity after the Prophet's death, and (although some prominent himself was responsible for the performance of specific du-

Sunni thinkers dissented from this position) that the Prophet ties, such as the protection of religion against heterodoxy, had left no precise instructions on the matter. According to enforcing the law and dispensing justice, executing the statute the mainstream view, the first Muslims responded to the tory penalties (hudud), ensuring peace in the territory of Islam Prophet's death by recognizing one of their own members, and defending the realm against external enemies, the prose- Abu Bakr (d. 634), as the first caliph. He was to assume the cution of jihad, receipt of the legal alms, and a fifth of all functions of leading the Muslim community, but he was in no booty gained in combat on behalf of the community, distribusense an heir to the Prophet's religious authority; he was tion of revenue according to the law, and the appointment of acclaimed by the bay a, an act by which his fellow Muslims reliable and trustworthy men in delegating authority. acknowledged his leadership and pledged their allegiance. Abu Bakr was followed by three further individuals who had Al-Mawardi's book, together with the identically titled enjoyed close personal ties to the Prophet, after the last of work of his contemporary, Abu Ya la b. al-Farra (d. 1066), whom, Ali, a dynastic principle was adopted with the estab- contributed to a gradual change in the perception of the lishment of the Umayyad caliphate. caliphate. From the early ninth century onwards, the caliph's

548

Islam and the Muslim World Political Thought

authority had coexisted with the reality of political fragmen- conclusions in legal matters. As this practice of ijti had became tation, and the office ceased to connote supreme political accepted among Shi ites, it contributed to an increase in the power. Instead, it came to assume a more symbolic role, authority of the Shi ite ulema. Despite this gradual enhancewhereby the caliphate came to represent the unity of the ment in the stature of the Imami scholars, most of them Muslim community regardless of the division of political power. continued to emphasize the qualitative difference between the authority enjoyed by imams and prophets, to whom, on Almost three centuries later, following the execution in account of their immunity from sin and error, unconditional 1258 by the Mongol conqueror Hulegu of the Abbasid caliph obedience was due, and that of any other leader to whom and the establishment of the Mongol empire over much of certain functions may have been delegated. the eastern Islamic world, the Syrian Hanbali scholar Ibn

Taymiyya (d. 1328) asserted with vigor the supremacy of the Imami scholars of the Usuli school, which developed as the means to ensure the exercise of divine sovereignty in the mid-eighteenth century and became dominant by the middle of the nineteenth century, claimed that the Shi'ite illegitimacy of any ruler who failed to uphold the law. In the scholars had in fact assumed the position of general vicecontext of the demise of the Abbasid caliphate and against regent (na'ib al-imam) of the absent imam. In the Usuli view, the loss of even the symbolism of political unity, Ibn Taymiyya right to interpret Islamic law rested solely with mujtahids, emphasized the ideological unity that he believed could be scholars who were recognized as qualified to exercise their achieved through proper observance of the shari'a. His political perspective, often referred to after the title of one of his obliged to follow one eminent mujtahid as a model of emulation (al-siyasa al-shariyya) (government according to the tradition (marja' al-taqlid)). Some scholars asserted further that the religious law), has been influential among some modern office of marja' represented the imam's authority not only in matters of religion, but also in worldly affairs. This idea was developed most notably by Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989) Ibn Taymiyya sought to elevate the condition of both the in the latter half of the twentieth century. state and society through upholding the law, and held that a leader who promoted increased observance of the law was Sultans and Kings owed obedience by his subjects. Ibn Taymiyya and his contemporaries While the classical juristic literature deals with political temporary, Ibn Jama'a (d. 1333), who likewise spent his life in thought within the context of the topics of imamate and Syria and Egypt, emphasized the role of the religious scholars caliphate, and refers to the sultanate primarily in connection as counselors to the holders of political power. Furthermore, with these institutions, other branches of literary expression Ibn Jama'a recognized two kinds of imamate, arrived at treat the institution of the sultanate, or kingship, in its own through election and force respectively. He noted that the right. Sultans and other dynastic rulers whose power was latter form of imamate, based on the exercise of might, was sometimes local but sometimes very far-reaching were often the only form that existed in his own time. the recipients of literary gifts, such as works offering advice After the beginning of the imam's occultation in the late (nasiha[t])

on the art of government, or “mirrors for princes,” ninth century, Shi'ite jurists gradually developed a political theory in which the ruler's duties and his subjects' needs were discussed, and the monarch's own justice was invariably praised. In all likelihood, the historical imams praised. Occasionally, such books were commissioned by a ruler, as themselves allowed some of their followers to participate in the performance of certain functions, or delegated certain nameh (Book of government) composed by the wazir Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092) and presented to the Seljuq monarch, Malik-Shah (1073–1092). such as al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 1022), who indicated that In such books of advice for Muslim rulers, as indeed in throughout his occultation the imam remained God's proof many other cultural contexts, the king (or caliph) is often (hujja) on earth, but that, during his absence, the imam could likened to a physician healing a body, or a shepherd guarding appoint a deputy or deputies. his flock. He is also, as in ancient Middle Eastern traditions, Like many Imami jurists, al-Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d. 1277) described as “the Shadow of God on earth.” Some authors noted that, in the imam's absence, Shi'ites should fulfill their adopt the old Iranian concept of farr, the aura or nimbus that religious obligation of charity (zakat) by delivering it to a signifies the charisma of kingship. Most directly, these ideas and many reliable jurist (faqih), since the latter was in possession of the others reached Islamic culture through the translation necessary knowledge to ensure its proper disbursement. The tion into Arabic of literary works composed in Middle Persian, and still more notably his pupil Ibn al-Mutahhar sian (Pahlavi) under the Sassanians (226–651). In Islamic al-Hilli (d. 1325), adopted the principle of ijtihad, according times, authors adapted and developed many of these ancient Middle to which each Shi'ite jurist was obliged to undertake an Eastern notions according to the regions and conditions investigation of the legal sources in order to reach his own tions in which they lived.

Islam and the Muslim World

549

Political Thought

The understanding of kingship articulated in most works imperfect and incomplete. Happiness was best attained by living in a of nasiha rests on the premise of royal absolutism, which is “virtuous polity” (al-madina al-fadila), which is closely associated with

the concept of justice (adl), the main- Farabi defined as one led by
 learned and excellent men, and
 tenance of which is presented as the ruler's foremost respon- one in
 which the inhabitants co-operated in striving for
 sibility. This set of concepts is expressed clearly in the widely ultimate
 happiness. Human beings were connected by a chain
 recorded "circle of justice," according to which the king's rule of
 authority, which was based on their degree of knowledge
 is dependent on the army, which in turn depends on wealth, and
 understanding. In this chain, each individual was in a
 which is generated through agriculture (and sometimes trade), position of
 both learning from and governance by those
 which in turn flourishes under the king's effective exercise of above
 him, and of instructing and exercising authority over
 his royal authority. The ruler is thus depicted as central to the those below
 him, down to the level of those who were fit only
 preservation of the natural and social orders. The fertility and for
 service. The man who had nothing to learn from anyone
 productivity of the land, and the well-being of the peasants was the
 person best suited to perform the duties of the
 who worked it, depended directly on the king's justice. supreme
 leader (al-ra'is al-awwal), whose purpose, according
 Furthermore, royal justice was necessary to prevent the to
 al-Farabi, was to promote the attainment of happiness by
 various groups within society from coalescing in such a way his
 community.
 that any particular set of interests outweighed others. If such
 a process were allowed to occur, it would cause a social Several
 of the political ideas of al-Farabi were shared and
 imbalance that was considered contrary to justice and tanta- further
 developed by Ibn Sina (d. 1037), who himself had
 mount to injustice (zulm). extensive
 experience in the practical workings of government
 and had served on several occasions as a wazir. Ibn Sina
 In order to prevent such disequilibrium, it was the ruler's emphasized
 the roles of law and justice, and the need for their
 task, by virtue of his own position above and outside any of enforcement
 by a legislator and preserver of justice, as the
 the social categories, to ensure that each individual remained basis for
 the necessary social transactions among people. In
 in the place appropriate to his station. Among writers belong- al-Andalus,
 Ibn Bajja (d. 1138) held that it was the ruler's
 ing to this intellectual tradition, society was often visualized
 responsibility to assign tasks to the inhabitants of the city, and
 in terms of a quadripartite hierarchy consisting of men of the to ensure
 that each man undertook the most excellent task of
 pen, men of the sword, men of transactions, and men of which he

was capable. He argued furthermore that, if no agriculture, as described, for example, in the famous formula- virtuous polity to which a philosopher might immigrate tion of Nasir al-Din Tusi, 1201–1274. This model was existed, the philosopher should seclude himself from society adopted by numerous later writers, and was especially impor- as far as possible.

tant to many Ottoman thinkers.

Nasir al-Din Tusi, who adopted many of the political Such traditions of kingship came to be widely dissemi- views of al-Farabi, held that although it was the diversity nated and formed a base for many kinds of courtly literature among people that rendered co-operation among them posacross the linguistic and cultural range of the medieval sible, this co-operation could only be achieved through firm Islamic world. As this dissemination occurred, the view of administration, without the restraining force of which, men royal justice expressed in this courtly literature was often might destroy one another. Government was necessary to linked to the upholding of the shari a, and, with the establish- ensure that each man was content with the station appropripment of Turkish and Turko-Mongol dynasties in much of the ate to him, that he received his due, and that others did not

Islamic world, many of these Perso-Islamic concepts of gov- violate his rights. One of the main purposes of government, ernment also became fused with Central Asian concepts. then, was to maintain order in society and to ensure the harmonious functioning of its component groups.

Political Philosophy

Another important branch of premodern political thought is One of the most remarkable political theoreticians of the found in the works of the Muslim philosophers, among whom medieval Islamic world was Ibn Khaldun (d. 1332), who spent the most influential was al-Farabi (d. 950). Al-Farabi's thought most of his life in North Africa and Egypt, and whose writings describe was based on the common premise that it was natural for his perceptions of the historical workings of power. human beings to live in association with others, since on the Ibn Khaldun shares many of the premises of earlier philosoone hand they were incapable of supplying all of their own phers, and reaches the conclusion that kingship (mulk) is a needs and were therefore obliged to co-operate with one natural and necessary human phenomenon for the regulation and another, and, on the other hand, humankind was, in Aris- restraint of human conduct. As part of his analysis of totle's phrase, a political animal, disposed by nature to com- societies, Ibn Khaldun argues that ruling families whose ties

munal living. The goal of human existence, moreover, was of solidarity (asabiyya) are strongest are best situated to impose happiness (sa'ada), which could only be achieved through their dominion over others in a process that gives rise to conquest living in a community. Communities differed in size and in and expansion. In order to create stable polities, type, some being "perfect" or complete, and others being however, it is necessary for such strength of communal ties to

550

Islam and the Muslim World Political Thought

be conjoined with religious law, which provides a more political power. Al-Afghani, for whom the period of the Rashidun lasting focus of communal solidarity than kinship and affiliation alone. Ibn Khaldun goes on to describe the stages seems to have regarded regional nationalisms as possible steps through which a polity comes into existence, consolidates its towards the reconstitution of the Islamic umma. Many power, reaches maturity, and eventually declines. of the political ideas of al-Afghani were further developed in the Arab world by Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905).

Modern Developments

Reconsiderations of the nature and responsibilities of the Among the thinkers whose ideas have been most influential have a continuous history in the Islamic world. The tial in the twentieth-century Arab world are Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865–1935), who regarded al-Mawardi's work as particularly rapidly, however, over the course of the past two as formative to the Islamic tradition, and Ali Abd al-Raziq (d. 1966). The vast transformations of the modern period The twentieth-century concept of the Islamic state have seen the creation in the Islamic world, as elsewhere, of emerged in the context of the dismemberment of the Ottomodern states, in which the relationships between individuals man Empire and the abandonment of the Ottoman caliphate, and governments have changed dramatically from those charac- which followed the formation of the modern Turkish nationteristic of premodern times, and the integration of much of state. The final abolition of the Ottoman caliphate was briefly preceded by the Islamic world into a global economic system. Like much an interim period during which the Turkish authorities of the rest of the world, Muslim countries have, over the past reduced the office to a purely spiritual one. Rashid Rida two centuries or longer, been forced to accommodate them-

opposed this reduction in the role of the caliphate, and
 selves to the disproportionate power (economic, military, argued
 instead for a caliphate that combined religious and political
 political, cultural) enjoyed by Western countries: the Euro- political
 authority and that was “a caliphate of necessity,” to
 pean colonial powers, the former Soviet Union, and, begin- be situated
 in the Arab world. In the same era, some Indian
 ning in the latter half of the twentieth century, the United Muslims
 formed the Khilafat Movement, and, along with
 States of America. other
 groups, the Khilafats took up the assertion that Islam is
 both a religion and a state (al-Islam din wa dawla). This idea
 Modern Islamic political thought thus represents the shapes much of
 the discourse of contemporary Islamists. Abd
 continuation of a long-standing discourse, but in circum- al-Raziq,
 on the other hand, faced strong opposition to his
 stances that compel reckoning with the actual and theoretical explicit
 rejection of the view that Islam necessarily combined
 aspects of Western politics. Among the many responses the realms
 of religion and state, and argued that the institutemanifested in modern
 political thought, we may refer to the tion of the caliphate was not
 required by religion.
 ideas of certain thinkers whose vision included both preservation of a
 redefined Muslim identity and the adoption of The separation
 of state and religion, while supported by
 certain foreign institutions, such as the nation-state, demo- Abd
 al-Raziq and other secularists, is rejected by Islamists,
 cratic representation, constitutionalism, and so on; and to the for whom
 Muslims’ primary allegiance should be to the
 ideas of thinkers who assert an Islamic form of politics that, in religious
 community (the umma) and for whom an Islamic
 theory at least, is independent of Western models. The order
 necessarily embraces the political as well as the perspectrum between these two
 poles, and the variety within sonal religious realms. Hasan al-Banna
 (1906–1949), founder
 them, are naturally extensive. in 1928 of
 the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, emphasized
 the all-encompassing nature of Islam in human affairs. His
 In the modern era, the word dawla, which in premodern intellectual
 successors, such as Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966),
 times tended to denote a period of dynastic rule, has come to Abu l-A la
 Maududi (1903–1979) and Ruhollah Khomeini
 signify a state, in the sense that this concept had acquired in
 (1902–1989), have argued that the prophet Muhammad him-
 Europe between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries. self
 combined religion and state, and that this combination
 The term, and its referent, have come to play a central role in established

a lasting model. Sayyid Qutb, a prominent modern political discourse. Rifa'a Rafi al-Tahtawi (1801–1873) member of the Muslim Brotherhood, composed many of his most influential works while imprisoned under Jamal Abd al-Nasser. Central to Sayyid Qutb's thought was the concept of the state; but he did not reject the concept of the pan-Islamic neo-Jahiliyya, according to which contemporary societies, including those that were nominally Muslim, had fallen into a state of ignorance, a lapse that could only be rectified by the Islamic world during the nineteenth century, insisted that (jihad) to overturn the secular state and install in its place an Islamic order, in which human laws would give way to God-given laws. In practice, as the case of postrevolutionary Iran demonstrates, such ideas need not preclude the adoption of such principles as constitutionalism, the separation of powers, and popular sovereignty.

Islam and the Muslim World

551

Polygamy

As India struggled for its independence from Great Britain, Maududi, founder in 1941 of the Jama'at-e Islami, Christian, and Pagan Politics. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1997. Muslim, opposed the forms of nationalism represented by the Indian National Congress on the one hand and by the Muslim League on the other. Instead, he argued in favor of the Islamic Thought. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Crone, Michael. Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in a new state of Pakistan following its creation in 1947. Maududi asserted strongly the idea that Pakistan should be not merely Enayat, Hamid. Modern Islamic Political Thought. Austin:

a state for Muslims but an Islamic state. For Maududi, an Islamic state was one in which all areas of public and private life were regulated in accordance with the unchanging shari'a. His idea of the Islamic state was based on neither nationalism nor democracy. Although highly controversial in Pakistan, Maududi's books and pamphlets have been translated into many languages and are widely read throughout the Islamic world.

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Furthermore, Khomeini expressed the view that the mujtahids were responsible for the execution of all the religious and worldly duties that the Prophet himself had performed. These responsibilities should be exercised not through the collective body of qualified scholars but through a single jurist. This doctrine, known as POLYGAMY "the guardianship of the jurist" (velayat-e faqih), remains a Islamic law allows only men to enter more than one marriage

subject of debate among Imami scholars. In the decades since at a time, justifying it by reference to the Qur'an (4:3, 24, 25) the Islamic Revolution of 1979, as a result of which Iran and the marriages of the prophet Mohammad. Although successfully extricated itself from Western intervention and polygamy (strictly, "polygyny") has never been common in rejected a politics conditioned by the interests of the West, a Muslim societies, in many areas it was always rare, and incidence number of Iranian thinkers, such as Abd al-Karim Soroush, century, has diminished in modern times. In the twentieth century, have been among the most notable contributors to a contemporary renewal and broadening of Islamic political thought of the men's right to contract plural marriages became one contentious issues in debates over women's rights in Islam. Not along lines that emphasize individual rights and freedoms, only did the practice become stigmatized but its and democracy. religious legitimacy began to be challenged by new readings of Islamic sacred texts and the introduction of notions of See also Caliphate; Imamate; Iran, Islamic Republic of; equity and justice in gender rights. In contrast to classical Law; Modernization, Political: Constitutionalism; Muslim jurists, modern jurists tend to argue that interdiction Monarchy; Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; Political of the practice, rather than its sanction, can be deduced from Islam; Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa; the Qur'an verses, and that polygamy should be allowed only Reform: Iran; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); Shari'a; Succession; Ulema. in exceptional circumstances and under limited conditions. Likewise, in some Muslim countries plural marriages are either outlawed (as in Turkey and Tunisia), or the registration of such BIBLIOGRAPHY marriages is allowed only by means of a court Arjomand, Saïd. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam.* order that either requires the first wife's consent or grants her the right to Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984. the right to divorce (as in Jordan, Malaysia, Iran, Iraq, and

552

Islam and the Muslim World
Property

Syria). Elsewhere, especially in the Persian Gulf countries, of private ownership. In keeping with this implication, from the early men face no legal restrictions in contracting plural marriages. caliphs to monarchs of the nineteenth century, successive Because of social sanctions, plural marriages all over the

Muslim rulers routinely confiscated uncultivated lands. Muslim world are often contracted in secret. Though frequently defended in Islamic terms, these expropriations also accorded with Hellenic and Persian traditions that See also Gender; Marriage. tions that treated the state as the ultimate owner of all land.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Like rulers everywhere, premodern Muslim rulers generally Asghar, Ali. *The Rights of Women in Islam*. London: Hurst and ally understood that threats to the material security of individuals, Company, 1992. including confiscations and arbitrary taxation, reduced Maghniyyah, Muhammad Jawad. *Marriage According to Five government revenue by harming incentives to produce. So Schools of Islamic Law*. Tehran: Department of Translation Islamic history offers many examples of rulers alleviating the and Publication, Islamic Culture and Relations Organization tax burden of a region or class of subjects with the express purpose of tion, 1997. stimulating economic activity. However, not until modern times have there existed effective legal safeguards Ziba Mir-Hosseini against state-initiated or condoned predation. A ruler urgently in need of resources to run a military campaign or overcome a political challenge could generally prey on his subjects without legal hindrance. Muslim writers of the medieval Middle East, including Maqrizi and Ibn Khaldun, observe that distressed rulers made it a habit of grabbing the visible possessions of the wealthy, including estates of the deceased. Such expropriations were often carried out under PREACHING See Khutba the pretext that the seized assets had been acquired illegally.

From the fact that rulers felt a need to justify their predatory acts, one may infer that subjects expected them to respect established use rights. This expectation was based PROPERTY partly on the principle that individuals are entitled to private ownership (milk). Though at odds with the principle of divine A source of conflict in the pre-Islamic Middle East, the ownership, private ownership thus remained a concept reconcept of property remained controversial after the rise of ognized by Islamic law. Moreover, even as Muslim rulers Islam. From the seventh century to the modern era, Islamic pursued policies harmful to material security, Islamic courts rulings, opinions, and institutions designed to broaden private routinely enforced individual property rights.

vate ownership rights coexisted with policies that undermined them. Initially, the consequent material insecurity was Another mechanism through which Islam weakened prinothing unusual by the prevailing global standards. However, vate ownership rights was grounded in zakat, an institution the gradual strengthening of private property rights in west- designed to prevent opportunistic taxation. Mentioned in the ern Europe caused the Islamic world to sink below the Qur an and implemented by the Prophet, the zakat system standards of the day. imposed fixed tax rates that varied across income and wealth categories. For example, the rate on agricultural income was In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries European trav- 10 percent in naturally irrigated areas but 5 percent in areas elers to the Middle East found signs of weak property rights, irrigated artificially. During the Prophet's lifetime, this fixity such as residential styles designed to conceal wealth. For their served to block attempts at radical redistribution. At the same part, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Middle Eastern time, it precluded the establishment of general principles visitors to the West were favorably impressed by the material for amending zakat rates and broadening the system's covsecurity afforded to individual Europeans. Significantly, the erage. Consequently, the zakat system soon became out- Middle East's magnificent architectural heritage consists dated, allowing later rulers to impose taxes arbitrarily and almost exclusively of communal structures. Had the region opportunistically. The rate schedule of the agricultural tax made early progress in broadening the scope of property known as ushr, though patterned after the zakat requirerights, its surviving premodern structures would have included many private residences, as in western Europe. ments on land, has varied greatly across time and space. In any case, this tax has often been accompanied by sundry other Islam has influenced the evolution of ownership rights taxes without any basis in Islam's traditional sources of through several mechanisms, some of which operated at authority. In facilitating the variability of taxation, the zakat cross-purposes. Verse 7:128 of the Qur an, which holds that system unintentionally contributed to the precariousness of all property belongs to God, would seem to rule out all forms individual property rights.

Islam and the Muslim World

553

Prophets

A creative and effective response to the weakness of these and later Muslim traditions attach great importance to cerrights was the waqf system. A waqf is

an unincorporated trust to retain beliefs and practices associated with all the prophets. established under Islamic law by an individual for the provision of a designated service in perpetuity. Its assets are The Qur'an itself (2:136, 3:84, 4:136, 42:13) and later considered sacred. From the eighth century onward, it served Muslim creeds stipulate belief in all the prophets and the as an increasingly popular device to protect personal wealth books revealed to them without making distinctions among by diminishing the likelihood of confiscation. Right up to them. The Fiqh al-akbar (art. 8), traditionally attributed to the modern times, Muslim rulers were much less likely to seize jurist Abu Hanifa, states that Muslims should believe that waqf-owned assets than they were to confiscate private prop- Moses and Jesus were prophets, perhaps in reference to 2:285 erty, for they sought to avoid developing a reputation for and 4:152. The so-called Fiqh al-akbar II (art. 20), the Wasiyat impiety. Abi Hanifa (art. 25) and the Aqida of Ahmad b. Ja'far al-Tahawi (art. 5) all state the belief in the intercession of the prophets for Although establishing a waqf usually required a commitment to provide social services, it came with the privilege of appointing oneself as its mutawalli (trustee and manager). At Some Muslim scholars distinguish between a generic "prophet" (nabi) and a "messenger" or "apostle" (rasul), maintaining that only a select few of the many prophets were messengers, the waqf system became much more important to the supposed to have brought a revealed book to their people. premodern Middle Eastern economy than trusts were to the Within the Qur'an, other terms are used to refer to prophets, economies of western Europe, the reason is that in the including "messiah" or "Christ" (masih) with reference Middle East private property rights were clearly weaker and, exclusively to Jesus. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230) reports that the number of hence, the need for wealthy shelters measurably greater. rasul including the prophet Muhammad is 315, and the total number of prophets is one thousand. Other Muslim sources A salient characteristic of Middle Eastern history is the list the total number of prophets as 224,000. absence of broad movements to strengthen private property rights. It offers nothing akin to the protracted European The stories of the prophets make up a significant portion of the Qur'an, movements that limited the economic powers of kings and but the Qur'an does not mention the names of

queens. The very availability of the waqf option helps to all the prophets claimed by some Muslim scholars. By name explain this difference. It dampened collective action on the there are twenty-five prophets mentioned in the Qur'an, part of wealth holders likely to benefit from stronger prop- though there are some disagreements concerning the indierty rights. Formal property rights arrived in the Middle East vidual identities of all these. Among those mentioned by

in the nineteenth century through sweeping economic re- name are: Adam (mentioned 25 times by name), Idris (1), Nah forms based largely on European models. Property rights are (Noah; 43), Hud (7), Salih (10), Ibrahim (Abraham; 69), broadly recognized in the modern civil codes of Middle Isma'il (Ishmael; 12), Ishaq (Isaac; 17), Ya'qub (Jacob; 16), Eastern countries. Lut (Lot; 27), Yusuf (Joseph; 27), Shu'ayb (11), Ayyub (Job; 4), Dhu-l-Kifl (2), Musa (Moses; 137), Harun (Aaron; 20), See also Economy and Economic Institutions; Waqf. Dawud (David; 16), Sulayman (Solomon; 17), Ilyas (Elijah; 1), Alisa (Elisha; 2), Yunus (Jonah; 4), Zakariyya (Zechariah; 7), Yahya (John; 5), Issa (Jesus; 25), and Muhammad (4).

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PROPHETS not considered prophets but whose stories are nevertheless included in the later Muslim stories of the prophets. According to Muslim interpretation of the Qur'an, the prophet Muhammad is considered to be the "seal of the prophets," the The Qur'an mentions scriptures revealed to Abraham culmination of a line of prophets stretching back through (53:36-37, 87:18-19), and specifies the Torah and Gospel Jesus, Moses, and Abraham to Adam. Many but not all of the (3:3, 3:48,

3:60, 5:43–46, 5:66), Psalms of David (4:163, prophets preceding Muhammad are mentioned in the Qur an, 17:55), and Qur an (12:1–3, 20:2, 27:19, 56:77–80, 76:23) as

554

Islam and the Muslim World

Purdah

revealed books. A hadith report given on the authority of Abu their revealed scriptures, and largely embrace the diversity of Dharr states that scriptures were revealed to Adam, Seth, the various “versions” of different stories focusing on the Idris, and Abraham in addition to the revelation of the Torah common veneration of certain recognized figures such as to Moses, the Psalms to David, the Gospel to Jesus, and the Abraham, Moses, and Jesus.

Qur an to Muhammad. According to al-Tabari, the “first scriptures” mentioned in Q 20:133 and 87:18 are the scrip- See also Islam and Other Religions; Muhammad; Qur an. tures revealed to Seth and Idris.

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in narrative order beginning with Adam and ending with Thackston,

Wheeler. The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa i.

Muhammad, roughly paralleling the biblical chronology of Boston:

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these same figures. Best known for their stories of the proph- Wensinck,

Arent Jan. The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and

ets were Thabari and Ibn Kathir, and stories of the prophets Historical

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universal histories such as those University Press, 1932.

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Brannon. Moses in the Qur'an and Islamic Exegesis.

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ture of these story collections contributed to a more accessible and less

piecemeal interpretation of the Qur'an. The

Brannon M. Wheeler

genre of "stories of the prophets" has been more closely

associated with sermons and popular Qur'an interpretation,

and it is likely that some of the earliest Qur'an interpretations, like those

attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih, Ka'b al-PULPIT See Minbar (Mimbar)

Ahbar, and Ibn Abbas, originated as sermons or stories of the

prophets. Later works devoted to the stories of the prophets,

especially in Persian, were richly illustrated, picturing the

prophets in certain well-known scenes from the popular

stories. In the Muslim world today, one of the most popular PURDAH

formats for presentation of the Qur'an to children is through

books and videos illustrating the stories of the prophets. Purdah, from

the Persian word for curtain, pardah, refers to

the custom of veiling and secluding women in Islamic socie-

Most of the prophets in the Qur'an as well as those mentioned by name in later Muslim interpretation parallel the Qur'an to speaking with women from characters from the Bible and its interpretation in Jewish and Christian traditions. Muslim scholars have seen these parallels as evidence of the shared origins of these religions and ways, all of them involving some form of sexual

Islam and the Muslim World

555

Purdah

segregation. In its most extreme form, women are confined to their homes; alternatively, it involves male social interaction necessary.

and schooling with other males and similarly segregated social activities and schooling for females. Usually, purdah involves various forms of modest dress in order to keep recent times. It can be seen as the oppressive women from being seen by unrelated males. These range social segregation upon women, or as a matter of choice, in which the use of the veil expresses a woman's faith and cultural identity. Indicative of this latter phenomenon is the fact that wearing a head scarf is becoming more purdah is also a form of cultural and political symbolism. Muslims migrate to non-Muslim countries.

During the period of rapid modernization in the early twentieth century, many middle-class, urban Muslim women gave up the veil. In more recent times, movements of cultural pride and religious reassertion have prompted many Muslim women to don it again. Purdah observation varies according to region, culture, and class. In Iran, the chador became the emblem of the Islamic revolution, symbolic of the rejection of the West and of westernization. In Afghanistan, the all-enveloping burqa was required by the Taliban government,

See also Gender; Harem; Veiling.

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though it also provided symbolic protection for women in Sherifa. *Revealing Reveiling: Islamist Gender Ideology in politically unstable situations. In Pakistan and India, Muslim Contemporary Egypt.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

Zuhur,

York

shawl that hides the feminine form, the burqa—a coatlike garment with an adjustable head piece, the dupatta—a sheer
Gail Minault

556

Islam and the Muslim World

Q

QADHDHAFI, MU MAR AL- (1943–)

Qadhdhafi's leadership of Libya during the first decade after 1969 brought many changes to ordinary Libyans such as providing free medical care, building the infrastructure of the country, and expanding education especially for Libyan women. However, secular and Islamic opposition were reand political ideology were influenced by his family's tribal pressed. Since the early 1980s, the Libyan economy has values, anticolonial Islam, and Arab nationalism during the grown more dependent on oil for its revenues than it was upheavals of the Egyptian revolution (1952) and the Algerian under the old regime, and agriculture continues to decline anticolonial revolution (1954–1965). As the sole leader of despite large and expensive projects. Despite these mixed Libya since 1969, he has changed the socioeconomic and legacies, the Libyan revolution under Qadhdhafi's leadership political structures of that nation. He created and led a self- is a turning point in the making of modern Libya in the declared revolutionary state governed by an organization of twentieth century.

popular committees and congresses with a rich oil-based rentier economy. See

also *Modernization, Political: Authoritarianism and Democratization.*

Qadhdhafi was born in 1943 (other sources say he was born earlier) in a tent to a poor itinerant Bedouin family that
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belonged to the Qadhafa tribe. In 1965, Qadhdhafi and some Ahmida, Ali Abdullatif. *The Making of Modern Libya: State of his friends entered the military academy and began to Formation, Colonialization, and Resistance, 1830–1932.* recruit other officers in his revolutionary organization, the

Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Free Unionist Officers Movement.

Ayoub,

Mahmoud M. Islam and the Third Universal Theory:

The Religious Thought of Mu ammar al-Qadhdhafi. London:

Qadhdhafi's ideology stresses Arab nationalism, Islam,

KPI

Limited, 1987.

self-determination, social justice, and denounced the corruption of the old regime. He theorizes that historical change is

Ali Abdullatif Ahmida

caused by religion and nationalism. Qadhdhafi advocates opening the gates of ijtihad (free reason of Islamic law) and hence accepts only the Qur an as the main basis of Islamic law. Such views place him on the side of reformist Islamic (KADI, KAZI)

QADI

traditions. He was also anticommunist, which brought him

A qadi is the term for a Muslim judge who issues definitive

international recognition from the Nixon administration in

rulings in cases brought by disputants for resolution. The

the United States. After consolidating his power and crushed

word qadi is derived from the root word q-d-y, meaning "to

the opposition in 1975, Qadhdhafi began to apply his ideas, resolve," "to settle," "to decide."

which were presented in his Green Book (1976, 1980). He

advocated what he called the Third Universal Theory, a

Judicial practice is seen as an extension of the function of

third way between capitalism and Marxism based on the

the

ruler and is thus indirectly linked to orderly governance.

direct democracy of popular organization of congresses and

Muslim

political theory advocates the appointment of an

committees.

executive ruler (caliph/imam) as a moral obligation (fard)

Qadi

premised on religious authority. The appointment of judges

prophetic

tradition that prevents women from holding the

is thus in keeping with the fulfillment of an obligation

office of

a qadi, the early juristic viewpoint on this matter

according to the classical Sunni legal authorities. Early Shi ite reflects

the social conditions of patriarchy, where the religauthorities argue that the

implementation of the rules of the ious norm is colored by social

context.

revealed law (shari a) is an obligation not subject to rational

scrutiny (ta abbud) and can only be fulfilled by the designated

The

situation in modern Muslim nation-states from the

hereditary religious leader (imam) or his delegated appoint-

twentieth

century onward is somewhat different. In many

ees. Only those judges appointed by the legitimate political

societies

where a version of Islamic law is still practiced, such as family leader can be deemed to have worthy credentials as appoint- law, women do perform the role of qadis. However, ees to the office of judgeship. the advancement of women to high levels in the profession of judgeship still remains an ongoing struggle.

According to the Sunni scholar al-Ghazali, the role of the judiciary (qada) is similar to the process of issuing juridical According to the classical authorities, non-Muslim qadis responsa (fatwa, pl. fatawa), where academic jurists offer can only have jurisdiction over fellow non-Muslims, but do not have learned opinions to questions about the moral status of jurisdiction over Muslim petitioners. Sunni and Shi'ite practices. There is of course a crucial difference between a authorities do not accept the testimony of non-Muslims jurisconsult (mufti) and a judge (qadi). The former only against Muslims. Given the parallels between judgeship and provides information to the questioner as to what the juridical- testimony, non-Muslim qadis are not viewed as qualified to moral status or value (hukm) of a specific act is, while the give verdicts over Muslims. While these practices stem from assumptions primary purpose of the latter is to apply and enforce the of Islamic power and empire, this rule is often ignored in established rules by means of the coercive authority held by modern multireligious and multiethnic societies the ruler, or later devolved upon the modern state. that include significant Muslim populations such as India, Malaysia, and Nigeria. Irrespective of Muslim majority or minority Across the spectrum of Muslim law schools treatises minority contexts, non-Muslim judges do issue binding rulings detailing the ethics of judgeship are in abundance. A high bar ings on Muslim petitioners with little objection from the is set for qualification as a qadi, requiring candidates to meet traditional religious scholars (ulema). an extensive list of prerequisites. The most important of these pre-requisites are that qadis should be knowledgeable of the In the premodern period qadis had jurisdiction over an entire law and its cognitive disciplines, as well as display moral entire gamut of laws ranging from administrative law, torts, and rectitude as individuals with impeccable credentials within and commercial law to criminal law. In several places, especially in their society. Classical Muslim authorities see an intimate cially in North Africa, there were also courts of appeals.

link between qualification as a judge and possessing the However, with the displacement of Islamic law by secular and credentials of being a reliable witness (shahada). Those who Western legal codes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries pass the test to serve as

credible witnesses, also in theory. In many instances limited to qualify as having the credentials to serve as qadis. family law matters; in many places the office has been abolished. On the other hand, in some countries where Islamic

Among the earliest judges delegated by the prophet Muhammad to serve in certain regions were the companions. law has been reintroduced as the main source of law in the twentieth century, the office of the qadi has been revived.

Mu adh ibn Jabal, who was sent to Yemen, and Itab b. Usayd, who was sent to Mecca. Later successors, notably Umar b. See also Fatwa; Law; Mufti; Religious Institutions.

Al-Khattab, gave particular attention to the development of a proto-judicial system. He appointed the famous Shurayh b.

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al-Harith al-Kindi (d. c. 699/700) as qadi of Kufa. Shurayh Powers, David. "On Judicial Review in Islamic Law." Law & Society Review 26, no. 2 (1992): 315–341.

esteem, provided him with a monthly stipend, even though he fired him for issuing a wrong judgment, but Ali also later Tyser, C. R., et al., trans. "About a Judge and the Duties of a Judge." In The Mejlle. Kuala Kumpur, Malaysia: The reinstated him. Umar's famous letter to Abu Musa al-Ash ari Other Press, 2001.

is held out as a model document that enshrines the ideals of judgeship in Islam in which he pleads for equity for all people, Umar al-Khassaf, Ahmad ibn, and Sadr al-Shahid, Abd al-

Aziz, trans. Munir Ahmad Mughal, Adab al-Qadi: Islamic rich or poor, and warns against the miscarriage of justice. Legal and Judicial System. Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1999.

Historically, the profession has been dominated by males. Yaacob, Abdul Monir. "Duties of Qadis in Islamic Law."

Most of the law schools make maleness a prerequisite for Journal Undang-Undang IKIM, Institute of Islamic Underbeing a judge. However, in theory at least, some of the standing Malaysia Law Journal 4, no. 1 (January–June

classical schools permit women to be judges, while barring 2000): 39–52.

them from deciding cases involving criminal penalties (hudud). However, since there is no explicit directive in the Qur'an or Ebrahim Moosa

QA IDA, AL- train its
 volunteers in effective resistance methods, including
 terrorist tactics. Azzam held a particularly hard-line doctrine
 The name of the radical organization al-Qa ida (also spelled of jihad,
 which, according to his understanding of the Qur an
 al-Qaeda) has the literal meaning of “the foundation” or “the and
 sunna of the prophet Muhammad, required militant
 base.” The organization arose in the last quarter of the
 opposition to Islam’s perceived enemies. This view was adopted
 twentieth century to oppose the military and economic inter- by Usama
 bin Ladin, although at what point is not clear.
 vention of non-Muslim states in predominantly Muslim lands. Another
 important influence in the al-Qa ida network of
 It came to the attention of the public in the United States and
 organizations is Ayman al-Zawahiri (1951–), an Egyptian
 around the world on 11 September 2001, immediately fol- physician
 who joined the radical al-Jama a al-Islamiyya (Is- slowing the deadly attacks on
 the World Trade Center in New lamic Group) and affiliated with bin
 Ladin during the late
 York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., that killed twentieth
 and early twenty-first centuries.
 more than three thousand people and terrified those who
 witnessed the well-covered event on television. The broader During
 the Afghan war against the Soviet military, the
 association of al-Qa ida and its leader, Usama bin Ladin, with organized
 resistance efforts of M.A.K. also became known as
 terrorism was immediate and pervasive in media coverage al-Qa ida.
 Other names were adopted by Usama bin Ladin,
 and political discourse in America and elsewhere. such as
 “The Islamic Global Front for Combating Jews and
 Crusaders [Christians].” Indeed, such names, including al-
 Al-Qa ida was the first of the militant Islamist organiza- Qa ida, do
 not refer to a single organization with a single
 tions to operate on a global scale. It did so in part by adopting central
 command headquartered in a known place, but rather
 many of the technologies and communications methods of to a
 cluster or complex of organizations and movements
 the very global organization whose famous twin-tower build- whose
 affiliations and organizational structure are not yet
 ings in New York it allegedly destroyed on 11 September well known
 or understood. In the 1980s al-Qa ida functioned
 2001. Although a considerable amount of data on al-Qa ida as an ally
 of United States against the Soviet Union, receiving
 and its operatives has been gathered and published by gov- covert
 funds through the C.I.A. When the war wound down
 ernmental security agencies and investigative reporters, as of with the
 defeat of the Soviets in 1988, the organization’s

2003 a thorough academic study of the organization or, more interests
 expanded globally, to include other Muslim fronts
 properly speaking, of the cluster of radical Muslim organiza- that
 suffered non-Muslim interventions, including Chechnya,
 tions going by the name of al-Qa ida, had yet to be under- the
 Balkans, Central Asia, Africa, and Indonesia. This new,
 taken by specialists on Islam. more global
 involvement included an attempt to blow up one
 of the towers of the World Trade center in New York (23
 The ideological founder of al-Qa ida (sometimes al-Qa ida February 1993),
 simultaneous lethal bomb blasts at two U.S.
 al-sulba: "the solid foundations") was Abdallah Azzam, a
 embassies in east Africa (1998), an attack on the U.S.S. Cole as
 Palestinian born in 1941. Azzam grew up under Israeli it came
 into port in the Yemen (2000), and suicidal attacks
 occupation of his homeland. He earned a doctorate in shari a using
 commandeered airplanes against the World Trade
 studies at al-Azhar University in Cairo, after which he taught Center in
 New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.,
 in various Middle Eastern universities. He was dismissed on 11
 September 2001.
 from his teaching post at King Abd al- Aziz University in
 Saudi Arabia in 1979 for engaging in Islamist activism. He Many
 well-meaning Muslims and non-Muslims have rethen went to Pakistan on the eve of
 the invasion of Afghani- garded al-Qa ida, its leaders and operatives,
 as beyond the
 stan by armed forces of the Soviet Union. There he met and pale of the
 Islamic faith because of the extreme and violent
 became a religious mentor to Usama bin Ladin, who brought methods
 they advocate using against moderate Muslim govto the growing anti-Soviet
 effort (jihad) considerable financ- ernments and non-Muslim states. Yet
 it is clear that Abdallah
 ing and experience in building the kind of infrastructure Azzam,
 Usama bin Ladin and other leaders and mentors of
 needed to conduct effective counterattacks. al-Qa ida
 regarded themselves as good Muslims, as being
 among the vanguard of reformers who aim to restore the true
 In 1984 Azzam and bin Ladin established the Afghan faith of the
 founding generations of Islam (the salaf), and as
 Service Bureau Front, known by its Arabic acronym M.A.K. followers
 of a legitimate Sunni school of interpretation in
 (maktab al-khidma li-l-mujahin al- arab, literally, office for Islam, the
 Wahhabi-Hanbali school that predominates in
 services for Arab freedom fighters). Among the services they Saudi
 Arabia and elsewhere in the Gulf states. They proposed
 provided was keeping track of young Muslim males who a radical
 Islamic response to modernism and to the constrainjoined the cause from

countries around the world, particularly from Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and their secular agendas, basing that response on interpretations they apparently provided relief services to those who were of Islam that were already circulating in the mid-twentieth century. wounded and to the families of those killed in battle. Very

Islam and the Muslim World

559

Qanun

Chief among these interpretations are the writings of mathematics). All of these books were written between the Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), whose books and pamphlets con- tent and fifteenth centuries, indicating that the word had tinue to be widely read and appreciated throughout the passed into common Arabic usage, and was taken to mean the Muslim world, even by moderate Muslims who regard their rules or principles of something. faith as greatly misunderstood by non-Muslims and under assault by secular modernity. Thus, while willful, murderous From the earliest centuries of Islam and onward, the word acts against innocent victims is regarded as morally repreh- was used in a more specialized context to refer to tax registers and lists, sible by most Muslims and non-Muslims alike, many scholars especially of land taxes, as in qanun al-kharaj, and the believe that the Islamic self-understanding promoted by the regulations and assessments of land taxes, as in al-qawanin alleadership and ranks of al-Qa ida members must also be muqarrara. In addition, a large number of texts written on the analyzed without the attempt to classify them as authentic or rules of public administration or the administration of the inauthentic religious beliefs. Other scholars see al-Qa ida as a ruler's office were titled qanun al-rasa il and qanun al-diwan. In the forceful response to Western imperialism during the colonial sixteenth century, Ghiyath al-Din Khwand Amir and post-colonial periods and to the rapid globalization of wrote Qanun-e-Humayuni, which recorded the rules and ordinances market capitalism and secularism since the collapse of the established by the emperor Humayun, and some of the Soviet Union in 1989. Most scholars of Islam warn against an ill-founded tendency on the part of some religious leaders and media commentators to equate al-Qa ida with Islam, that From the Umayyad period, and especially during the is, to define and grasp Islam in terms of the public manifesta- Ottoman era, the word qanun also referred to state regulations of al-Qa ida and similar

radical groups. tions, imperial decrees, or edicts that were based on public interest and executive discretion, instead of the jurist-based See also Bin Ladin, Usama; Fundamentalism; Qutb, shari a law. Such regulations were considered temporal in Sayyid; Terrorism. nature, and therefore, they remained in effect as long as they were decreed by a ruler. Upon the death or removal of a ruler, BIBLIOGRAPHY such regulations had to be confirmed or continued by a Gunaratna, Rohan. Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror. successor. These regulations were not limited to the field of New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. taxation, but often covered matters related to court procedure, commercial law, and criminal law as well. They also Richard C. Martin canonized customary practices especially for professional guilds and merchants. As far as Muslim jurists were concerned, these regulations were described as executory laws (qawanin urfiyya) that could be mandated by public interests, QANUN but such regulations were not considered part of the divinely based shari a law. Therefore, such decrees and regulations Qanun (pl. qawanin) is a word that apparently entered into were documented, publicized, and enforced by state func- tionaries, Arabic from Greek, although according to some reports it including judges, but they were not memorialized in the might have been borrowed from Persian or Latin or have books of classical Islamic jurisprudence. From the meant the “way to something” or its measurement in old perspective of Muslim jurists, the legitimacy of such regula- tions Arabic. The word, however, has come to have broad mean- tions depended on the extent to which they served the public interest, ings including a particular musical instrument, known simply and the interests of justice, and also to the extent they as al-qanun, tax assessments, state taxes and tariffs, registers did not conflict with the jurist-made shari a law. and lists, land measurements, and also rules and regulations. In modern times, qanun generally refers to state law, although The degree to which consecutive Muslim governments the word is often used to signify guiding rules, customs, and relied on qanun, as executive regulations, at the expense of the principles. In both premodern and modern times, qanun jurist-based shari a law varied widely. Muslim jurists did not often referred to secular laws and administrative rules, as always oppose the imposition of administrative laws or reguopposed to religious laws or shari a . The word was often used lations by the state, and, in fact,

in tracts written on politics, in the titles of books written as early as the tenth century. The jurists often acknowledged that such regulations are a function of some of these books included: *al-Qawanin al-shariyya* (The principles of sharia), *Qawanin al-ahkam al-shariyya* (The principles of Islamic law), *Tashrih al-qanun* (The explanation of the law), *Qawanin al-siyasa* (The rules of government), *Qanun al-salawat* (Rules of conduct and principles of attempts by bureaucrats to systematize and centralize the law), *Qanun al-adab* (Rules of good character), *Qanun al-tibb* (Rules of medicine), *Qanun al-balagha* (Rules of eloquence), *Qanun fi al-tibb* (Avicenna's book on medicine), and *Qawanin al-riyada* (Principles of exercise). However, since the Umayyad period, there was a pronounced tension between state functionaries and the juristic class. The jurists, as the sharia experts, were suspicious, and often defensive, toward the state. *Qanun al-salawat* (Rules of conduct and principles of attempts by bureaucrats to systematize and centralize the law), *Qanun al-adab* (Rules of good character), *Qanun al-tibb* (Rules of medicine), *Qanun al-balagha* (Rules of eloquence), *Qanun fi al-tibb* (Avicenna's book on medicine), and *Qawanin al-riyada* (Principles of exercise) were all attempts by bureaucrats to systematize and centralize the law by limiting the discretionary powers of the jurists. Nonetheless, in the period following the Mongol invasions, various dynasties resorted to increased executive lawmaking, often

560

Islam and the Muslim World

Qom

resulting in aggravating the tensions between the juristic class and the state.

QIBLA

The usage of the term *qanun*, in the sense of secular laws, became particularly pronounced toward which Muslim worshippers direct themselves for prayer, the *qibla*, has always been an important place. The place toward which Muslim worshippers direct themselves for prayer, the *qibla*, has always been an important place. The *qibla* is the direction of Mecca, and it is also advised to face in the direction of Mecca; the deceased is buried with the face in the direction of Mecca; the deceased is buried lying on his right side, facing Mecca, and it is also advised to take the *qibla* into account in a positive or negative way in various other activities. Discourse about the *qibla* is often embedded in common law, as interpreted and developed by jurists. The notions of power and tradition. For example, the opposition of jurists of centralized state-based laws reached a divide

among the Javanese communities in present-day point that in 1696 Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703), by decree, Surinam and the Netherlands between East-keblat people and forbade the use of the word qanun in conjunction with the West-keblat are closely related to reformist versus traditionword shari a . This was induced by the efforts of the jurists to alist ideas, respectively. The traditionalist West qeblat people make clear that state-issued qanun be separate and apart from keep to their pre-diaspora Javanese customs, identity, and shari a law. their original Indonesian prayer direction to the West. Reformists argue that it should be altered. Similar discussions take With the age of colonialism, the jurisdiction of shari a law place elsewhere. in most Muslim countries had become progressively restricted and, eventually, confined mostly to personal laws Recent historical research by Uri Rubin indicates that the dealing with marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Most Mus- first qibla the Muslims used in Mecca was the Ka ba, in lim countries adopted a code-based system of law modeled agreement with the local hunafa (monotheists), who saw the after the French civil law system. In that respect, most Ka ba as the qibla of Ibrahim and his son Isma il. Shortly Muslim countries adopted civil and criminal law codes, titled before the hijra to Medina, and possibly associated with the “the qanun of such and such.” For instance, in most Arabic-revelation of the isra (Muhammad’s night journey, from speaking countries one will find the following: al-qanun al- Mecca to Jerusalem), the qibla was altered toward Jerusalem. madani (the civil law code), al-qanun al-jina i (the criminal law The Meccan sanctuary became the qibla again in 624 C.E. (cf. code), qanun al-ijra at (code of legal procedures), and al- Q. 2: 136ff) when an important change in Muhammad’s qanun al-tujari (the commercial code). In such countries, even attitude toward the Jews occurred. in the field of personal law, where shari a still enjoys the See also Devotional Life; Law; Science, Islam and.

dominant influence, matters relating to marriage, divorce, and inheritance have been codified in codes known as qanun
BIBLIOGRAPHY

al-ahwal al-shakhsiyya (the personal law code). In the modern Bashear, Sulayman. “Qibla Musharriqa and Early Muslim age, state regulations or executive decrees, as opposed to Prayer in Churches.” *The Muslim World* 81, nos. 3–4 codes, are often referred to as qararat, bayanat, lawa ih, or (1991): 267–282. marasim. Some Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia, have

Ichwan, Moch. Nur. "Continuing Discourse on Keblat: not adopted a civil law system, and, instead, rely on the shari a Diasporic Experiences of the Surinamese Javanese Muscommon law, and on executive decrees issued on specific lims in the Netherlands." *Sharqiyyat* 11 (1999): 101–119. matters such as banking, foreign investments, and labor and King, David A., and Wensinck, Arend Jan. "Kibla." In *The employment regulations. Although the word qanun today is Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2d ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–. used in a technical sense to refer to enacted codes of law, it is still used in the more expansive sense of law in general, Rubin, Uri. "Hanifiyya and Ka ba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of Dîn Ibrâhîm." *Jerusaincluding Islamic law. lem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 94–112. See also Law; Modernization, Political: Administrative, Military, and Judicial Reform; Political Organization; Gerard Wiegers

Shari a.

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QOM

Inalcik, Halil. "Sulayman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1971). A provincial capital since June 1996, 140 kilometers south of Tehran, Qom is the biggest center of Shi ite religious studies Khaled Abou El-Fadl and a pilgrimage site next only to Mashhad in importance. A

Islam and the Muslim World

561

Qur an

village before it was settled in the seventh and eighth decades visited for pilgrimage (ziyara) are the graves of numerous of the seventh century by the Ash aris, a Shi ite Yemenite Alavite personages in and around Qom (about 400 imamzadahs, tribe that had migrated from Iraq due to differences with or descendents of the imams, are said to be buried in the city Sunni Umayyad rulers, it became, in contrast to the predomi- and surrounding hamlets). A third major attraction is the nantly Sunni towns of the region, a major Shi ite academic Jamkaran Mosque, located five kilometers from the city. center in the following centuries. Many of the names of Visited by more than an estimated ten million people annuauthors in al-Najashi's eleventh-century list of Shi ite com- ally, it is believed to have been built at the order of the pilers, as well as those of many narrators of traditions in Twelfth Imam. These shrines in conjunction with numerous

Shi'ite compendia of hadith, pertain to the Ash'aris of Qom traditions related from the imams concerning the station of (not to be confused with the Ash'ari theological school). Qom as a Shi'ite sanctuary and stronghold make it Iran's second holiest city after Mashhad.

Qom's fame as an academy seems to have disappeared after the eleventh century, as the center of Shi'ite learning in Mashhad; Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Revolution: See also Iran shifted to Rey and other northern towns. Although such Islamic Revolution in Iran.

figures as Fayz Kashani (d. 1681) and Molla Mohammad Tahir Qommi (d. 1686) lived here during the Safavid era, Rasool Ja'fariyan

Qom's partial reemergence as an academy was due to the patronage of the Qajars. The presence of Mirza-ye Qommi (d. 1816), who enjoyed the patronage of Fath Ali Shah (1797–1834), is considered a point of departure in the history of Qom as an academy. However, a new era began with the Muslim housewives commence cooking by reciting a verse arrival of Ayatollah Ha'eri (1859–1936) in 1921. He established the present center of learning (hawza-ye ilmiyya) in order to ensure that more people are able to enjoy the meal. On spotting an approaching dog, Muslims during a period when the Qajar regime was passing away and the will hastily read any memorized verse to deflect its possible Pahlavi regime was taking shape. From the times of Ayatollah ill-intentions. The die-hard Marxists of the Baluchistan Communist Party in Pakistan commenced their annual conference At the end of Reza Shah's reign the number of seminary students was about 500. It was above 6,000 in 1975, and above 23,000 in 1991, and presently students from Iran and abroad celebrate its fiftieth jubilee. In California, the international Muslim homosexual organization takes its name, Al-Fatiha, lah Khomeini, a pupil of Ayatollah Ha'eri, Qom played a key role in leading the opposition to the Pahlavi regime in the events of 1964. It was here that on 9 January 1978 the Qur'an is memorized in small parts by virtually all confrontation with the Shah's security forces occurred, an recited in the daily prayers, or rehearsed at funerals event that triggered off the Islamic Revolution of 1979. rituals, chanted at the side of the newly born,

Qom's political importance as a spiritual and academic center the sick,
or the dying. After death it is recited to ease the
of the Shi'ite clergy has grown enormously following the passage of
the departed soul into the next and to provide
Islamic Revolution. From being a small town with a popula- comfort for
those left behind; as if to say "Whatever, be
tion of 96,499 in 1956, Qom itself has grown rapidly to assured God
is here; just listen to His speech!" Any inmate of
become one of the major cities of Iran, with a population of a Dubai
prison who memorizes it entirely can get complete
825,627 in 2000. remission
from his or her sentence, and a memorization of
each thirtieth part is rewarded by an equivalent amount off
Qom's fame as a pilgrimage spot visited by millions from one's
sentence.

Iran and abroad is mainly due to the shrine of Fatimah the
Infallible (ma sumah) (d. 816), daughter of Musa b. Ja'far, the An
immediate end can be brought to many an argument
seventh imam. On the way to visiting her brother, Imam Ali by resorting
to: "But God says . . .!" Virtually every Muslim
b. Musa al-Reza, who was at Marv at the time, she died after a home is
adorned with some verse from it in various forms of
brief illness at Qom. Since then her shrine has been a calligraphy,
as a means of both beautifying one's home and
pilgrimage spot, whose sacred precincts have served as a site protecting
it (with the inhabitants seldom knowing the mean for royal and noble mausoleums
as well as a favored burial ing of the framed piece of calligraphy).

Passages from it are
ground of the faithful since the Safavid and Qajar periods. used as
amulets to protect from illness or the evil eye. A few
Although the city and the shrine received some royal atten- verses
containing the prayer that the Qur'an suggests Noah
tion during the rule of the Buwayhid (tenth century), Seljuk offered when
he entered the ark are stuck on the windscreens
(eleventh century), Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu (six- of vehicles
from Chicago to Jakarta to provide protection for
teenth century) regimes, the present structure dates partly the driver
and passengers. Palatial mansions in many Muslim countries
from the Safavid and largely from the Qajar era. Other sites
have the verse "This is [an outcome] of my Sustainer's

562

Islam and the Muslim World

Qur'an

bounty" (27:40) stuck on the gates or walls to ward off any evil The
Qur'an also describes itself as "a guide for humankind"
intention. As for its inhabitants, they believe that protection and "a

clear exposition of guidance,” “a distinguisher” (25:1), is offered by pasting a few verses, known as the Verses of the reminder” (15:9), “ordinance in the Arabic tongue” (13:37), Throne (Ayat al-Kursi), behind the front door. Written texts healer” (10:57), “the admonition” (10:57), “the light” conform to or deviate from a language and its rules; in the and “the truth” (17:81). From this literal meaning, it case of this text, the development of the language is based on a revealed oral discourse that unfolded over a period it and its rules are rooted primarily in the text. of twenty-three years as seemingly a part of God’s response to the requirements of society. Only toward the end of this This is the Qur an. It fulfills many of the same functions in process is the Qur an presented as scripture rather than a recitation the lives of Muslims as the Bible does for Christians, but most distinct or discourse. The word qur an is thus used in two portions importantly, it represents to Muslims what Jesus Christ distinct senses: first, as the designation of a portion or portions represents for devout Christians or the Torah, the eternal law of revelation; and, second, as the name of the entire collection of God, for Jews. Similarly, the history of theological contro- collection of revelations to Muhammad. This twin meaning versy about the nature of the Qur an, which flourished from of qur an, as both a collection and as a book, makes for the early days of Islam until orthodoxy finally settled the issue fascinating questions about the nature of revelation. Is it a of the “true dogma,” is not unlike the early controversies collection of divine responses to earthly events or is it a preabout the nature of Jesus Christ and his relationship to the existing canon according to which events must play out in Father, which was finally settled for the Christian world by order that its narratives, injunctions, and exhortations can the Council of Nicaea in 325. In the same manner that small acquire flesh and blood? remnants of the dissident opinions on the nature of Christ have survived and reawakened under the impact of critical The Qur an as Written Word

modern and postmodern thinking in Christianity, so have For outsiders, the Qur an exists primarily as a literary text (alsuch opinions about the nature of the Qur an survived in Islam. kitab); for Muslims, however, it continues to function as both a written text (mushaf) and an oral one (al-qur an), with an For Muslims the Qur an is alive and has a quasi-human organic relationship existing between these two modes. Most personality. Muslims believe that it watches over them and of critical scholarship has focused on the written dimensions will intercede with God on the Day of Judgment. The Qur an

of the text without reflecting too carefully on its message, and is possessed of enormous power; “Had We bestowed this has failed to appreciate that its centrality to Muslims transcends this textual form. Thus, questions are raised by critical it [the mountain] humbling itself, breaking asunder for awe of scholars about, for example, the identity of Mary, whom the God” (59:21).

The Qur'an describes as the sister of Aaron, and the seeming

The Qur'an as Oral Discourse

discrepancy between this description and one in which Mary

The oral dimensions of the Qur'an were important in a society is credited with being the mother of Jesus.

society where poetry and the spoken or recited word were highly valued. It is also evident that the activity of committing Such

questions generally fail to appreciate that the Qur'an the Qur'an or sections thereof to memory and reciting it were is essentially evocative to Muslims and that it is often inimportant parts of the religious life of the earliest Muslims, formative through its being evocative. While exegetes would

and regarded as acts of great spiritual merit. The Prophet go to great lengths to resolve the difficulties presented by the himself would often recite from the Qur'an and at times ask portrayal of Mary as both the mother of Jesus and the sister of others to read for him. Abdallah b. Mas'ud (d. 652) reported Aaron, the “fact” of God having stated this remains unshaken.

that the Prophet told him: “‘Read [from] the Qur'an for me.’ I Thus while it may not make any cognitive sense, the response [b. Mas'ud] said: ‘Shall I read it for you when it was revealed of the believer downplays cognition, and comprehension, and unto you?’ He said: ‘I love listening to it from someone else.’”

ignores the question of which Mary is being referred to. This The overwhelming importance of the Qur'an as recited understanding as devotion rather than as cognition is how the speech in contrast with it as written or read text is found in the believer approaches the Qur'an. In other words, comprehension of the word Qur'an itself, in the way the earliest sion can follow from the emotive and intuitive response that

Muslims viewed the text, and in several verses of the Qur'an. is evoked in the hearer and reciter rather than a study of its

The proper-noun sense of the term Qur'an, as used in reference to the scripture, is that of a fundamentally oral and contents.

certainly an active ongoing reality, rather than that of a The Structure of the Qur'an

written and closed codex such as it later came to be, represented Modern editions of the Qur'an include a heading that presented by the masahif (written copies, sing. mushaf). provides some basic information at the

beginning of each sura (chapter) such as its name, the number of ayat (verses) it contains, and From the Arabic root qara a (to read), or qarana (to gather or collect), the word qur an is used in the Qur an in the sense in Mecca or Medina. The Egyptian print version, the one most of reading (17:93), recital (75:18) and a collection (75:17). widely used in the Muslim world today, also suggests

Islam and the Muslim World

563

Qur an

which verses are exceptions; that is, which verses occurring in confessional and traditional scholarship. With the exception of the a Medinan text were actually revealed in Mecca and vice of the second and third suras, they occur exclusively in suras belonging to versa. There are two major divisions in the Qur an, suras these of the later Meccan period. There are fourteen of (chapters) and ajza (parts), and each sura contains a number of verses (ayat). may have disjointed letters in all, and the suras that contain them anywhere from a single letter to a cluster of five.

From the singular aya (lit. signs, indications, or wonders), Another fascinating element of the Qur an is its division into thirty ayat are the shortest divisions of the Qur an and the term is equal parts, each called a juz (pl. ajza). These usually rendered as “verses,” although it may also be under- divisions are intended to facilitate the recitation of the Qur an in stood as phrases or passages. A collection of ayat, usually a month, particularly the month of Ramadan. The ajza are distinguishable from one another by the occurrence of rhythm, further divided into four neatly divided sections that are rhyme, or assonance, comprise a sura. However, this techni- marked along the edges of the text. For reading on a daily cal meaning of the word aya (or ayat) is not the only, or even basis, each juz is divided into seven parts, called manazil the primary, meaning with which it is used in the Qur an. It (sing. manzil, lit. stage). It is significant that none of these divisions, frequently occurs in the sense of the signs of God’s presence pivotal to Muslim usage of the Qur an, bears any relation to in the universe. Muslims, however, believe that, given its the meaning of the text.

miraculous and inimitable nature, the Qur an and all of its The current arrangement of the Qur an is neither chronoconstituent parts are signs of the presence of God in the world. logical nor thematic. To those accustomed to reading in a

The Qur'an comprises 114 suras, each of which is divided linear or sequential fashion, this can prove tedious and frustrating. The word sura literally means row or fence, and translating. With the exception of story of Joseph, the Qur'an seems to denote both a section or chapter and revelation also does not have a clear narrative pattern within which its stories neatly unfold. While there is unanimity around the placement of the ayat within a sura, traditional scholars have arranged by the Prophet in his lifetime, and that this was done differed as to whether the sequence of all, or only some, of the annually under the guidance of the angel Gabriel. After the suras were divinely ordained. Most Muslims have accepted Fatiha ("The Opening") the chapters are arranged roughly in this arrangement although there have been a number of order of descending size, beginning with al-Baqarah ("The attempts to offer structural explanations for the way that the Cow") and concluding with al-Nas ("Humankind"). These suras are laid out.

suras are of unequal length, the shortest, "The Fountain," consisting of three ayat, the longest, "The Cow," containing 286. With one exception, al-Tawba ("The Repentance"), all Muslim and critical scholarship hold that the Qur'an suras commence with "In the name of God, the Gracious, the appeared in the Arabic language. Traditional Muslim Dispenser of Grace." This formula is known as the basmala scholarship holds that the Qur'an was written in the dialect of and was initially used to denote the boundaries between two the tribe of the Prophet, for it was also the suras. Muslims suggest that the omission of the basmala at the language known to and understood by all the Arabs. head of the surat al-Tawba was intentional because this sura scholars have argued that the Arabic of the commences with God's disavowal of the rejecters and a Qur'an was not peculiar to any tribe, but was a kind of declaration of war on them. Others, however, suggest that hochsprache (high speech) that was understood by all the because this sura was revealed toward the end of the Prophet's peoples of Hijaz. Christoph Luxenberg, in his *Die Syroearthly life*, he simply did not have the time to insert the Aramaische Lesart des Koran—Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der basmala.

Koransprache (2000), argues that a Syriac rendition of numerous words that would normally be rendered in Arabic All suras have names, and some are known by more than can provide linguistic insights on texts that scholars have had one. These names are based on diverse criteria with no difficulty

trying to understand. Through a careful process of obvious pattern to their naming. A number of hadith refer to replacing obscure Qur'anic Arabic words or phrases specific suras by name, thus indicating that they were named homonyms, changing the diacritical marks (on by the Prophet. Given that this is a matter directly relating to the assumption that they were possibly misplaced by the the Qur'an, Muslims believe that it was a case where "He does or retranslating portions of text into Syriac, Luxenberg not speak of his own whim," (53:3) that is, Muhammad was radically different meanings for a number of texts. guided by God in this. Some have, however, suggested that differs greatly from the established reading of these names do not belong to the Qur'an proper, but rather which is premised on the idea that it is essentially have been introduced by later scholars and editors for context. text.

venience of reference. Twenty-nine of the suras have a sequence of Arabic letters that follow immediately after the basmala. Known as the disjointed letters, these are meaning- describes its contents as an "exposition of everything in the literal sense, and their presence has intrigued both thing, a guidance, a blessing and glad tidings for those who

564

Islam and the Muslim World

Qur'an

submit" (16:89) and declares that "no single thing have We originated with God are in a continuous state of neglected in the Book" (6:38). The Qur'an places an extraordinary emphasis on the binding relationship between faith and practice. Physical death is thus not the end of life but and practice. evolution into another form. Human beings are placed on the earth for a predetermined period before they God. Belief in the existence of one transcendent creator and akhira (hereafter). enter the

the struggle to live alongside all the implications of that belief may be said to be at the core of the Qur'an's message, and that terms dunya ("the world") and akhira (lit. next, or last) The Creator is arguably the single most important subject of the are related both to time and space and to two moral alternatives. Qur'an. The Qur'an uses the word Allah approximately 2,500 Dunya is the geographical space and the present where to refer to the Transcendent. God remains free from not only humankind is meant to prepare for akhira, yet this abode of

the confines of biology and paternity, but also from the preparation can also be good and fulfilling by itself. From the confines of human language. “No vision can encompass Him, it would appear that there is a particular moment in whereas He encompasses all vision, for He alone is unfathomable, all-aware” (6:103). The Qur’an portrays God as a deity who stands above the religious community that serves Him and who is greater than the law. God exists in and by their spirits and brought into the presence of God Himself, and any association with Him is rejected by the ultimate reckoning.

Qur’an. Ascribing paternity to God is abominable, as is any notion of a shared divinity. Much of the Qur’an is devoted to the Qur’an suggests that this resurrection is a bodily one, the praise of God; the Qur’an holds that the entire universe is also a day when the earth shall be changed into nonengaged in extolling the praises of God. earth (14:48). The Qur’an is explicit about two alternatives for each person in the hereafter—janna (paradise), or jahannam (hell)—and spells out the deeds that will earn one a place in the Qur’an is that of the historical continuity of revelation, the one or the other. In Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection (1981), Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith point out order to guide them to the path of righteousness. All of these that “Many of the details of the Fire, as of the Garden, are messengers came with an identical message (41:43)—that of reminiscent of the New Testament; others reflect on occasion submission to the will of God—and all of humankind is sions the tone of early Arabic poetry. On the whole, however, required to believe in the veracity of each one of them. The the picture afforded by the Qur’an is uniquely its own, Qur’an uses two terms to denote prophethood: rasul (pl. articulated in a generally consistent and always awe-inspiring rusul) and nabiyy (pl. anbiya). Rasul seems to denote a messenger who received revelations and who actually headed his community, whereas nabiyy seems to denote an apostle who The Qur’an, at various junctures, indicates the sins that did not necessarily come with a new revelation or law: will earn a person consignment to hell. These include lying, “... God elects whomsoever He will from among his Apost-dishonesty, corruption, ignoring God or God’s revelations,

tles. . .” (3:179). Anbiya derive their authority solely from denying
 the resurrection, refusing to feed the poor, indul-
 God; they cannot “bring forth a miracle other than by God’s gence
 in opulence and ostentation, the economic exploitation
 leave.” Prophets are always chosen from among their own of
 others, and social oppression. The fires of hell, however,
 communities (7:35, 10:74 and 39:17) and are responsible only are not
 the only consequence that wrongdoers will face on the
 for conveying God’s messages (16:35). Day of
 Judgment: “And those who earned evil, the punishment of evil is the like
 thereof, and abasement will cover
 The Qur an contains a number of narratives involving them—they
 will have none to protect them from God—as if
 prophets, often told with the intention of consoling Muham- their
 faces had been covered with slices of dense darkness of
 mad in the face of rejection by the Quraysh and recipients of night”
 (10:27). Denial of water (7:50) and of light (57:13) are
 earlier revelation. The Qur an presents these narratives as also
 spoken of as forms of punishment for the inhabimoral lessons for humankind on
 the consequences of diso- tants of hell.
 beying God. All of the prophets referred to in the Qur an are
 men. While Mary was the recipient of revelation, nowhere is Righteous
 conduct. The bulk of the Qur anic message
 there any indication that she was expected to play the socio- contains
 exhortations dealing with righteous conduct, and
 religious role of warner or the bearer of good tidings, or that the
 consequences of following or ignoring them. These are
 she ever did so. framed
 within the backdrop of the all-pervading presence of
 God and humankind’s ultimate accountability to Him. The
 The resurrection and ultimate accountability. The Qur an Qur an
 regards the human being as a carrier of the spirit of
 speaks repeatedly about the ultimate accountability of all God and a
 sacred trust from Him, and that all humans are in a
 human beings to God. It insists that all of life and its affairs, continuous
 state of journeying toward Him. This sanctity

Islam and the Muslim World

565

Qur an

comes from humankind being the recipients of God’s own Social and
 economic relations. Notwithstanding the scripspirit from the moments of
 humankind’s creation. Returning tural requirement that believers must
 disturb the peace when to God entails a ceaseless struggle to prepare for the
 ultimate ever their silence would conceal the demons of injustice and
 encounter. The Qur an, while demanding that Muslims strive oppression,
 the Qur an also asks believers to lead lives free of

to fulfil all the requirements of virtuous behavior, nevertheless argumentation and quarreling (25:63). In the face of less acknowledges that living up to such a commitment is all-pervading grace of God, the Qur'an requires believers exceptionally difficult. to remain hopeful and never to despair. In fact, it describes deep pessimism as a sign of kufr (rejection) (12:87). A good The most important obligation that the Qur'an places on Muslim upholds the truth and justice "and is not afraid of the the believer is probably that of pursuing the pleasure of God reproaches of those who find fault" (5:54). The Qur'an and of desiring the ultimate encounter with Him. This is encourages and even commands believers to lead an austere life. It is attained by cultivating a direct relationship of love with and contemptuous of those who are attached to wealth beyond the adoration of God, as well as by leading one's life in such a way requirements of one's daily subsistence. Such as to fulfil His commandments. In addition to setting forth attachment distracts one from following the path that leads to God and the appropriate rituals, the Qur'an often speaks of the adoration provides one with an illusionary sense of eternity. tion of God as an important part of a Muslim's ideal life and The notion of sustenance being properly earned is key to the Qur'an's persona. The emphasis that the Qur'an places on God as the approach to wealth. It singles out for denunciation a number of focus and objective of a believer's life has led many a contemporary Muslim to regard the law as merely a means of including priests and monks devouring the property of people facilitating closeness to God in the same way that railings may people (9:34), gambling (5:90), and theft (60:12). help one to climb up a flight of stairs.

The Qur'an rejects all forms of sexual immodesty and Although the Qur'an cautions against excess and wasteful speaks approvingly of only two kinds of relationship for consumption, it nevertheless encourages a sense of joyful sexual fulfillment: heterosexual marriage, or concubinage. living. It asks believers not to impose unwarranted burdens The Qur'an also praises "... those [believers] who shun all vain upon themselves (5:87). The Qur'an also refers to physical activity" (23:3), and applauds those who, "when they pass by some vain cleanliness and sexual pleasure as two other dimensions of activity, they pass it by with dignified [avoid personal well-being (2:222, 30:21). ance]" (25:72).

The Qur'an places great emphasis on knowledge, and the All of human life is sacred, for "verily We [God] have

pursuit thereof, as valuable (49:9), but links the intellectual well-being of people to a profound awareness of God and take anyone else's life "except in truth" (6:151). justice, and emphasizes the compatibility of knowledge with usually interpreted to mean that killing is permissible faith (35:28, 58:11). The Qur'an often gives the impression a just war, in self-defense, or in retribution after that there is a certain essential body of truth, "the knowledge" legal process within a just social system. The Qur'an (al-ilm), that is to be acquired. In numerous other verses, all of humankind is diminished by the murder of a though, humankind is challenged to reflect, ponder, and person (5:32). While infanticide (more specifically, female infanticide) is condemned, the Qur'an is silent on the meditate—all qualities more closely associated to heurism rights of the fetus. In accordance with the social practices of and tentativeness than to certainty. Nonetheless, these qualipre-Islamic Arabia, the Qur'an sanctions retaliation in the ties are usually regarded as the basis of wisdom (2:269). The case of murder and physical injury. However, it emphasizes Qur'anic assumption seems to be that knowledge and reflect that this must be done justly, and that the remission of the tion will invariably and inevitably lead to God (39:9). death sentence is a source of "mercy from God" (2:178). Truth. Postmodernist notions of tentativeness as a value have Overt theft is condemned (60:12), as are other, more little place in the Qur'an, which moves from the premise that covert forms of depriving others of their property, such as there is an absolute, single, and knowable Truth. The Qur'an depriving someone of his or her inheritance, failing to return speaks about the light in the singular and darkneses in the something entrusted to one for safekeeping (4:58), and cheatplural, making it convenient for traditional or fundamentalist ing when weighing goods for sale (17:35). The Qur'an is scholars to claim that there is only one truth. Believers are particularly vehement in its denunciation of usury. The called upon to uphold the spirit of truthfulness by staying in Qur'an sanctions notions of personal property with individuthe company of other truthful people (9:19), and to speak the als being the rightful owners thereof, but condemns individutruth in the face of falsehood. Concealing the truth is prohib- als who seek to keep secret the extent of their wealth and to be ited (2:42) as is distorting it with falsehood (2:42). Hypocrisy sole arbiters of how to dispense with it. is condemned in the strongest terms, and believers are enjoined to ensure that their deeds correspond to their words All wealth is regarded as a

trust from God. Greed is
(61:2–3). condemned
and those who live their lives free from greed are

566

Islam and the Muslim World

Qur an

regarded as “the successful ones.” In contrast to those who (49:6),
backbiting, and slander (49:12), hypocrisy (2:8–19),
hoard, Muslims who “spend of their wealth by night and by and
exploiting the vulnerability of others (2:275–276).
day, in secret and in public” are promised that they “shall have
their reward with their Lord; on them shall be no fear, nor The
Qur an also condemns more subtle forms of injury to
shall they grieve” (2:274). The Qur an takes the position that others,
for they also detract from the humanity of the perpe-
“in the possessions of the wealthy there is a right due to the trator.
These injuries include suspicion (49:12), mocking
others or the objects of their worship (49:11), and using
poor” (51:19, 70:24–15) and places great merit on giving
derogatory nicknames (49:11). These injunctions apply to
beyond the mandatory, institutionalized wealth tax known as
everyone who participates in a society founded upon Qur anic
zakat. Such giving will purify one’s soul, particularly if one
principles, but the Qur an recognizes that such a society may
gives away those things that are particularly dear (3:92), and
contain religiously diverse communities within it. The Qur an
does one’s giving quietly (2:71). Giving to the poor can be
is explicit about the importance of maintaining harmonious
done “day and night, in secret or in public,” but it must not be
relationships with all those who are not engaged in warfare
followed by words of injury that make the recipient feel a
against the Muslims (60:8), the permissibility of the food
sense of obligation to the benefactor.
slaughtered by the people of the book, and of marriage by
Muslim males to their women (5:5).
Justice and human rights. The Qur an takes the position
that everyone is equal in the eyes of God and of the law. No The
Qur an encourages such generally recognized virtues
human being has any inherent claim to superiority over as
expressing gratitude (22:38), showing compassion (90:17),
another on the basis of lineage or race. It does, however, and speaking
gently (2:83). It is also explicit about the means
recognize and condone distinction, differentiation, or dis- by which
Muslims can “go the extra mile,” recommending
crimination on the basis of gender, religion, knowledge, and that they
share their wealth, care for orphans, and free their

piety. It is questionable whether one can really use the Qur'an slaves. The Qur'an treats orphans, in particular, with an enormous amount of compassion. Muslims are instructed to honor them as the standard to justify contemporary Islamic understandings of social equality or universal human rights. However, in (99:17–18), to treat them gently (93:9 and 4:36), the context of seventh-century Arabia, it can be viewed as to set aside wealth for the care of orphans (4:8), and to deal having encouraged a sense of gender justice, as well as justly with their property (4:3). The Qur'an regards those who reject compassion toward victims of all kinds of oppression. There orphans as people who have rejected the faith itself is a strong egalitarian trend in the Qur'an's handling of (107:1–3).

ethico-religious responsibilities, but there is an undeniable discriminatory treatment of the social and legal obligations There is no direct reference in the Qur'an to any notion of an Islamic state, but there are a few injunctions regarding an Islamic state, but there are a few injunctions regarding obedience to authority. The Qur'an contains several referthat affirm gender equality, and others can be found that deny ences to the sovereignty of God, and this has been interpreted by Islamist it. However, when specific injunctions are mentioned, these by Islamist ideologies to refer to an Islamic theocracy. The duties of the Muslim leadership include waging jihad in by Islamist are generally discriminatory to women. by Islamist defense of the faith or in response to aggression, collecting by Islamist Justice assumes such prominence in the Qur'an that it is and distributing zakat, and enacting punishment for a very limited array of sins or crimes, of which the following are mentioned: The demands that the Qur'an makes upon individuals to mentioned: slander (24:4–9), adultery (24:2–3, 15:16), theft (5:41), uphold justice is extraordinary, transcending all social bonds. (5:41), robbery, treason, and armed insurrection (5:36–37), and murder While justice is something that one demands for oneself, and murder and bodily mutilation (2:178–179).

more importantly, it is something to be fulfilled for others, Religious practices. Only three formal religious rituals or regardless of the cost to oneself and one's own community. institutionalized practices receive any significant attention in the Qur'an: the formal prayers (salat), fasting in the month of Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj). The Qur'an provides two notions that are said to govern social relations. The first is huquq (rights), which are defined as the obligations one owes to society, and which must be There

are, on the other hand, numerous references in the defended. The other is *ihsan*, understood to mean “generosity Qur an to prayers and its importance. Its significance can be beyond obligation.” The basic principle of rights and duties is gauged from the fact that the Qur an outlines ways of deviatcontained in the verse “Do not wrong and be not wronged” ing from the normal pattern of the ritual during a state of fear (2:279). In social conduct this covers the need for one to be (2:238) or in the midst of actual physical combat during jihad reliable and trustworthy in one’s undertakings or promises (4:101). Other than in the case of illness, menstruation, or (4:105, 8:27, 16:91) and economic dealings (93:1–3); to pres- frailty, prayer is an obligation that can never be shirked. The ent truthful evidence in any matter or dispute (25:72); to Qur an leaves the exact times of the prayers somewhat unrefrain from concealing evidence (2:283), defaming others clear; their times are rather fixed by interpretation of some

Islam and the Muslim World

567

Qutb, Sayyid

ambiguous verses. As for the manner in which the prayer is to Gatje, Helmut. The Qur an and its Exegesis, Selected Texts with be conducted, the Qur an refers only to bowing (*ruku*) and Classical and Modern Muslim Interpretations. Translated prostration (*sujud*), and says that one should quietly recite and edited by Alford T. Welch. London: Routledge and “whatever of the Qur an has been made easy for one” (73:20). Kegan Paul, 1976.

A commitment of the mind and the heart is, of course, Graham, A. William. Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early indispensable for prayer, and those who pray in a slothful and Islam. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1977.

lazy fashion are regarded as being among the hypocrites Izutsu, Toshihiko. Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur an. (4:142, 9:54).

Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966.

Jeffrey, Arthur. The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur an. Baroda, The Qur an refers to fasting in two distinct contexts. One India: Oriental Institute, 1938.

is the month of Ramadan, when fasting is performed as an act Khu i, Abu l Qasim al-Musawu, al-. The Prolegomena to the of worship. The other context, which is not linked to any Qur an. Translated by A. A. Sachedina. Oxford, U.K.:

special time or place, is when a believer feels the need to Oxford University Press, 1998.

expiate a sin of or a lapse in a specific religious duty. The only

Labib, Sa id. *The Recited Qur an*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.

ing taqwa—self-restraint arising from the awareness that one Luxenberg, Christoph. *Die Syro-Aramaische Lesart des Koran*. is always in the presence of God and ultimately accountable Berlin: Verlag: Das Arabische Buch, 2000.

to Him. Fasting requires abstention from all food, drink, and Rahman, Fazlur. *Major Themes of the Qur an*. Minneapolis: sexual intercourse from the first sign that night is ending until Bibliotheca Islamica, 1989.

just after sunset.

Sells, Michael. *Approaching the Qur an*. Ashland, Ore.: White The hajj is obligatory for all of those of the Muslim faith Cloud Press, 1999.

who are capable of finding their way to Mecca (3:96). It Smith, Jane I., and Haddad, Yvonne Y. *Islamic Understanding occurs in the first ten days of the month of Dhu-l-Hijjah (the of Death and Resurrection*. Albany: State University of New York month of Hajj, which is twelfth month of the Hijri calendar). Press, 1981.

The time is specified in the Qur an (2:189). As for the rites Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. “The True Meaning of Scripture: associated with the hajj, the Qur an goes into somewhat An Empirical Historian’s Non-Reductionist Interpretation greater detail for these than it does for any of the other formal tion of the Qur an.” International Journal of Middle Eastern acts of devotions. Studies (1980): 487–505.

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Watt, W. Montgomery. “Early Discussions About the See also Allah; Calligraphy; Devotional Life; Ethics and Qur an.” Muslim World 60, 61 (1950): 20–39, 97–105.

Social Issues; Human Rights; Ibadat; Jahannam; Janna; Yusuf Ali, Abdullah. *The Holy Qur an: Text, Translation, and Law; Mihna; Muhammad; Pilgrimage: Hajj; Prophets; Commentary*. New and revised ed. Washington, D.C.: Ritual. Amanah Corporation, 1989.

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People of the Book to the Societies of the Book. Claremont, Calif.: Claremont Graduate School, 1987.

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Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Sayyid Qutb was an Islamic activist and one of the principal

Bell, Richard. Introduction to the Qur'an. Edited by Montgomery Watt. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970.

Qutb was born in a village near Asyut in Upper Egypt. He left

Burton, John. The Collection of the Qur'an. Cambridge, U.K.:

for higher studies in Cairo around 1919 or 1920, and received

Cambridge University Press, 1977.

a B.A. in education in 1933 from Dar al- Ulum. The founder

Cragg, Kenneth. The Event of the Qur'an: Islam and Its Scrip- of the

Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Banna, had graduated

ture. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971. from the same

institution six years earlier and had moved the

Crone, Patricia, and Cook, Michael. Hagarism: The Making of

Brotherhood's headquarters to Cairo just before Qutb's

the Islamic World. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univer- graduation.

sity Press, 1977.

Denffer, Ahmad von. Ulum al-Qur'an: An Introduction to the In the

early part of his career, Qutb demonstrated little

Sciences of the Qur'an. Leicester, U.K.: Islamic Founda- interest in

religious activism. He focused primarily upon his

tion, 1983. work with the

Ministry of Education, where he was employed

568

Islam and the Muslim World

Qutb, Sayyid

from 1933 to 1951, and his literary pursuits. His early In

January 1954, the government banned the Brotherhood writings, consisting primarily

of literary criticism and works hood and imprisoned many of its key figures,

including Qutb,

of fiction and poetry, brought him to the attention of Egypt's because of

their increasing criticism of the regime's domestic

cultural elite, including Taha Husayn. Later, Qutb would and foreign

policies. The decree was rescinded three months

renounce much of his modernist views from this period. later. In

October 1954, following an assassination attempt on

Nasser by a member of the Brotherhood, Qutb was again

By the late 1930s Qutb's interests were turning increas- arrested and

severely tortured, despite his frail health. In July

ingly toward political and social concerns. He associated with 1955 he was

sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

a number of nationalist political parties opposed to the Egyptian monarchy and British colonialism. His first major work wrote the two works for which he is best known: *Adala al-ijtima'iyya fi'l-Islam* (Social justice in Islam), while in prison. He began his voluminous Qur'anic commentary, *Fizhal al-Qur'an* (In the shade of the Qur'an), in 1962. In 1964 his supporters published a collection of his letters. In 1948, perhaps to mollify his criticism, the education ministry sent Qutb to study Western methods of education, argues that jihad, entailing armed struggle, not just peaceful first in Washington, D.C., then in Colorado, and finally in California. He left the United States in 1950 and traveled Muslim societies (the new ignorance or neo-jahiliyya) and through England, Switzerland, and Italy before returning to establish a true Islamic order based on God's laws (shari'a). Egypt in 1951. Far from dissuading him from his growing activism, Qutb's sojourn in the United States and Europe only intensified it. Qutb was released from prison in December 1964, probintensified and radicalized it. He was appalled by what he saw, probably due to ill health. But as *Milestones'* circulation spread as the dominant features of Western (especially American) culture, rapidly, he was rearrested in August 1965 and sentenced to death for culture: materialism, racism, and sexual permissiveness. He sedition. Despite international appeals to spare his life, he was also became convinced that both the United States and the Soviet Union, despite their cold war posturing, were equally influence has hanged on 29 August 1966. Since his death, his proliferation steadily grown through the translation and of his work. unconcerned with the aspirations of Arab and Islamic coun- tries, and prepared to exploit them for their own gains. The fact that both superpowers had supported the creation of Banna, Hasan al-; Ikhwan al-Muslimin. See also

Israel in Palestine was, for Qutb, the strongest possible confirmation of their imperialistic aims.

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Qutb became actively involved with the Muslim Brotherhood immediately upon his return, although he may not have formally joined until 1953. He served as a liaison between the Brotherhood and the Free Officers who overthrew the monarchy in July 1952, perhaps expecting cooperation between them. In *Voices of Resurgent Islam*. Edited by John L. Haddad, Yvonne Y. "Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of Islamic Revival." in the York Press, 1996.

the military leadership and the Brotherhood in establishing
 New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
 an Islamic state. When it became clear that Jamal Abd al-
 Milestones. Indianapolis, Ind.: American Trust
 Nasser and the military leadership intended to create a
 Publications, 1993.
 secular state, Qutb and the Brotherhood distanced themselves from the new
 government.

Sohail H. Hashmi

Islam and the Muslim World

569

R

RABI A OF BASRA (C. 714–801)

Smith, Margaret. Rabi a: The Life and Work of Rabi a and Other
 Women Mystics in Islam. Oxford, U.K.: One World, 1994.
 Rabi a of Basra, also known as Rabi a al- Adawiyya, is regarded as a paradigm
 for Sufi women. An ascetic whose life

Rkia E. Cornell

spanned the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, her
 biographical image is a mosaic created by later writers. There
 are as many versions of Rabi a's hagiographic persona as there
 are accounts of her. She has been portrayed as a second Mary,
 RAFSANJANI, ALI-AKBAR
 a miracle worker, and the originator of the concept of divine
 HASHEMI- See Hashemi-Rafsanjani,
 love. Hanbali writers respect her extreme asceticism and
 Ali-Akbar
 otherworldliness, and modern historians consider her the
 quintessential saint of Islam.

Little objective information is known about Rabi a. She
 was a client of the Arab tribe of Banu Adi. Popular accounts
 FAZLUR (1919–1988)
 state that she was sold into slavery during a drought, but her
 sanctity secured her freedom and she retired to a life of
 Rahman was a notable scholar of Islamic philosophy
 seclusion and celibacy, first in the desert and then on the
 important liberal Muslim thinker of the twentieth
 outskirts of Basra, where she taught both male and female
 century. Born into a scholarly family in what is now Pakistan,
 disciples. One of her male disciples was the jurist Sufyan al-
 first studied Arabic at Punjab University in Lahore. He
 Thawri (d. 777). Rabi a was the culminating figure in a series
 won a scholarship that permitted him to attend Oxford
 of Basran female ascetics, starting with Mu adha al- Adawiyya
 University, where he received his Ph.D. in Islamic philoso-
 (d. 719). Her teacher may have been named Hayyuna. Many

Esposito.

Qutb, Sayyid.

RAHMAN,

Fazlur

and an

he

then

phy in

1949. His area of specialization was the work of Ibn Sina
stories and poems attributed to Rabi a actually belong to her
(Avicenna).

students or to other Sufi women with similar names, such as
After spending some years teaching in the West, Rahman
her contemporary Rabi a al-Azdiyya of Basra, and Rabi a bint
returned to Pakistan at the request of then–prime minister
Isma il of Damascus (d. before 850). The Sufi biographer al-
Ayyub Khan to direct the new Institute of Islamic Research.
Sulami (d. 1021) portrays Rabi a as a contemplative and
He provoked the ire of conservative Islamist movements
rational thinker. Later writers portray her as a more emoduring this volatile
period, particularly with his progrestional and legendary figure.
sive fatwas and two important interpretive studies, Islamic
Metholodology in History (1965) and Islam (1966), in which he
See also Saint; Tasawwuf.

tackled some of the difficult issues of historical critical understandings of
revelation. In the face of such opposition, Rahman

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left

Pakistan for the United States. He settled into a distin-
Sells, Michael A. Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi, Qur an, Mi raj,
guished career at the University of Chicago, where he served
Poetic and Theological Writings. Mahweh, N.J.: Paulist on the
faculty from 1969 until his death. He contributed
Press, 1996. further
important studies, including his Major Themes of the

Rashid, Harun al-

Qur an (1980) and works on modernist thought and classical Guide”).

After their father died, al-Hadi became ruler, but he

Islamic philosophy. died

mysteriously after only one year in power. Al-Hadi’s son

was forced at the point of a sword to renounce the caliphate;

Overall, Fazlur Rahman’s thought may be characterized Harun—still

in his early twenties—received the ring of the

as Islamic modernism in the tradition of Shah Wali Allah and caliphate and

was proclaimed caliph. Following the advice

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He preferred an approach that of his

mother, he entrusted the administration to his Irasought to recover the spirit

behind Qur anic injunctions nian tutor, Yahya al-Barmaki, and the

latter’s family. The

while contextualizing the tradition as it developed histori- Barmakides

assisted Harun in controlling his political rivals

cally. He encouraged a renewal of Islamic educational institu- and Shi ite

opponents, and in defeating major uprisings in the

tions, as can be seen in his volume titled Islam and Modernity: provinces: in

Syria (796), Egypt (788, 794–795), northwest

Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition (1982), and was Africa (786, 794–795, 797), and the Yemen (795–804). How critical of irrational or morally inconsistent elements within ever, the administrative body formed by the Barmakides soon the Islamic tradition. He was also a critic of contemporary became a state within the state, promoting the “Iranization” Muslim “neo-fundamentalisms,” which he considered to be of the, until then, Arab-Islamic caliphate. defensive and ultimately destined to wither away. Throughout his reign, Harun personally led many mili- See also Ahmad Khan, (Sir) Sayyid; Ibn Sina; Modern tary campaigns against the Byzantines and established a Thought; Wali Allah, Shah. Muslim naval power (with raids on Cyprus in 805 and Rhodes in 807). He granted the request of the Roman emperor, BIBLIOGRAPHY Charles the Great (Charlemagne; r. 800–814), to ameliorate Rahman, Fazlur. Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic the conditions for European Christian visitors to Jerusalem Fundamentalism. Edited by Ebrahim Moosa. Oxford, U.K.: and the Holy Land and exchanged embassies and precious Oneworld Press, 2000. gifts with him: For example, Harun sent Charles an elephant Waugh, Earle H., and Denny, Frederick M. The Shaping of an and a water-clock of curious design. In the last periods of his American Islamic Discourse: A Memorial to Fazlur Rahman. reign, Harun seems to have lacked the competence and Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1998. energy he showed in earlier years. Deteriorated in health, Harun al-Rashid died on 24 March 809. Marcia Hermansen The picture that medieval Arabic scholarship presents of Harun is somewhat contradictory: pious, statesmanlike, and of remarkably mild countenances, on the one hand; and RASHID, HARUN AL- (C. 763 dissolute, incompetent, and lacking modesty in enjoying wine OR 766–809) and other privileges claimed by the upper class, on the other. Nevertheless, the development of Islamic society benefited Harun al-Rashid (Aaron “The Rightly-Guided”) was the fifth from Harun’s enlightenment: He promoted commercial ac- Abbasid caliph, who ruled the great Islamic empire from 786 tivities (as far as China), fine arts, poetry, literature, music, to 809 during its zenith. A patron of learning and culture, he architecture, and the natural sciences. He reinforced law and is known to the world through the tales of The Arabian Nights, order, secured state finances, and conducted major public

which portray his court in Baghdad as a place of wealth and construction projects. Yet, his reign marked a turning point for the splendor. Abbasid caliphate because the efficiency of administration began to decline and the political unity of the empire to disintegrate: Harun al-Rashid was born in 763 (or 766) in the city of al-Rayy, south of today's Tehran, the third son of the caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi ("the Well-Guided"). Harun's mother, al-Khayzuran, and his wife, Zubayda, played influential roles to precipitated its political decline. during his reign. Harun had eleven sons and twelve daughters; his sons al-Amin, al-Ma mun, and al-Mu tasim each in See also Caliphate; Empires: Abbasid. his turn became caliph.

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Already as a teenager, Harun had led two military expedi- Abbott, Nabia. Two Queens of Baghdad. Mother and Wife of tions against the Byzantines. For his success on the battle- Harun al-Rashid. Chicago: The University of Chicago field, he was appointed governor of the provinces of northwest Press, 1974. Africa (Ifriqiya), Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, al- Bosworth, C. E., trans. The Abbasid Caliphate in Equilibrium. though his tutor Yahya al-Barmaki was actually administra- The Caliphates of Musa al-Hadi and Harun al-Rashid. tor. Harun then faced serious intrigues by his older half- A.D. 785–809 / A.H. 169–193. Vol. 30 of The History of al-brother and rival for the throne, Musa al-Hadi (Moses "the Tabari. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

572

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Rashidun

Clot, André. Harun al-Rashid and the World of the Thou- The events of the latter half of Uthman's reign and the sand and One Nights. Trans. by J. Howe. London: Saqi entirety of Ali's disputed caliphate—known to modern schol- Books, 1989. ars as the First Civil War—are remembered in Islamic relig- El-Hibri, Tayeb. Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Harun ious and political history as "the Fitna"—a time of chaos, al-Rashid and the Narrative of the Abbasid Caliphate. Cam- dissension, and tribulation. No other period in the history of bridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Islam has been

the subject of greater debate than the events of Omar, Farid. "Harun al-Rashid." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. the Fitna. For the Sunnis, the Companions are second only to Edited by B. Lewis, et al. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971. the Prophet as sources of religious guidance, and yet during the civil war they were ranged on opposite sides and bitterly Sebastian Günther fought each other. Which of the parties to the conflict was in the right, whether Uthman and Ali were legitimate caliphs, and whether someone who was a grave sinner continued to be a member of the Muslim community were questions that RASHIDUN were to divide the Muslim community for centuries. Indeed, it is to the events of the First Civil War that the origins of the The Rashidun, or al-khulafa al-rashidun, the "rightly guided" major religio-political schisms in Islam are datable. caliphs, is the designation in Sunni Islam for the first four successors of the prophet Muhammad (d. 632). In their order A distinctive doctrine of those who, in the ninth century, of succession to Muhammad, these caliphs are: Abu Bakr (r. emerged as the Sunnis was that all four of the Prophet's 632–634), Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644), Uthman ibn immediate successors were equally righteous, and that the Affan (r. 644–656), and Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–661). historical sequence of their succession was also the order of their religious ranking. Agreement on this position did not According to the Sunni view of Islam's earliest history, the come about easily. While the Khawarij did not recognize prophet Muhammad did not designate anyone to succeed either Uthman or Ali as legitimate, and most of the Shi a him. Muhammad having been the last of God's prophets, the considered none but Ali as a true caliph and imam, many of question, in any case, was of succession to the polity he had founded in Medina, not to his prophetic office. It was the ahl al-sunna of the late eighth century, who together with therefore left to the community to decide on his succession, the ashab al-hadith later emerged as the first Sunnis, themand after some discussion and uncertainty a number of the selves had reservations about the legitimacy of Ali's caliphate. Prophet's Companions elected Abu Bakr, a leading member By the time of the hadith scholar Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855), of the community and Muhammad's father-in-law, as the first many of those recognizable as early Sunnis had come to caliph. Before his death two years later (634 C.E.), Abu Bakr acknowledge all four of the Prophet's successors as equally nominated Umar as his successor, a choice which, like Abu righteous. It was also in the late eighth and early ninth

Bakr's own, was accepted by the Muslim community. For his centuries
that a tradition of the Prophet, according to which
part, Umar, when mortally wounded by an assassin after a the
"caliphate" would last only thirty years after his death—
reign of twelve years, left the choice of caliph to a committee that is,
only for the duration of the reigns of his first four
of six leading figures. This committee chose Uthman after he
successors—became widely current. Though the Umayyads
pledged to follow the example of his two immediate pred- and the
Abbasids claimed, of course, to be caliphs and were
ecessors—a guarantee that the other major contender, Ali, recognized
as such by the Sunni religious scholars, a position
was not willing to give. The latter half of Uthman's reign saw such as
that enshrined in the "thirty years" hadith signaled
strong disaffection in his capital, Medina, in the garrison that the age
of the Rashidun was to be set apart from all
towns of Kufa and Basra, and in Egypt against the policies of subsequent
eras. For the Sunnis, that age has continued to be
the caliph, who was eventually murdered in Medina by the seen as a
time, indeed the only time, when Islamic ideals were
rebels. These rebels then supported the accession of Ali, but truly
implemented. As such, invocations of the Rashidun have
he was never recognized as a legitimate caliph by the entire continued to
be part of the religio-political discourse in the
community of Muslims. In particular, Mu awiya b. Abi Sufyan, Sunni
Islamic world to the present.

the governor of Syria and a kinsman of Uthman, demanded
See also Abu Bakr; Ali ibn Abi Talib; Athman ibn
that Ali first punish the killers of his predecessor, and a
number of the Prophet's Companions, including his wife
Affan; Fitna; Imam; Umar.

A isha, made similar demands. There was dissension in Ali's
own camp also, with some of his followers, who came to be
known as the Khawarij, seceding from him on grounds that it
van. "Political Ideas in Early Islamic Religious
was improper to negotiate with rebels like Mu awiya. Ali was
Thought." British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 28
eventually murdered by one of the Khawarij, and his death,
151–164.

and the rise of the Umayyads to power under Mu awiya (r.
Martin. Studies in Early Islamic History. Edited by Jere
661–680), marked the end of the Rashidun caliphate.
Bacharach, et al. Princeton, N.J.: The Darwin Press, 1996.

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(2001):

Hinds,

Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of* Refah
united marginalized people around Islamic identity in the Early Caliphate. Cambridge,
U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997. tity, morality in government, a domestic
policy favoring the lower and

middle classes, and a pro-Mideast/Asian and anti-

Tabari, al-. *The History of al-Tabari*. Vols. 10–17. Albany:

Western/Israel foreign policy. After capturing Istanbul's and

State University of New York Press, 1985–1999. Ankara's

mayoralities, the Refah Party won the 1995 national

election with 21 percent of the vote and formed a coalition

Muhammad Qasim Zaman with Tansu Ciller's center-right True Path

Party. This uneasy partnership achieved some domestic change and a more

balanced foreign policy, but government corruption remained high.

RAWZA-KHANI

Refah presented an alternative to mainstream parties

A rawza-khani is a Shi'ite ritual sermon recounting and mired in

stagnation and corruption, appealing to disenfranchising the seventh-century

tragedy of Karbala, which was franchised small businessmen,

impoverished workers, young

a battle in which the Prophet's grandson Husayn was martyred

professionals and students, women, and new export-oriented

(in what is viewed by the Shi'a as a heroic struggle against capitalists.

Its Islamism sought to replace traditional

religious tyranny and corruption). The primary catalyst in the Kemalism's

heavy-handed secularism, statist economics, and

emergence of this ritual was the appearance of Hosayn Vaez

pro-Westernism. Its religious agenda countered ethnic con-

Kashifi's 1502 composition entitled *Rawzat al-shuhada* (The flict,

social dislocation, and organized crime; its Mideast

garden of martyrs). Rawza-khanis are performed in homes, agenda

offered commercial profits and employment in techmosques, takiyas, husayniyas,

religious sites, and even in the nical fields; and its welfare plans

inspired those at the bottom

streets and bazaars of cities. The rawza-khani is a ritual in of the

income scale. Inconsistent policies toward women and

which a sermon is given based on a text like the *Rawzat al-* a

human-rights agenda that excluded opponents frightened

shuhada, with a great deal of improvisation on the part of the secularists

and Kemalists. The Refah government was forced

specially trained speaker. The objective of the speaker is to from power

in 1997, and the party was closed down in

move the audience to tears through his recitation of the tragic February

1998.

details of the Battle of Karbala. In addition to serving social,

political, and psychological functions, this type of mourning See also

Erbakan, Necmeddin; Modernization, Political ritual has been viewed by Shi'a as a

means of achieving cal: Participation, Political Movements, and Parties.

salvation. This belief is illustrated by the often-repeated Shi'ite quotation, "Anyone who cries for Husayn or causes BIBLIOGRAPHY

someone to cry for Husayn shall go directly to paradise." Güralp, Haldun. "Political Islam in Turkey: The Rise and Fall of the Refah Party." *Muslim World* 89 (1999): 22–41. See also Ta'ziya.

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REFORM

University of South Carolina Press, 1993.

Kamran Aghaie ARAB MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA
Sohail H. Hashmi

IRAN

Hossein Kamaly

REFAH PARTISI

MUSLIM

COMMUNITIES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Allen J. Frank

Refah Partisi (Welfare Party), a Turkish Islamist political party (1984–1998), was founded by Necmeddin Erbakan to SOUTH ASIA

Ahrar Ahmad

replace the National Salvation Party. It was initially unpopular, but economic slowdown and political corruption attracted protest voters to it. SOUTHEAST ASIA

Woodward

574

Islam and the Muslim World

Reform

ARAB MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The

origins of modernist Muslim thought in the Arab

Revivalist movements and reformist thinkers have arisen world are

often traced to Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801–1873). As

throughout Islamic history. Since the early nineteenth cen- the religious

advisor traveling with an Egyptian student

ture, two intellectual strands have evolved among the Arabic- delegation to

Paris in 1826, Tahtawi immersed himself in speaking populations of Southwest Asia and North Africa, European history, geography, politics, literature, and science in its own way calling for Islamic renewal (tajdid) and science, learning French in order to do so. Upon returning to reform (islah) against the status-quo traditionalists among the Cairo in 1831, he became Muhammad Ali's chief supporter among the ulema on the one hand and Western-style secularists on the other. One of these strands is variously dubbed conservative, initiated. In his writings, Tahtawi expounded a theme that fundamentalist, and more recently Islamist; the other is would engross later modernist thinkers: reform of Islamic law based on the generally known as modernist or liberal. Neither strand, it based on the needs of the modern age. To begin such legal reform, he should be emphasized, advocates reform of Islamic dogma reform, he argued, the education of the law's interpreters, the ulema, had to itself, which would obviously open it to charges of illicit ulema, had to be overhauled. Tahtawi's most important contribution innovation (bid'a). Rather, Islamic reformism is limited to contribution to educational reform, and his greatest influence upon later correcting the interpretations and practices of Muslims, al- generations of reformers, was exerted through the School of allegedly in order to better reflect the true Islam. A number of School of Languages, of which he was appointed director in 1837. The different understandings of the means and ends of reform 1837. The school educated Egyptian students in European languages and could be accommodated within such a broad aspiration. translated key European texts into Arabic.

The Wahhabi movement that began in late eighteenth- Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi (c. 1822–1890), prime minister first to the century Arabia was the last significant reformist effort in the first to the bey of Tunis and later to the Ottoman sultan, called much era before European imperialism. It erupted out of the potent called much more directly than Tahtawi for political reforms mixture of the fiery religious appeal of Muhammad Ibn Abd to accompany legal and educational changes. Khayr al-Din al-Wahhab (1703–1792) and the political and military acumen argued that Europe's military prowess was an outgrowth of the development of effective and accountable governments. the men of the Saud family. Ibn Abd al-Wahhab called for a return to the strict monotheism (tawhid) that he claimed For Muslims to borrow constitutional principles from Europe underlay the mission of the prophet Muhammad. In his view, Europeans would not be innovation at all, he wrote, but merely a return to the the society around him had departed in many regards from return to the

true principles of government established by the
this pure Islam, neglecting, for example, the enforcement of the rightly guided caliphs. Prophet and

Islamic punishments for such things as adultery and theft and
Despite the modernization efforts in states such as Egypt
absorbing such un-Islamic practices as the building of tombs
and Tunisia—limited mainly to small-scale educational and
for the dead and saint worship. When the Wahhabiyya
bureaucratic reforms, with no serious legal or political
succeeded in conquering most of Arabia in the early nineteenth century—Muslim power
relative to that of Europe steadily
declined during the first half of the nineteenth century, and
Ibn Abd al-Wahhab’s vision of an ideal Islamic society,
by the century’s end, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt had passed
grounded in a strict, literal interpretation of the Qur’an and
under direct French and British rule. The beginning of
the Prophetic hadith that he considered to be authentic.
formal European imperialism produced among Arabs a more
Although this state was crushed by an Egyptian army in 1818,
profound intellectual search for the causes of Muslim decline
the conservative reformist message of Wahhabism spread to
and the means for its reversal.

other Muslim areas, and its influence upon other reform
movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century The broad
term designating the movement for Islamic
is incontrovertible. reform that
emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth
century is Salafiyya. Exactly when the Salafiyya movement
Wahhabi forces were checked by the army of Muhammad began and who
should be included among its adherents

Ali (c. 1769–1849), the founder of a new dynasty in Egypt remain
controversial issues. The name is derived from the
and the initiator of modernization in the Arab world. Having phrase salaf
al-salihin, which refers to the first three generations seen the technological
superiority of Napoleon’s army when tions of Muslims and various pious
figures in subsequent

it invaded and occupied Egypt from 1798 to 1801, Muham- generations
who best understood and applied the “true”
mad Ali launched a program to reform the Egyptian military Islam. Its
proponents argue for a return by Muslims to the
and civil administration, after becoming the Ottoman gover- practice of
these, Islam’s forebears. As such, the Wahhabiyya
nor of the province in 1805. Educational missions were could be and
sometimes are considered a Salafi movement.

dispatched to Europe, mainly France, for scientific and technological training,
beginning as early as 1809. The students The figure most widely

considered as the architect of
returned with ideas of how to reform Egyptian politics, Salafi
principles, however, is Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905).
culture, and education as well. Three basic
principles underlie Abduh's reformism. First, he

Islam and the Muslim World

575

Reform

Muslim reform and renewal movements (18th to 20th century)

Arabia

Reform teaching in Mecca and Medina

Wahhabiyya—founded by Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792); allied with
Ibn Sa'ud to create Saudi state

Idrisiyya—founded in Mecca by Ahmad b. Idris (d. 1837)

Caucasus

Naqshbandiyya—1785–present, anti-Russian resistance

Inner Asia

Naqshbandiyya—reform-oriented Sufi tariqa leads Muslim resistance to Russia
and China

New teaching, 1761–1877—offshoot of Naqshbandiya, late-eighteenth- and
late-nineteenth-century resistance to Chinese rule

Khwajas and Yaqub Beg—holy Muslim lineage, formerly rulers of Kashgar,
attempt to establish a Muslim state, defeated by China in 1878

Yunnan, 1856–1873—rebellion against Chinese rule and effort to establish a
Muslim state

Usul-e jadid—Kazan, Crimean, and Bukharan intellectuals, notably Ismail
Gasprinskii (1851–1914), sponsor new schools, combined Muslim and Russian
education; modernization of Muslim peoples

India

Shah Wali Allah (1703–1762)

Shah Abd al-Aziz (1746–1824)

Muhammad Ismail (1781–1831)

Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi (1785–1831) Meccan influences
unites Pathans to resist British and Sikhs

Patna-Maulana Walayat Ali Fara'idi
(Bengal);

Maulana Karamat ahl-e hadith
1818–1845 anti-Hindu

Ali and
anti-British

Delhi School Titu Mir (Bengal)

Deoband—founded 1876. Muslim

college combined hadith studies
and Sufism and spawned satellite schools

Tablighi Islam—founded 1927 by
Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas
Southeast Asia

Padri Movement—Sumatra 1803–1837

Diponegara leads revolt on Java, 1825–1830

Banten, West Java revolts, nineteenth century

Kaum Muda—Sumatra and Malaya movement for reform and modernization

Acheh—1873–1908 ulema-led resistance to Dutch occupation

Muhammadiyah—1912; educational and social reform

Egypt and North Africa

Salafiyya—founded by Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905), influenced islah and national
movements in North Africa; Tunisia, Young Tunisians;

Algeria, Ben Badis; Morocco, Allal al-Fasi

Abd al-Qadir—Qadiriyya chieftain attempts to establish Algerian State,
defeated by the French

Rahmaniyya—religious brotherhood uses networks of zawiyas in Algeria and
Tunisia to resist French occupation

Tijaniyya—reform Sufi order inspires West and North African jihad and
resistance movements

Sanusiyya—reformist brotherhood creates "state" structure in Libya, founded
by Muhammad b. Ali al-Sanusi (d. 1859); resists Italian occupation

Khalwatiyya—reformist Sufi brotherhood

East Africa

Idrisiyya spawned Rashidiyya in Algeria; Amirghaniyya in Sudan and Nubia;
Sanusiyya in Libya

Sudan—Sammaniyya gives rise to Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mahdi (d. 1898)

Somalia—Muhammad Abdallah Hasan leads resistance to British, 1899–1920

West Africa

Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio (1754–1817)—Northern Nigerian reformist
opposition to Hausa states

Sokoto Caliphate (1809–1903) and related jihads in Adamawa and Masina

Al-Hajj Umar (1794?–1864)—jihad state in region of Mali and Senegal

Bundu, Futa Jallon, and Futa Toro, reform Muslim states in the Senegambian
region

Ma Ba—nineteenth-century jihad in Senegal

Samory (1860s–1898)—Muslim adventurer founds West African State

SOURCE: Lapidus, Ira M. *A History of Islamic Societies*. New York: Cambridge
University Press, 1988.

Muslim reform and renewal movements arranged by region.

Reform

rejected predestination and the fatalism and intellectual tor- although
their views on specific points of Qur'anic interpretation that he believed
resulted from it. Second, he emphasized tation and Islamic law may
vary.

the compatibility of revelation with reason. In other words,
he argued that religion does not impose unduly on what By the
early years of the twenty-first century, Islamic
reason demands as scientific or moral truths and, conversely, reform in
the Arab world remained a highly contested disthat human rational faculties are
capable of confirming most, course. In terms of political mobilization,
the conservative

if not all, the spiritual truths illuminated by religion. Finally, Islamist
agenda seemed to have triumphed over the liberal

Abduh asserted a claim to renewed interpretation (ijtihad) of modernist
project. Conservative reformers such as Muham-

Islamic law based on the requirements of social justice (maslaha) mad
al-Ghazali (1917–1996) in Egypt and Hasan al-Turabi
of his own era. (b. 1932)

in Sudan had attracted much larger public followings
than their modernist counterparts. Arab modernists had thus

Abduh did not directly advocate a political program, far failed to
form a mass-based organization to compete with
implying only that Islamic principles of accountable and the Muslim
Brotherhood and its many, more radical offlimited government supported the idea
of liberal parliamen- shoots. Still, the work of such modernist
intellectuals as Tariq

tary democracy. Later reformers appealed, explicitly or al-Bishri
and Hasan Hanafi (b. 1935) in Egypt and Muhamimplicitly, to his writings to
justify their own, sometimes mad Shahrur in Syria, and the political
activism of Rachid alopposite views. The most bitter controversy erupted when

Ghannoushi (b. 1941) in Tunisia have demonstrated the

Ali Abd al-Raziq (1888–1966) published a treatise arguing
continuing relevance and development of modernism.

that the mixture of religion and politics in the institution of

See also Abd al-Rahman Kawakibi; Abd al-Wahhab,

the caliphate was a perversion of the Prophet's teachings and

Muhammad Ibn; Abduh, Muhammad; Banna, Hasan

practice. Rashid Rida (1865–1935) denounced Abd al-Raziq's

al-; Ghazali, Muhammad al-; Ikhwan al-Muslimin;

arguments, which opened secular possibilities within Islamic

Qutb, Sayyid; Rida, Rashid; Salafiyya; Tajdid; Turabi,

political thought, as a perversion of Islamic teachings and

Hasan al-; Wahhabiyya.

history. Another disciple of Abduh's, Abd al-Rahman al-

Kawakibi (c. 1849–1902), had earlier written on the need to

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- revive the Arab caliphate as a precursor to Islamic revival worldwide. Binder, Leonard. *Islamic Liberalism: A Critique of Development Strategies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Abduh expressed his views prolifically in the pages of the *Hourani*, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*. journal *al-Manar*. He also tried to implement his reform Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- program by issuing progressive fatwas in his capacity as *Kerr*, Malcolm H. *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories* Grand Mufti of Egypt, and through his efforts at reorganiz- of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. Berkeley: ing the education of Egyptian religious scholars at al-Azhar University of California Press, 1966.
- University and other institutions. Many Arab nationalists *Safran*, Nadav. *Egypt in Search of Political Community*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- his progressive, moderate, and bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- flexible interpretations of Islam into their political ideologies, but generally failed to produce a true synthesis of theory and *Sohail H. Hashmi* practice once independence was achieved.
- ### IRAN
- Abduh's reform agenda was carried on by Rashid Rida, The reform and reconstruction of Islamic doctrine in Iran, but Rida brought to it a greater conservatism in philosophical aimed at striking a stable balance with contemporary require outlook and methodology, relying primarily on Hanbali
- ments, exhibits important and at times idiosyncratic characjurisprudence, whereas his mentor had advocated free borteristics. Iran is the largest non-Arab Islamic country where
- rowing from all Sunni schools of law. He was also much more the greater majority of the population adheres to Shi ite politically oriented than Abduh, seeing the institution of an principles. Unlike most Islamic countries, throughout West-Islamic state as the precursor to the application of Islamic law *ern* colonial and imperialist expansions Iran has enjoyed and the promotion of Islamic social mores. Rida thus laid the *unbroken*, if at times fragile, native sovereignty, and this has intellectual foundations for a more conservative strand of *led to a* peculiar dynamic of perception and interaction with Salafi reformism, one that is associated with the Muslim *the West*.
- The outbreak of the Islamic Revolution (1979), in a *rapidly* Brotherhood. The reformism of Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949) but unevenly modernizing nation-state, together with and Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), the principal ideologues of the *the*

turbulent evolution of the Iranian society ever since, Brotherhood, reflects Rida's influence in its advocacy of a further mark the Iranian experience as unique. holistic conception of Islamic state and society, where shari a regulates all spheres of life. In this regard, the Brotherhood's roots of Islamist reform in Iran are commonly traced Salafism is similar in approach to that of the Wahhabiyya, the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 to 1908.

The
back to

Islam and the Muslim World

577

Reform

However, for at least two generations prior to that turning vicissitudes of history. This tendency in Iran bore close point in modern Iranian history, emerging social and intellectual forces had grappled with new questions regarding Islamic, Iranian, and "progressive" identities. The enigmatic Ali Shari ati (1933–1977), a prolific intellectual of an reformist Jamal al-Din Afghani (1838–1897), for example, unfathomable range of influence, best exemplified the utohad won a sizable following in Iran, one among whom ended up assassinating the Qajar sovereign, Naser al-Din Shah, in 1896. Islamic culture into a potent ideology imparting clear-cut instructions for political struggle, as a most urgent and Beginning in the years prior to the Constitutional Revolution, and continuing throughout the twentieth century, groups of clerics, teachers, journalists, government officials, and lay The maximalist-utopian ideal, culminating in the Islamic professionals attempted to flesh out a "progressive" discourse Revolution of 1979, provided the exponents of Islamist reby way of molding such modern concepts as the nation form, such as Mehdi Bazargan (1902–1994), Sayyed Mahmud (mellat), or a representative assembly (majlis shura), into Taleqani (d. 1979), and Morteza Mutahhari (1919–1979), historically more familiar native contexts. The discourse of opportunity to put into practice what they had Islamic reform in Iran is best understood by demarcating its preached for decades. The radical doctrine of "Absolute pre- and postrevolutionary phases, with reference to the Guardianship of the Jurist" (vilayat motlaqe faqih), expounded Islamic Revolution of 1979. In its prerevolutionary phase, Ayatollah Khomeini, rendered absolute discretion into the

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the reformist discourse tended to be nativist-apologetic, hands of the religious elite, and boosted the maximalist maximalist, utopian, and “progressive.” It also embraced, or program. A full-blown, yet ostensibly inadequate, juridical at least condoned, militant violence as a legitimate means. (feqahati) approach toward complex issues of the state alien-Prerevolutionary reformists in Iran further called for univer- ated among others surviving pioneers of Islamist reform, such as sal Islamic union or integration, in the face of non-Muslim as Bazargan, who had throughout their careers vouched for a adversaries. The burgeoning postrevolutionary discourse, in humanely tolerant view of Islam and had foreseen more contrast, while maintaining its “progressive” stance, exhibits inclusive methods of governance. eclectic-critical, minimalist, pragmatic, and pluralistic tendencies and it increasingly downplays the purported efficacy of Beginning in 1988, the publication of a sequence of violent tactics.

critical essays sparked new debate and led Islamist reform in Iran toward a turning point. Abd al-Karim Soroush (b. 1945), Prerevolutionary Islamic reform proceeded from the fun- an academic thinker with impeccable prerevolutionary credamental premise that Islam, as a comprehensive system, dentials, contended that Islamic doctrine lies inevitably subshould aptly offer answers to every conceivable question of ject to historic expansion and contraction. The body of human concern, at individual and societal levels, as well as in knowledge standing outside the proper domain of “Islam,” both temporal and spiritual spheres. The discourse was according to Soroush, inexorably influences the way questions maximalist in its aiming to bring an ever-expansive domain are framed and solutions formulated within it. The recogniunder an Islamic umbrella. Reformists, from the 1920s on- tion of a set of inalienable rights for human beings irrespecward, unflinchingly formulated “nativist” Islamic solutions tive of religious affiliation, for example, should lead to a

for issues raised by the secularizing government agenda, as reconsideration of the primarily “duty-bound” conception of well as for those put forward by Marxist activists in Iran. man hitherto propounded in Islamic texts. Religious texts, Sorosh Reformists took on the daunting task of spelling out the Sorosh contends, should be interpreted in light of the broader proper Islamic ways for approaching a plethora of issues, extrareligious context. Mohammad Mojtahed-Shabestari (b. 1936), from such mundane matters as personal hygiene and dietary 1936), an articulate reformist cleric, further elaborates on this practice to the intricate workings of the economy and inter- hermeneutic approach, making room for alternative yet ranational diplomacy.

Pamphlets and books with formulaic tional interpretations or “readings” of Islam. Mojtaba titles such as “Islam and . . .,” and “. . . in Islam,” proliferated. Shabestari urges that true religious faith thrives on social

As a result of its maximalist-nativist character, reformist liberty, and he earnestly criticizes the officially enforced discourse was prone to indulge in apologetics. In an effort to interpretation of Islam advocated by the state in Iran. present a view of the Islamic tradition that was in tune with the manners of the time, reformists did not hesitate to The new discourse of Islamic reform, exemplified in the denounce portions of it as “superstitious.” Some, like the work of Soroush, and manifested in the writings of Mojtaba cleric Shari at-Shangela (1890/2–1943), had to face ostracism Shabestari and a few others, defined a nascent group of cism, perhaps for jettisoning too much. In general, a collective religious intellectuals (rowshanfekran dini), retrospectively tive penchant developed among reformists for doing away including in its ancestry such thinkers as Bazargan and Shari ati. with what they deemed spurious, and for restoring the una- During the 1990s, a group of these religious intellectuals, dulterated, primordial Islam (eslam rastin) that transcended sometimes referred to as the Kiyani Circle (halqa Kiyani),

578

Islam and the Muslim World

Reform

expressed their views in the important periodical Kiyani (officially and variously influenced by pan-Turkic, pan-Islamic, and cially closed down by court decree in 2000). This forum nationalist ideas. At the same time, as actors in the political raised crucial questions with regard to Islamic reform, including life of Russia as a whole, the jadids were not politically unified ing issues of democratic governance, Islamic law, and faith, and were to be found among several of the empire’s radical, and probed into the fields of epistemology and ethics. liberal, and even conservative political parties. Following the Russian Revolution (1917), jadids were active in the various The election of Mohammad Khatami as the president of factions engaged in the Russian Civil War, notably among the Islamic Republic in 1997 signaled a potential triumph for the various Muslim nationalist movements, within the Socialpostrevolutionary Islamic reformism. An advocate of religious Revolutionary Party, and among the Bolsheviks. Following intellectualism himself, Khatami incorporated key elements ing the Bolshevik victory, jadids became increasingly politically movements of the burgeoning discourse in his campaign slogans marginalized, as their vision of secularized Muslim community and called for increased social

pluralism and a move toward pluralities, and their ability to effect political change, were rapidly eclipsed by civil society. In practice, however, theoretical as well as revolutionary social change and secularization functional shortcomings seem to have stifled this particular that became the hallmark of Soviet rule. Furthermore, their promise. Nevertheless, Islamic reformism persists as an on- association with nationalism, pan-Turkic, and pan-Islamic going and evolving project in contemporary Iran. ideas resulted in the complete purging of active jadids from political and even social life during the rule of Stalin, which Iranian reformers, more often than not, have formulated ended the jadidist movement in Russia. ideological or doctrinal questions in purely epistemic terms, and have shown conspicuously less concern for sociohistori- The ideological founder of jadidism is usually identified as cal processes constituting religion in general and Islam in Isma il Bey Gasprinskii (1851–1914), a Crimean Tatar from particular. the town of Bakhchesaray in the Crimea. Having studied and lived in Paris and Istanbul in the 1870s, where he came under See also Abd al-Karim Soroush; Afghani, Jamal al-Din; the influence of French liberals, the Young Turks, and the Bazargan, Mehdi; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Mojtabedpan-Islamist ideas of al-Afghani, Gasprinskii returned to the Shabestari, Muhammad; Reform: Arab Middle East Crimea, where in 1883 he founded the newspaper Tarjuman and North Africa; Reform: Muslim Communities of (The interpreter). Until the 1905 revolution, this publication the Russian Empire; Reform: South Asia; Shari ati, was the sole Turkic-language newspaper in the Russian Ali.

empire, and a major platform for disseminating Gasprinskii's jadidist ideas. An avowed monarchist, Gasprinskii sought to

BIBLIOGRAPHY

unify the Turkic peoples of Russia (who constituted the vast Boroujerdi, Mehrzad. Iranian Intellectuals and the West. Syra- majority of Russia's Muslim population) and facilitate their cuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996. integration into the economic and civic life of imperial Jahanbakhsh, Forouq. Islam, Democracy and Religious Modern- Russian society. To this end, Gasprinskii championed the ism in Iran, 1953–2000: From Bazargan to Soroush. Boston: creation of a common Turkic literary language and, most E. J. Brill, 2001.

significantly, sought to reform Muslim education to make it Soroush, Abdol Karim. Reason, Freedom, & Democracy in conform more

to Western models. Gasprinskii especially
 Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush. New York: championed the
 teaching of Russian language, arithmetic,
 Oxford University Press, 2000. geography, and
 the sciences. In addition, he is credited with
 Taleqani, Seyed Mahmud. Islam and Property Ownership. introducing a
 phonetic system of reading for pupils to learn to
 Lexington, Ky.: Mazda Publishers, 1983. read faster.
 Gasprinskii opened the first jadidist school in
 Bakhchesaray in 1884.
 Hossein Kamaly
 As an educational reform movement, jadidism grew stead-
 MUSLIM COMMUNITIES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE ily from the
 1880s to 1917. It was received most enthusiasti-
 Jadidism was an intellectual current among the Muslims of cally among
 the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia's Volga-Ural
 the Russian empire that emerged in the 1880s, and it re- region. The
 urban elites of these Muslim communities were
 maintained active into the first decade of Soviet rule. Although relatively
 well integrated into Russian economic life, and it
 Jadidism is commonly defined as a manifestation of Islamic was
 precisely the Tatar urban bourgeoisie who were the most
 reformism, it would be more correct to label it as a form of active
 backers of jadidist educational institutions. While
 Islamic modernism. The word "Jadidism" is derived from the jadidist
 schools could be found throughout the Russian
 term *usul-e jadid*, signifying "new method," and initially first
 Empire's Muslim regions, it was mainly brought to outlying
 came to prominence as an educational reform movement. regions by
 Tatar colonists. Yet jadidist schools were viewed
 However, during and after the 1905 revolution the move- with
 suspicion among traditional Muslim elites, particularly
 ment became increasingly politicized, and its adherents, known in Central
 Asia and Kazakhstan, but even in the Volga-Ural
 as jadids, began to articulate a political agenda increasingly region as
 well.

Islam and the Muslim World

579

Reform

Jadids, including numerous graduates of jadid madrasas, See also
 Gasprinskii, Isma'il Bay; Reform: Arab Middle
 had a substantial impact on the growth of nationalist, pan- East and
 North Africa; Reform: Iran; Reform: South
 Turkic, and pan-Islamic political activity following the 1905 Asia.
 revolution, especially in the emergence of Muslim nationalism. At the same
 time, jadids also came into conflict with BIBLIOGRAPHY

conservative and traditionalist elements within their own Frank, Allen J. Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: societies. This conflict between the jadids and the traditional- The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780–1910. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001. and reform,” but in fact was in large measure a political Khalid, Adeeb. The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism struggle mirroring the conflict in Russia between political in Central Asia. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: Uniconservatives and increasingly radical proponents of social versity of California Press, 1998. and political change within the Russian Empire. In the Volga-Ural region, this conflict was characterized by a Allen J. Frank politicization of the religious debate between jadids and conservatives; in Central Asia, where local adherents of jadidism SOUTH ASIA were far fewer, it was even more restrictive than in Russia Reform, in the context of South Asian Islam, can acquire two different, proper. Both native rulers and Russian administrators were indeed contradictory, meanings and objectives. It openly hostile to jadidist activity. can refer to the liberalizing tendencies encompassing a rational, scientific, “enlightenment” orientation to Islam, or it During the period from 1905 to 1917 the jadidist move- may signify traditionalist movements seeking to restore Islam to its more ment remained ideologically heterogeneous, although many orthodox, pristine, “original” form. The first is intended to jadids became increasingly secular and radicalized, as the ensure the progress of Muslims in the modern world, the Russian Empire drifted toward revolution. At this time, second to revive a glorious past. Islamic reformism especially after 1910, many jadids began making an ideologi- in South Asia has usually struggled within this awkward dialectic. cal shift from Muslim nationalism to local nationalisms. This process was most evident in the Volga-Ural region, Azerbaijan, and to a lesser extent among the Kazakhs. With the outbreak It is noteworthy that South Asia’s initial encounters with Islam were of civil war following the 1917 revolution, jadids played Muhammad bin Qasim landed in Sind in 712 C.E., he was instructed through a legal opinion to treat the local nonparticular in Azerbaijan, in the short-lived Idel-Ural Republic Muslims with justice. Similarly, in spite of successive waves of in the Volga-Ural region, and in the Qoqand Autonomy in Muslim invasions, it was the Sufi saints (charismatic mystics)

Turkestan. Other more radical jadids, who rejected nationalism who were largely instrumental in converting the vast majority of the population to Islam through example and persuasion. And finally, while the distinctions with the Hindus were obvious, the poorer classes of both communalized People's Republics of Bukhara and Khorezm.

ties were brought together by their poverty, agrarian existence and the syncretistic compulsions of "popular" or "folk" religion. The historical legacy of jadidism remains debated both in the West and in the former Soviet Union. As Muslims, the Therefore, Hindus were seldom the dreadful "other" jadids were certainly the first members of imperial Russia's against whom reform movements were directed.

Muslim societies to coherently articulate a vision of secularized Muslim community integrated within the Russian Empire. It is perhaps Shah Wali Allah (1703–1762) who can claim the status of being one of the first influential theologian and, by extension, into European society. Indeed they sought revivalists in the subcontinent. He belonged to the Naqshbandiya tariqa (a Sufi order), and represented a combination within a European framework. In fact, the transition from nation of both rationalism and traditionalism. He suggested pan-Islamic or pan-Turkic jadidism to jadidist-inspired Muslims should practice ijtihad (independent reasoning) and even ethnic nationalism, was a relatively seamless one. Some modern Tatar nationalists, for instance, not subscribe to the same puritanical rigidity of his contemporary jadidism as a manifestation of Tatar national identity, porary Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab of Arabia, he did and national genius. However, other scholars, especially criticize many un-Islamic accretions that South Asian Islam those who have examined jadidism within the context of had acquired. Because of the range, eclecticism, and power of Islamic intellectual and cultural history as a whole, have his writings, many reformists of different persuasions claim depicted jadidism as a rather marginal movement within him as part of their intellectual heritage.

Islamic society, especially in comparison to existing traditional institutions and ideas, not only in Central Asia, but in The gradual displacement of the Muslims from their position of the Volga-Ural region as well. privilege and authority owing to the impact of

Reform

British commercial and imperial ambitions, and the increasing fear of British intrusion into their religious practices, between the ulema, who demanded a preeminent role for Islam in the new state, and the powerful military and bureaucratic elite who were unenthusiastic. Reform, in either modern preservation and purification causing Wali Allah's son to earnest or orthodox directions, followed the vicissitudes of declare territories under British control as dar-ul-harb (land temporary political arrangements. The 1956 constitution of war). Some of his followers such as Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi referred to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; the 1962 constitution and Syed Ismail Shahid died in western India fighting against constitution dropped the word Islamic; the 1973 constitution the Sikhs and British in 1831. In the eastern province of reincorporated it in principle. The liberal Muslim Family Bengal, other followers such as Haji Shariatullah (1781–1840) Law Ordinance of 1961, which sought to reform marriage and his son Dudu Mian (1819–1862) combined class and and divorce laws in the country, was all but gutted in the religious sensitivities to launch the faraidi movement (imply- 1980s through various enactments on the punishment, inhering that which is religiously mandated), against the British itance, and laws of evidence relating to women. Moreover, indigo planters and Hindu landowners. the establishment of sharia courts to adjudicate matters according to strict Islamic principles, the declaration of The aftermath of the Mutiny, or the First Indian War of Qadianis as non-Muslims, the self-conscious courtship of Arab Independence, in 1857, radically altered the direction of Arab countries through emphasizing its Islamic credentials, reformism in South Asia. It was felt by some that the deterioration and the injection of a heightened sensibility about religious rating condition of the Muslims resulted from their sullen matters on public issues (including education and entertainment toward the British, and their inability or unwillingment), all appeared to indicate a swing back toward traditionness to take advantage of the opportunities for advancement alist premises in the 1980s and 1990s. that British rule provided. None perceived this more clearly, or expressed himself as emphatically, as Sir Sayyid Ahmad The

separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971
 Khan (1817–1898). He preached loyalty to the British, pro- seemed to
 demonstrate the primacy of language and culture
 moted Western language and education to overcome Muslim as more
 important markers for identity and destiny than
 backwardness, developed an exegetical rationalism in his religion.
 Initially the country adopted a determinedly indifferent posture toward religion, warned
 against the stultifying influence of
 However, and in spite of a
 the reactionary ulema (religious leaders), and called upon gradual
 institutionalization of democracy, political develop-
 Muslims to stay away from Hindu political organizations. ments since
 the early 1980s have compelled Bangladesh to
 Aligarh University, which he founded in 1875, was emblem- drop the
 word “secular” from its constitution, declare Islam
 atic of his approach and interests. to be the
 state religion, patronize parochial schools, and insist
 on outward expressions of religious zeal and commitment
 The Aligarh model faced challenges from scholars
 from its leaders.
 associated with the Firangi Mahal in Lucknow (established
 in the 1690s) and the theological seminary at Deoband, In both
 countries, it is obvious that conservative religious
 where classes began in 1867. Most scholars associated with parties do
 not command a large following in electoral competition. These schools were opposed to
 the Aligarh brand of una- tions. However, it is also clear that
 these forces are formidably eager for Western knowledge, demanded
 greater ble enough to drive the discourse in directions they seek.
 The
 concern for Islamic identity and heritage, bristled at the modernist
 agenda—with its emphasis on women’s rights,
 perceived subservience to the British, and sought deeper minority
 protections, and civil liberties—appears to face
 engagement with both pan-Islamist and nationalist tenden- rather
 daunting challenges, perhaps a little more so in Pakistan than in Bangladesh.
 evolving.

In the twentieth century, Islamic reform and political See also Ahmad
 Khan, (Sir) Sayyid; Wali Allah, Shah.

activism became inextricably intertwined. It was Aligarh
 modernism, and its logical corollary expressed as Muslim

BIBLIOGRAPHY

separatism, that eventually culminated in the formation of
 Pakistan in 1947. It is intriguing to note that orthodox Ahmad,
 Aziz. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*
 Muslim leaders like Abu l-A la Maududi and Maulana Madani,
 1875–1964. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
 and nationalist/populist leaders like Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ahmed,

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Islam and the Muslim World

581

Reform

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Ahrar Ahmad

SOUTHEAST ASIA

In Islamic Southeast Asia the concept of “reform” is the subject of a highly contested discourse. Self-proclaimed “reformists” range from the Malaysian feminist organization Sisters in Islam, which advocates changes in Islamic family law that increase the rights and power of women, to the Indonesian Lakshar Jihad, which advocates the establishment of a conservative form of Islamic law to act as the basis of an Islamic state combining Indonesia, Malaysia, and the southern Philippines.

Reformist movements in Southeast Asia emerged in the early decades of the twentieth century as responses to British, Dutch, and American colonial rule. They were also responses to intellectual developments in the broader Muslim world.

Early reformists were influenced by the writings of the Egyptian reformers Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida and by the Wahhabi movement in Arabia. They attributed the decline of Muslim political and economic power to the impure state of early twentieth-century Islam. The rejection of Sufism and elements of popular religion—including the veneration of the tombs of saints, ritual meals, and the celebration of the birth of the prophet Muhammad—are Megawati Sukarnoputri, front, the leader and presidential candidate of the Indonesia Democratic Party for Struggle (PDI-P) and among the hallmarks of Southeast Asian reformism. These her husband, Taufik Kimas, cast their ballots in Jakarta in 1999, in

and other aspects of popular Islam were (and are) denounced Indonesia's first free elections since 1955. Although her party as innovation and unbelief by these reformists. In Indonesia won the election, she was forced to accept the position of vicepresident. In 2001, President Abdurrahman Wahid was forced to reformists argued that the prayers of traditional Muslims resign and Sukarnoputri became the president of Indonesia. AP/ were invalid because supplicants face directly west instead of WIDE WORLD PHOTOS northwest, which is the actual direction of Mecca.

The reformists advocated strict enforcement of shari'a and that the acquisition of modern skills and knowledge is a duty. They denied the authority of classical legal texts that formed religious duty. They also encouraged participation in the core of the curriculum in traditional Islamic schools. Like emerging modern economic system. Reformists adopted salafiyah reformers elsewhere, they maintained that the Qur'an gives similar to those of Christian missionaries. Organizations and hadith are the only allowable sources of legal decisions such as Muhammadiyah in Indonesia and al-Islam in Malaysia. This presented a major challenge to the traditional established schools that combined a salafiyah understanding of Islam with ulema. Throughout the twentieth century disputes between modern (Western) subjects. They established modernists and reformists were extremely bitter. Because of schools for girls as well as women's and youth organizations. the profound implications of these religious disputes—each Muhammadiyah and other reformist organizations now main party describes the other as heretics bound for hell—it is maintain extensive systems of schools, universities, and hospitals. unlikely that the cavernous divide between traditional and The provision of social and educational services contributed reformist communities can be closed. significantly to the spread of modernism, especially in urban areas. Early reformists combined this religious agenda with calls for social and educational reform. They argued that the In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore a basic distinction can be drawn between reformist movements that seek to obligation. The Javanese scholar Ahmad Dahlan and the transform culture and society and those that seek to employ Malay Tahir Jalal al-Din wrote and preached that there is an the political process to establish Islamic states. In the Philippines important link between the two components of the reform pines the distinction is that between those who would establish a Muslim state in the southern region and others who

Religious Beliefs

envision the Muslim community as a component of a pluralistic state. Muslims in southern Thailand have been influenced by Malaysian reformists and have organized to protect and expand the rights of Muslims in an overwhelmingly Buddhist society. In Southeast Asian states where Muslims are small minorities—Burma, Cambodia, and Vietnam—Islamic reformism did not emerge until after the Second World War.

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In these countries reformism is a religious movement of little political significance.

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establishment of Islamic states were subject to serious repression. Postcolonial governments have continued these policies, but have also attempted to include reformist Muslims in

Mark R. Woodward

the political process. In Malaysia reformist political parties compete in parliamentary elections and govern in several states. In Indonesia there has been a constant tension between

OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND TURKEY

See *Empires: Ottoman; Kemal, Namik; Modernizatraditionalist Muslims, who have generally avoided political*

tion, Political; Nur Movement; Nursi, Said; Young

action, reformists who have attempted to establish Indonesia Ottomans.

as an Islamic state, and other reformists, including the majority of the

Muhammadiya community, who seek to build a salafiyya-oriented Muslim community while avoiding overt political activity. The collapse of the Suharto regime in 1998 contributed to the repoliticization of Indonesian reformism.

Political parties based on reformist ideologies emerged as

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

important voices in Indonesia's new democracy. Other, more

While Islam has historically eschewed authoritative bodies

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in Gayo

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British

Noer,

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State

radical, groups reject the democratic orientation of the political parties and advocate the use of force to establish a salafiyya state.

be recognized as defining Sunni faith (iman). From these creeds six central beliefs have been distilled that have come to In Southeast Asia, and particularly in Indonesia, there define orthodox faith. Belief in God and his attributes, prophets, angels, sacred books, the Last Day, and predestination

sizing tolerance, interreligious discourse, and democratic has, by Sunni consensus, come to define normative Islam.

politics. This variety of reformism differs fundamentally from earlier salafiyya movements. This variety of reformism

Belief

in God and his attributes refers to the concepts of

began to develop in the 1980s and has come to be known as tawhid

(divine unity) and sifat Allah (the attributive character of God). Tawhid means

that God is omnipotent, that he government as an antidote for fundamentalism. Most of the

needs no

helpers, and has no partners. Associating partners

participants in this course come from traditionalist backgrounds and are conversant with classic Arabic theological, sin. This

with God is

referred to as shirk, and is considered a serious

grounds and are conversant with classic Arabic theological, sin. This

concept has been extended by some Muslim thinkers, and mystical texts. The

central institutional location of sharia is to mean that submission to God's

unity means the absolute

Islamic liberalism is the State Islamic Studies Institute. Many

lute

adherence to God's rules, as described in the Qur'an and

graduates from these programs continue their studies abroad. hadith.

Failing to adhere to God's rules indicates that the

In the 1990s, liberalism emerged as a major force for political, individual

places his or her own judgment equal to God's, and

social, and economic change. Liberal reformists reject the thus becomes

God's associate. The attributes of God refer to

notion of an Islamic state. They are active in development- God's

abilities and characteristics as they are defined in the

oriented NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), promote Qur'an.

There are generally held to be ninety-nine characteristics that are reflected in the

cooperation, and are advocates characteristics that are reflected in the

ninety-nine names of God.

for human rights and gender equality. In Indonesia they

played a major role in the Reformasi (reformation) movement Belief in

prophets, angels, and sacred books is based on

that brought an end to the "New Order" regime of President Surah

2:285. This verse equates faith with the belief that God

Suharto. has sent many prophets prior to Muhammad. It also indicates the larger concept that Muhammad was the end of a chain of See also Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa; prophetic succession beginning with Adam and continuing Reform: Iran. through the twenty-five prophets mentioned in the Qur'an.

Islam and the Muslim World

583

Religious Institutions

Belief in angels is central to both the belief in prophets and historical plan. They create identities and representations, in sacred books. The angel Jibril, according to Muslim and determine attitudes, emotions, and behavior. These tradition, conveyed the revelation from God to Muhammad manifestations and outward projections originate from beand other prophets. Angels also figure prominently in a liefs and practices, but they are also limited by historical variety of beliefs, including those surrounding Munkar and contexts. Geographical, social, and political considerations Nakir, angels who interrogate the dead in their graves, and modify attitudes and practices. Religious institutions, then, Michael, who was commissioned by God to oversee the take shape in relation to both religious impulses and contexnatural world. tual configurations. The following entry suggests some of the enduring and changing features of religious institutions in Muslims believe that many prophets have received sacred Islam in broad historical strokes. textual revelations similar to the Qur'an but that these revelations became corrupt over time. Thus while Christians and Religious beliefs and practices have been noticeably ex- Jews are considered "people of the book" due to their recep- pressed in key institutions constructed in uniquely different tion of textual revelations, their religions fell into error, thus social and historical contexts. The caliphate as a universal necessitating Muhammad's mission. political and social order was the key institution developed in the early period of Islam. This was followed by more clearly The Last Day refers to the belief that the world will be religious institutions like the school of law (madhhab) and Sufi destroyed by God and will be followed by a Day of Resurrecorde (tariqa). The modern period has witnessed the emertion on which all people will be required to account for their gence of various forms of religious states together with the deeds. Those who obeyed the commands of God will go to

independent religious association in secular contexts.

paradise, while those who did not will go to hell. Many Muslim theologians have held that everyone will eventually be released from hell after they have suffered sufficient

The early period of Islamic history begins with the life of the prophet Muhammad and ends with the weakening of the Abbasid Empire. Following Marshall Hodgson, we can use Adam) in this category.

the year 945 as a significant point in that history when the Predestination means that God has total power over all of the caliphate was finally shattered. A general creation and therefore determines the course of all events. regional power, the Buyids, occupied Baghdad and laid to Paradoxically, humans have the ability to obey or disobey the more than two hundred years of a universal political commands of God. This ambiguity has never been settled The eventual failure notwithstanding, early Islam fully and reached a compromise position with the concept of foundation of the caliphate as a vital religious institutakab, which asserts that God creates acts that humans then tion that moved and inspired Muslims. It is also an institution acquire or own, thus involving their culpability for action or provided considerable inspiration for subsequent inaction.

and social movements in diverse cultural and historical contexts up to the present time. The caliphal order was the

See also Angels; Kalam. important religious institution the Muslims created during this period. The word "order" is used to include the BIBLIOGRAPHY political

system and ideas themselves, as well as the related Denny, Frederick Mathewson. An Introduction to Islam. New self, society, and others. Early Islam was a period of York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994. political conflicts, many of which raged particularly intense Watt, William Montgomery. Islamic Creeds: A Selection. Edin- over the nature and shape of this political order and its related issues. At burgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994. the same time, these conflicts and disagreements created Wensinck, A. J. The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical opportunities for great creativity that inspired legal, Development. London: Frank Cass, 1965. theological, philosophical, and literary productions in support of one or the other conceptions of the political order.

R. Kevin Jaques

Who must be the caliph? After the death of the prophet Muhammad in 632, one of the first questions that needed to be answered was that of his succession. Would it be someone close to him from the beginning? Would it mean the split of the Muslim community between its Meccan and Medinan Religious institutions are the visible and organized manifestations of practices and beliefs in particular social and historical contexts. Like human emotions and attitudes, religious political questions were answered in religious and beliefs and practices project outward onto the social and theological terms. The history of religious ideas of early

584

Islam and the Muslim World

Religious Institutions

In a mosque in Jakarta, Indonesia, Muslim men listen to a sermon during Friday prayers. In Islamic nations, religious institutions have traditionally been subject to the rules of the state, but in countries where Muslims are minorities (India and the United States, for example), mosques have been able to transform themselves into more independent religious institutions. GETTY IMAGES

Islam revolves around questions and answers about the identity of this particular discussion, such a notion of religious tity, nature, and authority of the caliphate. political leadership is an important part of the religious institution of the caliphate of early Islam.

One of the close associates of the prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, was selected as his immediate successor. Another important aspect of this institution was the main a tense political context. Soon, members of the Prophet's own clan, the Banu Hashim, and their supporters claimed against the reigning caliph sowed the seeds for a degree of that they had been deprived of rightful leadership granted by elitism within the community of believers. The family of the Prophet to Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, Prophet would enjoy a level of recognition and respect above and his legitimate successors. Thus emerged the first ordinary believers. However, the egalitarian message of earlier of a religio-political faction, the party of Ali (Ar. Shi'a), other biblical religions found a profound resonance in Islam as that developed into a full-fledged religious and theological

well. The first group to raise this issue on the political sphere group within Islam. Even though it remained a minority, and was the Khariji, who took a position diametrically opposed to the various factions were hardly unanimous on the particular the Shi'a. For them, the political leader was an equal in the descendant of Ali as the rightful successor, the Shi'a pro-community of believers, and open to censure and removal if he deduced notions of legitimate and rightful leadership for religion failed to live by the teachings of the Qur'an. According to various leadership in general. The prophetically chosen one was traditional Muslim historiography, the Kharijis emerged predivinely guided, and ready to go into battle against injustice precisely during the reign of the fourth caliph, Ali, the first and usurpation. Such a notion of a religious leader became imam of the Shi'a, when they rejected his compromising the cornerstone of other religious groups and political par-stand in war. They claimed that he had ignored a fundamental. Mystical schools took on the notion of direct or indirect tal teaching of the Qur'an by agreeing to negotiate with a divine assistance, and leaders of political and religious move-usurper, and no longer deserved the allegiance of the Muslim movements followed the inspiration of its revolutionary aspects. In community. The Kharijis developed another philosophy of

Islam and the Muslim World

585

Religious Institutions

revolution against authority. Unlike the Shi'ite ideas, it har- The boundaries of the community against outsiders were more clearly drawn, even though not always consistently applied. The caliphate was justified on the basis of a universal Standing between the Shi'a and the Khariji, other theo- and expanding empire that engaged the reigning superpowers logical schools emerged to define the boundaries of Muslim of the day. The Sassanian Empire of the Persians fell early, identities. The first theological questions emerged directly and the Byzantine Empire was dislodged from its territories in from the issues raised by these early groups. Islamic theology, for example, asked to what extent the wrongdoing of a adversary and target until its capital, Constantinople, fell in 1453. A condition of war between the caliphate and other political view, the absence of a rightful imam was sufficient ground for orders was accepted as the norm, even though such a launching a revolt against the caliph, while the Kharijis norm could

be temporarily regulated by treaties. The relationship that any person guilty of a grave sin should be with other religions followed this political norm.

deposed. Against them, the Mu tazila argued that such a person did not automatically relinquish his faith and could not be summarily dismissed. But they said that such a person accept Islam. In contrast, Christians and Jews were recognized as People of the Book and were tolerated in the

the scholars gravitated toward a more accommodationist caliphate order.

position, and argued that grave acts or sins by themselves do not declare a person a non-Muslim. The theological arguments were the first political arguments concerning the interests of those who were able to command power.

identity of the caliph, but it is quite clear that they contributed in no small part to the definition of a Muslim against various factions of Arab tribes played a dominant role in the balance of power during the Umayyad period and the early Abbasid period, and the history and success of conquest and disbelief. And the early theological debates among Muslims created significant opportunities for others. The religious themselves and between Muslims and other religious groups character of the caliphate was reinforced by the ideological in the Near East established the boundaries and identity of claims made by various parties, from the Shi as who declared Islam and Muslims.

their support for the divinely inspired leadership of the The identity of Muslims also raised the issue of the Arabs imams, to the Kharijis who lived by the letter of the Qur an.

and Arabic. As Islam spread from Arabia and embraced many The religious element was reinforced through the development of different cultures and traditions, it confronted the question of the compilation of a religious literature on the legacy of the Prophetic

the relationship between Arabs and non-Arabs, and between period. In particular, the compilation of the Qur an and the Arab culture and local languages and cultures. The spread of sayings of the Prophet and his associates provided the foundations for a religious discourse of power, authority, and

Islamic power went hand in hand with Arabization. The first community. As an institution, then, the political and religious dynasty of Islam that followed the reign of Ali, the Umayyads, elements of the caliphate were not so easily separated. And played a leading role in ensuring that the Arab nature of the

yet, in spite of the inseparability of the political from the conquest and its new administration were not lost. Against religious, the production of a literary tradition provided the this hegemony of Arab authority, the Islamic impulse favored basis for the emergence of religious learning (ilm) and its a greater sense of egalitarianism between Arabs and nonprestige. Those who possessed this knowledge, the ulema, Arabs. One of the main factors that supported the Abbasid were distinct from those who wielded power and from the revolution (750) against the Umayyads was the alliance bemaass of followers, even though they did not always form a tween Arab and non-Arab forces. The victory of the Abbasids distinctive institution that bound them to each other on the meant the victory for universalism in the house of Islam. But public plain. Sometimes one gets the impression that, in the the position of the Arabs and Arabic was not abandoned. The earliest period of conquest, those who wielded brute force Arabic language, as the language of divine revelation par disdained such men of learning. But the accumulation of excellence, took on an elevated position in society in general scholarly tradition could not be ignored in the administration and in religious scholarship in particular, and became the of justice, the bureaucracy, and in the general legitimization lingua franca of aspiring religious teachers and scholars. The of the political order itself.

genius of the Arabs lay not so much in their intrinsic ethnic worth, but on the role and eminence of the Qur an and the In the latter half of the Ummayad and the early part of the teachings of the prophet Muhammad. Social movements that Abbasid caliphates, the accumulation of the teachings of the favored anti-Arab sentiments, like the Shu ubiyya, remained Prophet and the early Muslims began in the important towns and cities in the society, but could never dislodge the lofty status of the and cities such as Medina, Mecca, Kufa, and Basra. The most Arabic language as the language of revelation. Legal, exegetical, well known of these teachings were from prominent individuand philological studies emphasized the indispensability of als who later came to be associated with schools of law like

Arabic even while keeping the door open to conversions. Abu Hanifa (d. 767), Malik b. Anas (d. 796), Muhammad b.

586

Islam and the Muslim World Religious Institutions

Idris al-Shafi i (d. 820), and Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855). Their period, when the Ottoman Empire conquered Constantinodiscussions on issues such as criminal justice, evidence, mili- ple and became the model of extensive,

but not universal, tary warfare, and slavery provided the political and social Muslim empires until the emergence of nation-states. As foundations for the caliphate. At the same time, and of more challengers from religious and political groups were regular features lasting significance, they founded the basic framework for a of the caliphate, individual caliphs relied more and more on religious way of life by defining and specifying the way in slave soldiers and generals for their personal rule and effective which to fulfill the religious duties in Islam. Theological control. The Abbasid revolution unleashed the force of discussions defined the boundaries of belief and membership, of regional powers, particularly in the areas previously conjuridical discussions elaborated the performance of ritual trolled by the Sassanian Empire. From the tenth century these practices, and mystical notions explored religious experience these regions witnessed the emergence of powerful governors with the Divine. and generals who wielded more power than the central government. In this same century, challenges to the univer- Eventually, the apparatus of scholarship inscribed a dis- sality of the institution also became apparent. A rival caliphate was tinct zone of authority that the caliphs and other political was established in the West by survivors of the Umayyad family who rulers could not access through the exercise of military their fled to North Africa and southern Spain. One of their means. One of the most interesting episodes in Abbasid themselves descendants, Abd al-Rahman III (912–961), declared himself a history illustrates the limits of political authority against the caliph in 929, challenging the theory of the single political authority of religious scholarship. In 833, the Abbasid caliph political authority of Baghdad. In contrast, the Shi a, in spite of their Ma mun instituted an inquisition (mihna) to force all notable of their differences, were able to rise to prominence. The Buyids took scholars to accept the doctrine of the createdness of the effective control of Baghdad in 945, even though they did Qur an as state policy. A celebrated and most popular teacher they did not completely replace the caliph with a recognized imam. But of hadith, Ahmad b. Hanbal, refused to embrace the doctrine. another Shi a movement was even more ambi- tious. The The state policy continued for some time after the death of Fatimids, with the support of Berber clans in North Ma mun, but was finally rescinded by al-Mutawakkil (r. North Africa, lay claim to the universal caliphate from Spain to India. 847–861). The event reinforced the authority of the religious They occupied Cairo in 969 and went on to become the largest scholars and their role in society. Some have seen in this

and longest surviving political order until the episode the divergence of political from religious authority 1170s, when they were defeated by the Seljuks, another group of Turkish military adventurers. The dominance of regional in Islam.

powers, and direct religious challenges from the Shi'a both The caliphate was a religious institution created and helped to lay to rest the effective authority of the universal established in early Islam. It defined a religious order of caliphate.

The rival caliphates from both Sunni (Spanish power and authority that included the meaning of the self, Andalusian) and Shi'ite (Buyid and Fatimid) claims shook the community, and the Other. The history of the caliphate institution and myth of the single universal caliphate.

during this period indicates that the precise details of the The religious elements developed during the early caliphate order were determined by the historical exigencies of internal did not completely disappear, but they were transformed in disputes, and conflict with the Other. The beginnings of the the context of these new social and political experiences. The

accumulation of the teachings of the Prophet, the Qur'an, idea of a universal community of believers (umma) persisted and the legacy of the earliest Muslim community provided through the political breakdown of the empire, but a political the scholarly foundations for these conceptions, which by unity

became impossible. The place and role of the Qur'an themselves were not always presented in one fully developed and the prophet Muhammad reinforced this unity and this

theory. In general, however, the caliphate bequeathed to identity on social, religious, and commercial levels. More-

Muslims the idea of a universal egalitarian community (umma) over, the foundation of the religious discourse during the

with a special place for the Arabic language and the family of caliphate was now employed in the production of new institutions. The Prophet; an expanding political order and hegemony over tions. The juridical, theological, and mystical ideas that

Jews, Christians, and other recognized religious communities emerged during the late Umayyad and Abbasid periods were

ties; complete dominance over polytheistic communities; and developed, and slowly produced institutions like the schools

a religious authority based on knowledge of the revelations of law and theology, and mystical orders. It is precisely the

received by the prophet Muhammad. latter

institutions that were a dominant feature of the Middle

Period of Islam. The caliphate gave way to more clearly

The Middle Period definable

religious institutions that expressed the emotions,

The universal caliphate faced daunting challenges from the attitudes, and behaviors of Muslims.

outset, and finally collapsed as an effective political authority.

The middle period refers to the time when the caliphs lost Before elaborating on the religious institutions of the legal effective power to regional authorities until the modern schools (madhhab) and the Sufi orders (tariqas), a brief note on period. One can also point to 1453 as a quasi midpoint of this the political situation is essential. In comparison with the

Islam and the Muslim World

587

Religious Institutions

caliphs, the governors and generals who wielded power in the Abu Hanifa, Malik b. Anas, al-Shafi i, and Ahmad b. Hanbal.

Middle Period were less justified through religious theology.

Genealogies of students linking the founders were formu-

In light of the early conceptions of the caliphate, they would lated, founding texts and commentaries identified, more or

simply be regarded as usurpers. But scholarly articulation of less coherent theories outlined, and positions were founded

the political order recognized and accepted the realpolitick on against others. Makdisi has shown how the practice of comthe ground, and provided some

space and recognition for mentaries and notation on earlier works played a leading role

these adventurers. One of the most significant theorists to

development of consensus within each of the schools. in the

take up this task was the Baghdadian al-Mawardi (d. 1058), The

schools were in no small measure supported by the

whose work on the caliphate has been widely acclaimed. He foundation

of the madrasa, a school established to teach one

recognized the new realities of the political space, and tried to or another

school of law. The first to introduce the madrasa as

articulate justice as an organizing principle for public and an

institution for teaching were the Shi a, but it quickly

private life. The new rulers may come to power by virtue of became a

distinct way of consolidating and promoting the

their strength, according to al-Mawardi, but they were duty- teachings

of Sunni schools as well. The madrasa did not

bound to uphold justice in their realms. The shari a, as replace

the networks around individual teachers, but proelaborated by the religious

scholars, played an important role vided a basis for their further

consolidation. In Sunni Islam,

in the administration of justice, apart from its more signifi- then, the

four schools of law took their shape during the

cant role of outlining more personal religious duties. Al- Middle

Period. It was also this period that saw the consolida-

Mawardi emphasized the requirement for justice in their Shi'ism as a rival scholarly vision of Islam, as the political behavior (siyasa). Such theories did not always temper the political ambitions of the men of power, but they and mysticism. provided a new model of political life.

In addition to the schools of law, this period also witnessed In light of such a broad justification, the generals and the emergence of Sufi orders (tariqas). Like the schools of law, the rulers often obtained support from one of the schools of law, the earliest ideas on mystical life had also emerged in the theology, or mystical orders. Buyid support for Shi'ite teaching caliphate. With the Middle Period, Sufi ideas were similarly consolidated. Compendia were compiled, biographies (or Seljukid and Ayyubid rulers were prominent examples who then, in hagiographies) were collected of the early Sufis, and the twelfth century, the first order was developed around the perhaps as a result of their lesser religious roles, the generals teachings of Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166) of were more inclined to shore their regimes with the support of Baghdad. A highly respected and popular preacher, al-Jilani introduced religious tendencies. They supported the building of schools a large number of people to the simple insights of Sufi for legal and theological groups, and also embarked upon experience. His order has become the most widespread extensive architectural projects of mosques, mausoleums, and in the Muslim world, and many others have followed it in Sufi lodges. Mottahedeh's analysis has suggested that support form. The orders in general grew out of the strong relation for the religious projects was not motivated only by insecurity between a Sufi teacher and his disciple, and the additional rites, or deep religious feelings and convictions. He argued prescribed to experience God through remembrance (dhikr). that in this period the system of land grants (iqta') to governors and soldiers made this the most important means of But acquiring and cultivating land. In this context, pious endowments (waqf) made by wealthy and political elites created a chief religious institutions in this period. Both the school of law relatively autonomous space that escaped these land grants, law (madhhab) and Sufi order (tariqa) became complementary ways of and were therefore favored by wealthy patrons of religious being a Muslim in the Middle Period. Not every Muslim life in general, and religious institutions in particular. Through

would belong to a Sufi order as they would adopt a school or the waqf then, religious practices were granted a degree of identity a jurist, but Sufism became a prevalent badge of identity autonomy and independence in a period of often-great mili- identity as well. The legal school and tariqa were the promitary conflict. nent institutions that gave shape to religious life in the Middle Period. Both assumed the presence of a political authority that As mentioned already, Islamic juridical thought origi- authority that supported Islamic law, even though not always nated early during the caliphate. Shi ite imams and other very consistently. But the legal schools and the orders gave teachers started outlining rules and conditions for the per- shape to the religious spheres that were created in the early caliphate. formance of personal religious duties and the application of public law. During the Middle Period, the elaboration and articulation of legal theory and practices continued. But now Modern Period distinct identities emerged around prominent scholars and The next major transformation of religious institutions octheir students. In Sunni Islam, the Middle Period witnessed curred with the impact of Western (European) hegemony. The armies the consolidation of four legal schools, linking themselves to the generals and the sultans first lost to the

588

Islam and the Muslim World

Religious Institutions

Europeans on the battlefields, followed by direct occupation in the legal systems of the new states. But the central idea of the modern state is not rejected, and the greater degree of period of Islamic history has also spawned its unique institu- instrumentalization of religion in the state is not questioned. By and tions, continuing from the past in some sense and inventing large, the idea of the Islamic state is a marriage new features in the new political contexts. between the modern state and the sultanates of the Middle Period. The modern Muslim state, advocating a greater or lesser degree In the central lands of Islam (the Ottoman sultanate, Iran, of Islamization, is a unique religious institution. It is and Egypt) the modern period witnessed an intense conflict neither completely free from the influence of traditional Islamic between the political rulers and the ulema. The former patterns and institutions, the caliphate and the legal schools, wanted to modernize the state and society as quickly as nor from modern notions of state. So far the first and

possible in order to emulate and compete with the Western most successful of such states has been the Islamic Republic of Iran powers that were defeating them on the battlefields, while the (established 1979).

latter regarded most of these changes as a direct threat to their own positions in society and to Islam as a way of life. In But the modern period has also given rise to a different kind of the nineteenth century, individual religious scholars supported some aspects of modernization, and promoted some product of secular states, and are most clearly noticeable in form of reformist interpretation of Islam. But the ulema as a countries of minority Muslim contexts such as India, Africa south of the Sahara, and more recently Europe and America. In the orders. Sometimes they were violently suppressed in the state secular context, religion is relatively free from direct influence, and vice versa. In such conditions, Muslims have tained control and through which they enjoyed some independence were confiscated or nationalized. In varying degrees, pious endowments, and burial grounds into more independent what emerged in the modern period was a political space dent religious institutions. The development of these institutions has been closely tied with local historical contexts, but

has drawn on resources and patterns of autonomy in the Middle Period In this context, the state in Islamic society was transformed into a powerful entity that controlled all aspects of of new technologies of communication (the radio, Internet, life, including religion. Religion, in this case Islam, became and satellite), such independent institutions have proliferated as an instrument to bring about change and modernization, and ated. Once their role in secular pluralist societies is identified, they become to keep the incumbents in power. With its long history of easily recognized in Muslim majority countries as well. religious politics, the new state could employ symbols and Such institutions are not always easily visible in majority instruments to further its goals. And yet the new state was neither a continuation of the caliphate nor the military practice of Muslims. Only the political control and monopsultanates of the Middle Period. The new state accepted the oly of Islam in the modern state prevents their explosive rights, privileges, boundaries, and limitations of a modern

proliferation.

state, and, like other modern states, it used religion for its particular political purposes. The new state could be a mon- See also Arabic Language; Empires: Abbasid; Empires: archy based on the prestige of the family of the Prophet Sassanian; Empires: Umayyad; Ibadat; Identity, Mus- lim; Islam (Jordan and Morocco) or a revivalist religious movement and Islamic; Khirqah; Khutba; Masjid; Mate- rial (Saudi Arabia), a socialist or capitalist one-party state (Iraq, Culture.

Syria, and Egypt), or a secular republic based on universal suffrage (Turkey). In spite of their diversity, the acceptance of BIBLIOGRAPHY

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589

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The concept that comes closest to revolution in early Islam is
Abdulkader Tayob fitna (civil strife), used in reference to three civil
wars that
occurred in the first 125 years of Islamic history. The first
civil war (556–561) began with the murder of the third caliph,
Uthman, and ended after the assassination of the fourth
REPUBLICAN BROTHERS caliph,
Ali. Its consequence was the transfer of the caliphate
to Mu awiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty. The
The Republican Brothers is a Sudanese organization advosecond fitna (680–692)
began after the death of Mu awiya and
cating Islamic reformation that follows the teachings of
ended with the victory of the Marwanid branch of his dynasty.
Mahmud Muhammad Taha (d. 1985). Taha originally estab-
The third civil war began within the Umayyad dynasty, with
lished a small political party advocating Sudanese indepen the rebellion of
Yazid III against Walid II in 744, and
dence in 1945, but following a profound religious experience
continued until the defeat of Marwan II and the overthrow of
in 1951, he gradually transformed the Republican Party into a

the Umayyads by the Abbasids in 750. The rise of the reformist brotherhood. Taha called for a comprehensive Abbasids was viewed as a new turn (dawla) in power. That rethinking of the nature of Islamic law, giving emphasis to term, dawla, came to mean the state as the Abbasid rule gender equality and religious pluralism, and a new vision of what Islamic society should be. This vision came to be called continued for centuries. Modern scholarship concurs that “The Second Message of Islam.” The Republican Brothers this change of dynasty in the mid-eighth century was of were not politically activist. They did not establish a political fundamental importance and generally refers to it as the Abbasid party during the eras of parliamentary politics in Sudan revolution. (1956–1958, 1964–1969, 1985–1989) and were not active in If revolution is taken to mean a fundamental change in the opposition to the military regimes. However, in 1983 Taha political order and its social base, then the rise of Islam itself opposed the imposition of a form of Islamic law by the can be considered a revolution. The rise of Islam (622–632) military regime of President Ja far al-Numayri, a position for was primarily a religious revolution that saw itself as the which he was executed in 1985. Although the Republican realization of Messianism, but it entailed a political revolution in Arabia and immediate expansion into the Roman and of their leader, Taha’s teachings gained increasing visibility Persian empires. Muhammad succeeded in creating a unified among Muslims around the world. The leading representacomunity and state out of the segmentary tribal society of tive of this school of thought is Abdullahi An-Na im, one of Arabia. He mobilized those who accepted Islam as a new Taha’s students who, as an expatriate, developed Taha’s monotheistic religion for “struggle (jihad) in the path of thinking further and became a prominent Muslim scholar in the field of human rights and international law. God,” and unified the refractory tribes of Arabia on the basis of the acceptance of his Prophecy. Immediately upon completion See also Modernity; Reform: Arab Middle East and the unification of Arabia after his death, his successors, the North Africa. caliphs, redirected the energy the Prophet had thus

590

Islam and the Muslim World Revolution

mobilized, turning their attention toward the conquest of the Mahdi,

Muhammad b. Abdallah b. al-Hasan, finally rose under the Byzantine and Persian empires. The result of their efforts was the latter's leadership in 762, but their rebellion was the exportation of Islam and its gradual spread through vast suppressed with much bloodshed.

conquered lands, from North Africa to Central Asia and northern India. Effects of the Abbasid Revolution

The Abbasid revolution was the social revolution of Islam, The subject populations of these conquered lands were and created a more integrated polity defined in terms of converted to Islam only very gradually. Under the Umayyads Islam. The subject populations became integrated into the (660–750), the Muslim empire remained an Arab empire. Abbasid Empire as Muslims in their own right, and no longer The non-Arabs who converted to Islam became the clients lived as disprivileged clients of the Arabs. The Abbasid (mawali) of the Arabs, and did not have a share in political caliphs embarked on an empirewide recruitment of the new power. As the number of people in the client class grew in the political elite from the local notable families as well as the second quarter of the eighth century, so did their demand for Arab tribal aristocracy, and opened their bureaucracy more equal treatment as fellow believers in Islam. A movement widely to Iranians and Nestorian Christians. Military careers with this as its aim gained momentum among the converts of were opened to Iranian and, later, Turkish converts. Non-Islam in Khurasan and Central Asia, whose adherents later Arab Muslims were not only integrated into the Abbasid became known as the Murji a, but in fact called themselves imperial administration and armies but also fully participated “the people for equality.” in the cultural elaboration of Islam as a universalist religion of salvation, making major contributions to the collection of the The Shi ite sects took advantage of the discontent among traditions of the Prophet (hadith) and the development of the mawali to form underground revolutionary organizations Islamic law, and even to the development of the Arabic on behalf of different branches of the House of the Prophet, language as Islam's lingua franca.

raising these as alternatives to the ruling Umayyads. These After the second civil war, which ended in 692, the clandestine revolutionaries made messianic claims for their caliphate had gradually been transformed from a regime of leaders as the Mahdi, the reviver of religion and redeemer of patriarchal rule over a coalition of nomadic conquerors into the world. They remained united, however, by not naming

an imperial government employing Arab-speaking clients
 their messianic leader. Rather, he was anonymously referred
 into its bureaucracy. This process was completed after the
 to as the one to be agreed upon (al-rida) from the House of
 Abbasid revolution, and an elaborate central government
 Muhammad.

emerged, divided into a number of departments (diwans): a
 The Shi'ites favored the House of Ali (the Prophet's son- chancery, an
 imperial postal and inspection service, and
 in law) and were mostly active in Medina and Kufa. But the taxation and
 army bureaus, each functioning under a wazir.

party of the House of Abbas (the Prophet's uncle) began Thus, like
 modern social revolutions, the Abbasid revolution
 proselytizing in Khurasan. The Abbasid leader, Abu Muslim, resulted in
 the centralization of administration and concentration began his open rebellion in
 Khurasan while the Umayyad concentration of power, inaugurating an era of
 caliphal absolutism.

Empire was torn by an internecine civil war after a period of
 See also Assassins; Empires: Abbasid; Empires: Umayyad;
 military overextension in North Africa. An army recruited by
 Fitna; Shi'a: Early; Succession.

Abu Muslim defeated the governor of Khurasan and several
 Umayyad armies in Iran, and, finally, the last Umayyad

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caliph, Marwan II, near the river Zab in northern Mesopotamia
 in 750. The Khurasanian army proceeded to Kufa, brought Humphreys, R.
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the Abbasid family out of hiding, and proclaimed one of
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Abbas (750–754), and the real consolidation of Abbasid Khayyats,
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power took place under his brother and successor, Abu Ja'far,
 who later assumed the title of al-Mansur (754–775).

Saïd A. Arjomand

The first step in the consolidation of Abbasid power was ISLAMIC
 REVOLUTION IN IRAN

the elimination of Abu Muslim, in 755. Then came Abu The Iranian
 Revolution, which occurred between 1978 and

Ja'far's break with Shi'ism and his other former revolutionary 1979, has
 been called the last major revolution of the twentieth century. Descendants of the

House of Ali were not only the 20th century. It marked the end of the rule of monarch Reza excluded from power but also persecuted. Abu Ja'far's former Shah Pahlavi and the beginning of the establishment of a theocratic state in Iran. It was urban based, meaning that

Islam and the Muslim World

591

Revolution

During the Iranian Revolution of 1978–1979, mass demonstrations rather than a concerted military effort brought the end of the rule of monarch Reza Shah Pahlavi. Here, with posters of the Ayatollah Khomeini (who replaced the shah after the Revolution), the Iranian army shows its solidarity with street protesters. GETTY IMAGES

many of the revolutionary groups were from the city and not the shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, maintained total control over the peasants from the periphery. The main political instruments over the Majlis (national assembly), the cabinet, the bureau that brought down the shah's regime were strikes and mass demonstrations, and Iran's political parties. Restricted freedom, arbitrary decisions, and political repression by the Ministry of the overarching ideology of the revolution was that of Shi'ite Security (known as SAVAK), as well as widespread corruption, Islam cloaked in third-world sentiments, it was in actuality a combination, cronyism, and bureaucratic inefficiency, are all cited by many multiclass coalition of widely disparate groups, from liberal observers as the ultimate forces that finally led to the downfall of the shah.

The anti-shah movement was also largely detached from the international context, with little direct military or In addition, the Pahlavi dynasty's claim to legitimacy was political support from outside Iran. The Iranian Revolution irreparably damaged after the August 1953 coup, which was so spontaneous and unexpected that it took many analysts organized by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and British intelligence, overthrew the democratically elected government and September of 1978, U.S. intelligence reports still indicated that opposition groups did not pose a threat to the shah and reinstated the young shah to the throne. In the mid-1970s, human rights organizations and the Western press

started a campaign against violations of human rights in Iran
The Failure of the Pahlevi Regime and
criticized the shah for the mistreatment of political
The shah's autocratic rule is widely viewed to be an important
prisoners. The administration of U.S. president Jimmy Carter
factor contributing to the rise of revolutionary action. The sought to
compel the shah to be more observant of human

592

Islam and the Muslim World

Revolution

rights, but hoped to avoid destabilizing Iran or jeopardizing government
under the leadership of the faqih, or Muslim
the close ties between the two countries. Responding to jurist. In
the early 1970s, Khomeini moved to Paris, which
increasing criticism, the shah decided to permit a limited had a
growing population of Iranian expatriots. There he
amount of public discourse. Unfortunately, the public per- gathered
other exiled opposition leaders around him.
ceived the shah's liberalization process as a sign of weakness.
Further exacerbating the situation was the shah's massive Two
social groups were very much disaffected by the
modernization program (the so-called White Revolution of shah's
rule/policies, the bazaaris (merchants) and the ulema.
1962) and his embrace of westernization, both of which These
established close ties with one another, and proved to
alienated large parts of Iranian society. The White Revolu- be a
formidable alliance, in which the bazaaris provided
tion embodied a variety of economic and social initiatives, financial
support to the ulema through the payment of tithes.
including land reform, public ownership of industries, In return
for this financial support, the religious community
enfranchisement of women, profit-sharing for workers, and a provided
the leadership and organizational backbone for the
literacy corps to implement compulsory education in rural
antigovernment alliance.
areas. However, it was opposed by landowners, who were
afraid that they would lose the main source of their wealth, Iran's
estimated 8,000 mosques provided an efficient naand by the ulema, who were
alarmed by the spread of secular tionwide communication network. The
mosques served as
education and the propagation of anti-Islamic values. centers for
dissent, political organization, agitation, and sanctuary. In this context,
revolutionary Shi ite Islam was rapidly
Heedless of his subjects' growing dissatisfaction, the shah transformed
into a discursive ideology that transcended class
set forth to westernize Iranian society, patterning it along differences

and social divisions and provided an effective American lines. This process of the Americanization of Iranian society was undertaken with the help of American followers. When the shah's minister of information planners. Military personnel and U.S. advisors were granted article in a daily newspaper attacking Khomeini legal latitude so broad as to constitute personal immunity attempting to discredit him, protesting religious students from prosecution. The shah failed to realize that his plans for staged sit-ins, which in turn led to violent repression modernization, intended to foster a political environment from the shah. Some time later, several hundred demonstrators capable of sustaining the nation's political and economic growth, neglected to recognize the importance of government suppression of nongrowth, neglected to recognize the importance of religion violent protests, an event that came to be known as the "Black and culture in Iranian society. Friday massacre" and "Jahle square massacre."

The Rise of the Ayatollah The deaths of the demonstrators were used to inspire a The Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini denounced the shah's further round of protests. Mourning processions were staged modernization program, focusing his attacks on the new to commemorate the protestors, hailing them as heroes and electoral law enfranchising women and the referendum that martyrs. Ayatollah Khomeini himself was viewed by many as endorsed the White Revolution. He declared the new elec- the charismatic leader and provided the inspiration for the toral law un-Islamic and the referendum unconstitutional. revolutionary movement. He was one of half a dozen Shi ite Khomeini called upon his followers to protest, leading to the marja -e taqlid (source of emulation), a position that permitriots that erupted in 1963, but such public demonstrations ted him to widely publicize his views, but it was his pre-exile were brutally crushed by the shah. Khomeini was arrested vehemence against the shah that garnered him his most and detained in Tehran for two months. In late 1964, when fervent followers. Indeed, his vehement political stand against the shah extended diplomatic immunity to his American the shah, which led to his exile in 1964. Khomeini was also credited military advisors, Khomeini accused the ruler of betraying with expounding the theory of government that Iran and endangering Islam. claimed that during the Mahdi's absence the community could only be governed by a velayat-e faqih. He could be the

This time Khomeini was deported to Turkey, from where only person to execute God's will on behalf of the Hidden Imam, he subsequently moved to the holy city of Najaf, in Iraq. In his agency with the mandate to rule both politically and years in exile he continued to attack the shah's policies, and spiritually. His conceptual reformulation of the original denounced the whole institution of monarchy, confronted nally quietist precept was innovative.

the religious establishment through a series of lectures condemning the ulema as apolitical, and organized his growing Postrevolutionary Government cadre of supporters. It was during those years that he pro- Although antimodernization and anti-Western sentiment duced his most famous handbook, Velayat-e faqih hokumat-e played an important role in the downfall of the Pahlevi Islami (The jurist's guardianship: Islamic government), in dynasty, economic factors were also important. Industrial which he argued that the shah's monarchy was incompatible development did take place in Iran, but it proceeded very with Islam and that true Muslims must strive for an Islamic unevenly and was dependent on the state, oil revenues, and

Islam and the Muslim World

593

Revolution

external technology. The oil sector expanded or contracted primarily in response to the world market, rather than to domestic economic needs. Partially as a result of this, Iran experienced a phase of hyperinflation, growing unemployment, a rising cost of living, and an erosion of business confidence. All of this resulted in a decline in private investment and in massive capital flight, totaling more than \$100 million a month in 1975 and 1976. Strikes by oil workers and bank employees further devastated the economy of the shah's regime.

In the aftermath of the revolution, the political situation was inflamed by the struggle between secular and religious forces, by the existence of rival bases of power, and the emergence of autonomous revolutionary organizations. As the central state disintegrated, local, self-appointed committees (komitehs) were formed to carry out the basic tasks of security and administration. In February 1979, revolutionary tribunals staffed by religious judges were set up to pass sentence on former officials of the shah's regime, as well as on private individuals who were accused of counterrevolutionary activities. In May 1979, Khomeini ordered the formation of the Pasdaran, an armed force that was distinct from the

regular army and deployed against opponents of the revolution. In an attempt to provide an organizational structure to the ideology of the Islamic revolution, a group of ayatollahs close to Khomeini formed the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) in mid-1979. The IRP sought to mobilize popular support for the Islamic Republic and to discredit the secular moderates. An effigy of the Statue of Liberty in a demonstration in Tehran

The religious forces, led by Khomeini, used political during a 2002 rally to mark the twenty-third anniversary of Iran's Islamic Revolution. Tens of thousands of Iranians gathered to maneuvering, propaganda, and terror to eliminate all opposi- protest repeated US condemnations of their country. GETTY IMAGES

tion. The Mujahedin-e Khalq (an anticlerical opposition organization) were forced underground, and members of the Tudeh Party (Labor-Communist Party) and the Fedayin-e to screen and, if necessary, modify all legislation issued from Islam (Devotees of Islam, a religio-political organization) the Majlis before passing it on to the faqih for his approval, were either jailed or executed. Throughout this period of and to ensure that all candidates for Iran's newly established consolidation, clerics and their supporters effectively elimipresidency possessed the proper Islamic credentials. It is the nated the secular nationalist faction and other opponents to faqih and the Majlis that select the members of the council. their rule. The chaotic postrevolutionary situation was ulti- The first presidential and legislative elections were held in mately clarified by a national referendum on the future of early 1980, and again resulted in sweeping victories for Iran that resulted in an overwhelming victory for Khomeini's Khomeini's handpicked candidates.

vision of an Islamic Republic. Elections for a Constituent Assembly charged with drafting a constitution for the Islamic See also Imamate; Iran, Islamic Republic of; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Republic were also won by Khomeini's supporters and fur- Velayat-e Majlis; Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi; Faqih.

ther consolidated the authority of the religious forces. The resultant constitution institutionalized the principle of the velayat-e faqih (rule by a supreme religious leader). The BIBLIOGRAPHY constitution also created a 270-seat Majlis to write and pass Arjomand, Said Amir. The Turban for the Crown. Oxford: Oxford new laws subject to the faqih's (that is, Khomeini's) approval. University Press, 1988.

The Assembly of Experts—an elected body of seventy to Milani, Mohsen M. The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution. From eighty eminent Islamic scholars—was made responsible for Monarchy to Islamic Republic. 2d ed. Boulder, Colo.:

such high matters of state as revising the constitution and Westview Press, 1994.

selecting a successor to the faqih. A twelve-member Council of Guardian, selected by the faqih and the Majlis, was created
Kristian P. Alexander

594

Islam and the Muslim World Revolution

MODERN 1950s, and
in Yemen, Libya, and the Sudan in the 1960s,
Modern revolutions are generally viewed as part of the
proclaiming them to be revolutions. These events became
process of political modernization. Although marking a break- understood
as a revolutionary wave washing across the Arab
down in the process of state-building and constituting a world, and
were primarily motivated by Arab nationalism. Of
radical rupture with the past, they are often caused by obsta- these
regime changes by the military, the two cases with the
cles in the path of political modernization and can result in strongest
claim to being considered modern revolutions are
far-reaching political transformation. The first wave of mod- the July
1952 revolution in Egypt and the July 1958 revoluern revolutions in the Islamic
world occurred in the first tion in Iraq, both of which overthrew
monarchies and estabdecade of the twentieth century, in reaction to the
suspension lished republics.
or frustration of the attempts at political reform.
Army officers were among the first groups to receive a
Early-Twentieth-Century Constitutional Revolutions modern,
Westernized education in the Middle East. Imbued
Popular agitation for reform in Iran began in 1905, and with ideas
of nationalism and modernization of the state, they
forced the shah to order elections for a parliament and to were
considered “intellectuals in uniform” in the 1950s. In
grant Iran a constitution in 1906. It is therefore appropriately July 1952,
a group of Egyptian officers of the rank of colonel
called the “Constitutional Revolution.” The ailing Mozaffar or
below, who called themselves the Free Officers, overthrew
al-Din Shah died shortly after signing the constitution at the the ruling
monarchy of the descendants of Muhammad Ali
end of December 1906. No sooner had the second part of the
(1804–1841). They proclaimed a republic and named a reconstitution (the
Supplementary Fundamental Law) taken spected army general its
president. The real power, however,
effect in October 1907 than serious trouble began between was in the
hands of the leader of the Free Officers, Col. Jamal
the constitutionalists and his successor. The Shi ite religious Abd

al-Nasser (1918–1970), who abolished all political parties that had been prominent in mobilizing popular agitation in 1953 and proscribed the Muslim Brotherhood in 1954.

for the constitution, but were split when the secularizing place he created the Liberation Rally, followed by the implications of parliamentary legislation became clear to Union in 1956, which became the Arab Socialist Union. The young Muhammad Ali Shah formed an alliance after Nasser's adoption of socialism as the ideology of with the Shiite traditionalists, suspended the constitution, Egyptian state in 1961. Nasser immediately championed and restored autocratic rule in 1908. Constitutional government was restored, however, after his defeat and ouster in that it was sometimes called "Nasserism." He July 1909. succeeded in bringing about a United Arab Republic, to which Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Libya adhered for brief periods. The Turkish revolution of 1908 was also the result of a war against Israel in 1967 was primarily justified in constitutionalist movement, this time led by the Young Turks in terms of Arab nationalism, and the defeat of the Arab coalition organized by their Committee of Union and Progress. It was taken as a clear signal of its failure and of the failure began with scattered revolts of military units led by army officers who belonged to the movement. They ultimately forced Sultan Abd al-Hamid (1842–1918) to restore the In July 1958, the Iraqi Free Officers overthrew the Hashimite Ottoman Constitution of 1876, after a thirty-year gap. The British monarchy that had been established under the Committee of Union and Progress won a decisive majority in British protectorate in 1921. They declared Iraq a republic, the parliamentary elections of that year. In April 1909, with General Abd al-Karim Qasim (1914–1963) as its prime minister. however, the sultan instigated an abortive counterrevolution- minister. The revolution set in motion an intense competitive uprising in Istanbul among traditionalist religious students and officers who had been purged from the old army Party and the pan-Arab Ba'ath Party. This competition culminated in an insurrection that brought the Ba'ath party into power in February 1963, and General Qasim was executed that year. deposed in favor of his brother. The Young Turks amended the constitution and strengthened the power of parliament,

and remained in power until the end of the First World War. Nationalism was the defining feature of the Egyptian and Iraqi revolutions, and it was most clearly reflected in the program of administrative reform and military modernization. foreign policies of these countries. The idea of social reform was not absent, and both regimes carried out land reforms. The Arab World After the Second World War The main impact of the respective revolutions on their economies The modern revolutions of the Arab Middle East occurred and societies was, however, the result of the adoption after the end of the Second World War. Following the of socialism and a wave of nationalizations in Egypt in 1961, fashion of the time, especially in Latin America, military and the coming to power of the Ba th Party in Iraq officers carried out coups d'état in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq in the in 1963.

Islam and the Muslim World

595

Reza Shah

The Iranian Experiment War. In October 1923 he became Prime Minister. He organized the most important revolution in the twentieth-century deposition of the reigning monarch, Ahmad Shah Qajar, and Middle East, and the one with the greatest social and international impact, was the Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran. Although it fits the pattern of revolution as part of the process Immediately after the coup, Reza Khan began the task of of modernization of the state, its unique feature was the constructing a modern army and, using this army, he then proceeded to replace Islam for constitutionalism, nationalism, and regional to suppress the autonomy of the tribes and the socialism as the ideology of revolutionary transformation. magnates, later he adopted a policy of enforced number of sedentarization of the nomadic tribes. In the late 1920s, a including See also Modernization, Political: Constitutionalism; radical, centralizing reforms were introduced, series of Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa; Revolution: the secularization of the judicial system, as well as a etatiste economic measures. In 1935, following a visit to Ataturk's Turkey, he banned female veiling.

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increasingly authoritarian and finally dictatorial. His New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. brutality, which included the murder of many of his closest Arjomand, S. A. *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. supporters, and his mania for land acquisition, through which he had become the largest landowner in the country, made his Batatu, H. *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movement of Iraq*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978. regime country's independence after the outbreak of the Second World War, and on 25 August 1941 British and Soviet armies Godron, J. *Nasser's Blessed Moment. Egypt's Free Officers and invaded Iran*. On 16 September he was obliged to abdicate in the July Revolution. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. order to secure the succession for his son. Reza Shah went into exile in South Africa.

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Stephanie Cronin
Saïd A. Arjomand

RIBA

REZA SHAH (1878–1944)

Of all the economic proscriptions in the Qur'an, the most Shah Reza Khan was the founder and first shah of the Pahlavi controversial has been the ban on riba, the pre-Islamic lending practice held responsible for pushing destitute Arab borrowers into enslavement. According to some early Muslims, this ban was meant to cover all interest, regardless of form, context, or magnitude; for others, the ban's intended scope was

limited to exorbitant interest charges. Although Mazandaran, Iran, and joined the Russian-officered Iranian restrictive definition triumphed, as a matter of practice Cossack Brigade. In 1920 the British officer Major-General and taking of interest continued, at times through Sir Edmund Ironside organized the removal of the Russian legal ruses (hiyal), often more or less openly. officers and placed Reza Khan in command of the Iranian cossacks at Qazvin. From Qazvin, Reza Khan, in partnership latest chapter of this old controversy was ignited in with the pro-British journalist, Sayyed Ziya al-Din Tabataba i, the 1940s by the emergence of “Islamic economics,” a school of thought launched a coup, taking control of Tehran on 21 February 1921. operations. The accomplishments of this school include the establishment of Islamic banks in over seventy countries and After the coup, Reza Khan received the title of Sardar-e the banning of interest in three of them: Pakistan, Iran, and Sipah (army commander) and in May became Minister of the Sudan. Islamic banks claim that they avoid giving or

596

Islam and the Muslim World

Ritual

taking interest, but they have found it impractical to obey their own charters. Interest is disguised under a variety of Charles C. Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad Abduh. New York: Russell and Russell, 1968. Various critics of Islamic economics, including secular Kerr, Malcolm H. Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal economists and Islamic modernists, believe that the goal of Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. eradicating interest is both misguided and unfeasible. Distin- guishing between riba and ordinary interest, these critics hold that interest is indispensable to any complex economy, that Sohail H. Hashmi competitive financial markets limit interest charges, and that bankruptcy laws now exist to protect borrowers against the horrors once produced by riba.

RITUAL

See also Economy and Economic Institutions.

Ritual is a term that indicates more or less fixed acts and

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take place at certain recurrent moments and in Chapra, M. Umer. *Towards a Just Monetary System*. Leicester, which certain bodily gestures, words, music, and material U.K.: Islamic Foundation, 1985. objects may play a role.

Kuran, Timur. "The Economic Impact of Islamic Fundamentalism." In *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Theories Politics, Economies, and Militance*. Edited by Martin E. In the past, the word ritual referred to religious ritual acts and Marty and R. Scott Appleby. Chicago: University of to the rules regarding these acts. Therefore, the Roman Catholic Chicago Press, 1993. Catholic Rituale Romanum (1614) and the famous Islamic work on Islamic ritual and law, the *Mukhtasar* of the Malikiite Timur Kuran scholar Khalil ibn Ishaq al-Jundi (b. c. 1374), are comparable phenomena in the sense that they both prescribe rituals.

Early twentieth-century scholars of religion such as Sigmund Freud and the biologist Julian Huxley began to use the word RIDA, RASHID (1865–1935) ritual in a much broader meaning. Freud used it to describe compulsive acts and movements of neurotic patients, and Rashid Rida was the most prominent disciple of Muhammad Huxley for certain animal acts and behaviors. Since then

Abduh and one of the most influential scholars and jurists of there has been a tendency to use ritual in a broad sense.

his generation. Rida was born near Tripoli, in present-day Hence, rituals can no longer be associated solely with the domain of Lebanon. His early education consisted of training in tradi- fields of tional Islamic subjects and a brief, disenchanting exposure to public and private life; for example, in political life, war, the secular curriculum of the Ottoman government school in festivals, and feasts.

Tripoli. His reformist views began to form in 1884–1885 when he was first exposed to Jamal al-Din Afghani's and Many nineteenth-century students of religion, particu- larly

Abduh's journal *al-Urwa al-wuthqa* (The firmest grip). In those educated in the tradition of liberal, modern theol- ogy and

1897, Rida left Syria for Cairo to collaborate with Abduh. later the phenomenologists of religion, tended to

The following year he launched *al-Manar*, first a weekly and view ritual as merely an illustration of religious beliefs and myths. At

then a monthly journal comprising Qur'anic commentary the other end of the spectrum, scholars such as William

(begun by Abduh, continued by Rida, but never completed) Robertson-Smith and Émile Durkheim held the

and opinions on pressing legal, political, and social issues of opposite view, namely that ritual is more basic than beliefs. the day. Like Abduh, Rida based his reformist principles on Later scholars have tried to overcome the belief-action dichotomy by formulating notions such as *habitus* (learned *mu amalat* (social relations). Human reason has little scope in techniques, including such basic activities as running, etc.) the former and Muslims should adhere to the dictates of the and discourse/discursive practice (Talal Asad) which stresses Qur'an and hadith. The laws governing *mu amalat* should the embodied nature of beliefs or the unity of actions and conform to Islamic ethics but on specific points may be beliefs. Four brief theoretical observations should be made. continually reassessed according to changing conditions of different generations and societies. Unlike Abduh, Rida 1. In the course of time, rituals may change. In general, the *salaf* (the "pious ancestors" as authoritative eral, they tend to become more complex. There interpreters of Islamic tradition) to include only the Prophet's fore, in many religions (including Islam) ritual companions and immediate successors. specialists exist. These ritual specialists have different names in different parts of the world and in See also Abduh, Muhammad. different religious settings. The pilgrimage to

Islam and the Muslim World

597

Ritual

Mecca, a very complex ritual, is guided by special- with God in prayer, or as Sura 51:56 has it: "Jinn and humans ists as well. are created only to worship God." In the *salat*, the Qur'an is to 2. The meaning of rites may be subject to be recited as if it were revealed onto the believer's heart. The reinterpretation. For example, according to mod- performance of the *salat* includes a number of more or less fixed bodily ernist interpretations, purity rules have their back- movements, which express core religious values. ground in hygiene, that is, they claim that the According to tradition, during the *salat* the believer speaks original meaning of these regulations has its base with his Lord. In the *salat*, there is also space for saying invocations of a in conceptions of clean and dirty, thereby diminishing their religious, symbolic, meaning. For ex- Islamic rituals, for example those involved in saint veneration,

ample, in traditional Islam, a menstruating woman are in one way or the other related to notions of purity. A well-known tradition is not allowed to perform the salat (ritual prayer) says, "Purity is half the faith." The overall term for these notions is tahara, which means purity. The modernists argue that it is permitted to her not to do so, on account of her being ill. Such interpretations are Rites of Passage or Life Cycle Rituals. Rites of passage mark the biological and spatial transitions in for obvious reasons called "medical materialism." They attempt to give a modern, "scientific" human life and give them cultural meaning. Sometimes the explanation. rites occur at the same time as the biological transition themselves, but they may occur earlier or later. Important 3. In many periods of Islamic history, reformists steps towards a theory of ritual structures have been made by have criticized ritual behavior that deviated from Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner. Van Gennep noted orthodox norms and values. This criticism is esthe threefold structure of rites of passage in the life cycle and ppecially apparent in the orthodox reform moveterritorial passages. Each rite of passage is marked by phases ment of the end of the nineteenth century of separation, transition (the so-called liminal phase, from (Muhammad Abduh [1849–1905], Muhammad the Latin word limen, threshold), and incorporation or Rashid Rida [1865–1935]), but we also come across reaggregation. it in the work of the neo-modernist Fazlur Rahman (1910–1988). He sharply criticizes forms of Sufism The most important rites of passage in Muslim religious for teaching superstitionism, miracle mongering, life are: the naming and birth ritual (subu , aqiqa), circumcitomb-worship, mass-hysteria and, of course, sion, marriage, funerary rites, and the commemorative mourncharlatanism (Islam, p. 246). ing rites that follow at certain fixed periods.

4. The existence of historical meanings does not mean that all participants in rituals are fully aware Depending on the stages in life, these three stages get different values, of these meanings. Muslims in the Netherlands, for example, by the complexity of the rites to be performed. One when asked about the meaning of shaving one's example is a child's initiation ritual in Islam, which is hair on the occasion of the aqiqa ritual (see be- carried out on the seventh day after birth. The

low), simply answered that it was part of their rite involves three interrelated elements: sacrifice of an animal (usually a sheep, aqiqah), the name-giving rite, and shaving (Dessing, p. 30ff). In other words, shaving the hair of the baby.

Rituals may drift out of meaning or acquire new meaning in changed circumstances, for example, An instance of a separation rite preceding these three acts as a result of "transplantation" to a Western country is the bathing of the child, performed in some parts of the world at the beginning of the ritual. The bath symbolizes the separation from the mother (who had kept the child near her). Catherine Bell distinguishes six major categories of rites: until then) and the introduction of the child to the natural world. Rites of passage or "life crisis" rituals; calendrical or communal world. The naming ritual, which confers an Islamic identity; memorative rites; rites of exchange and communion; rites of (often in accordance with the Prophet's injunction to the affliction; rites of feasting, fasting and festivals; and, finally, believers to call themselves by graceful names), and expresses political rites. These categories will be applied here to the its membership in the community, is closely connected to the major Islamic rites. I have added a seventh category, rites of sacrifice. Shaving and sacrifice may be seen as liminal rites, communication. whereas the festive meal that often concludes the ritual and to which the family is invited, is an aggregation ritual.

Rites of Communication

This type of rite mainly serves to communicate with God, Marriage is an important social, juridical event as well as a jinn and zar spirits, or with deceased humans (saints, prophetic life cycle ritual with a number of fixed elements. At many occasions, including marriage rituals, a festive meal ritual). The most important example is the salat, or ritual prayer. According to Islam, it is a human obligation to communicate (walima) is held.

598

Islam and the Muslim World

Ritual

Performing their ablutions before their daily prayer, Muslim schoolboys wash their hands and faces. © MICHAEL S. YAMASHITA/CORBIS

Calendrical Rituals

On

12 Rabi' al-Thani, the third month, the birthday of the

Calendrical rituals include seasonal (often agricultural) rites Prophet

is celebrated. On 27 Rajab, the Laylat al-Mi raj, or and commemorative rites. They are meant to give meaning- ascension of the Prophet to the Heavens, is celebrated. The full social definitions to the passage of time. The first rites are ascension of the Prophet to Heaven via Jerusalem (Isra - closely connected to the changes in the seasons. The second Mi raj) is one of the great symbols of Islam that serves as a commemorative rites recall certain important events. As is (mystical) symbol of the ascension of the believer toward explained in the article on the ibadat, rituals such as the umra God. This is when the number of daily salats was fixed at five. and the hajj are seasonal rites in origin. Because of the Elements of the ritual celebration may include recitation of abolishment of the intercalation in 31 C.E., Islamic rites are no Surat al-isra (Sura 17), followed by commentaries, singing, and the longer tied to the solar calendar, and hence no longer tied to recitation of religious poems. the changes of the seasons. The determination of the new months, by sighting the new moon, acquired ritual signifi- The popularity of the celebration of the fifteenth middle night cance, especially in connection with the beginning and end of of Sha ban can be explained by its age-old associations with the fast in the month of Ramadan. In Islam, the narrative with the Divine which is believed to be made on that night with component in this ritual cycle is perhaps less present than in regard to those who will die the next year. some other religions; nevertheless it appears, for example, in a very outspoken way in the poems about the birth and life of The month of Ramadan is marked by the fast and by Laylat the Prophet, which are recited at various occasions. al-Qadr (27 Ramadan). On 1 Shawwal, the Day of the Breaking of the Fast (Id al-Fitr) is celebrated. The ritual cycle opens with Ashura on 10 Muharram. On Ashura had been a fasting day before the revelation of the 10 Dhu-l-Hijja, the twelfth month of the Islamic year, Id Ramadan fast, and it has remained a voluntary fasting day in al-Adha is celebrated. This ritual marks the end of the year, Sunnite Islam until the present day. For Shiite Muslims but in fact it does not represent the end of the ritual cycle, Ashura is the day on which the martyrdom of the grandson of since there is a clear connection between the id (feast day) the Prophet, al-Husayn, at Karbala in 680 C.E., is commemorated by emotional and at times violent mourning rituals. seen as a rite of passage, in the sense that pilgrims set out for a

Ritual

place “out there,” from which they return with a higher carnival-like rituals such as masquerades, processions, and religious status, that is to say, as hajjis. theater (Hammoudi 1993).

Rites of Exchange and Communion Rituals

Political

The central element in these rites is an offering (sacrifice) or a gift. Major Islamic rites that can be mentioned are the institutions. The early history of Islamic rituals has and the sacrifice at the occasion of Id al-Adha. Moreover, been determined by their relationship to politics. For sacrifice can also take place in other settings, such as the salat al-jum'a (Friday prayers) originally had sion cults (see under rites of affliction). Votive offering may also be included here. Such offerings happen at the graves of the saints. Muhammad's birthday festival also came into being in

These

political

partly

example,

political

body

highly political surroundings, that is, as a palace ritual. It was meant to enhance the position of the Fatimid ruler. It

stressed his bond with the prophet Muhammad and These rituals heal, exorcise, protect, and purify. In Islam, in particular. By giving presents to his most faithful they occur, for example, in the context of saint veneration, the ruler stressed the existing hierarchy in the

his family

servants,

where people seek healing, and in possession cults. Possession state. Later in the Middle East and the Islamic West,

Fatimid

cults are marked by public and private gatherings where celebration often continued to be a court ceremony, but sacrifice, dance and trance are central elements. Those who popular festival as well. The Islamic world knows

the

became a

suffer from particular mental, social or physical problems truly political rites, such as, for example, the

numerous

seek healing by establishing contact with the spiritual world of the accession to the throne in Morocco, or the

celebration

of the jinn and other meta-empirical beings such as the zar. of the death of well-known political figures, such

anniversary

Other examples of (public) rites of affliction are the special in Morocco) that of King Muhammad V.

as (again

salats to be performed at times of drought, or the recitation of

See also Circumcision; Death; Ibadat; Khutba; Law;

Surat Ya Sin (Sura 36) in times of distress.

Marriage; Pilgrimage: Hajj.

Rites of Feasting, Fasting and Festivals

These rites display both the hierarchical prestige social sys-

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tem and the interdependence or unity of human and divine Abu Zaid,
Nasr. The Qur an: Man and God in Communication.

worlds. The two major “canonical” festivals are Id al-Fitr and
Leiden: Leiden University, 2000.

Id al-Adha (another name for the great feast, al- Id al-Kabir). Antoun,
Richard T. “The Social Significance of Ramadan

Id al-Fitr marks the end of Ramadan fast. Ramadan is the in an
Arab Village.” The Muslim World 58 (1968):

sacred month par excellence. This has to do with the commu- 36–42;
95–104.

nal aspects of the fast, which expresses a number of basic Asad,

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values of the Muslim community. As various scholars have D.C.:

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argued, fasting may extol fundamental distinctions, lauding

the power of the spiritual realm, while acknowledging the Bell,

Catherine. Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions. New York,

subordination of the physical realm. According to popular Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1997.

beliefs, the devils (shayatin) and jinn are powerless, while God Bowen, John

R. Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual

is nearer then than during other months. This increased in Gayo

Society. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University

Press, 1993.

religious awareness culminates in Laylat al-Qadr, when, as

some people believe, the gates of heaven are opened. After the

Combs-Schilling, M. E. Sacred Performances. Islam, Sexuality,

salat al- id, people will pay visits to relatives, which often and

Sacrifice. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

includes visits to the graves (ziyarat al-qubur). Denny,

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Id al-Adha on 10 Dhu-l-Hijja, commemorating Ibrahim’s Martin.

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readiness to sacrifice his son, marks the end of the pilgrimage Dessing,

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(the hajj). Another major festival, the Mawlid al-Nabi, grew and Death

among Muslims in the Netherlands. Leuven:

out of the Fatimid Shiite ritual practice (11th century C.E.). Peeters,

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Nowadays, although it is celebrated nearly everywhere (al- Elad,

Amikam. Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy

though exceptions, such as Saudi Arabia, exist), its status as a Places,
 Ceremonies, Pilgrimage. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.
 feast has nevertheless remained controversial until the pres- Goitein,
 Shlomo Dov. "The Origin and Nature of Muslim
 ent time. Friday
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 In Morocco, Ashura is a festival honoring the dead, and Goitein,
 Shlomo Dov. "Ramadan, the Muslim Month of
 during which the participants give alms, eat dried fruit, and
 Fasting." In idem: Studies in Islamic History and Institutions.
 buy toys for their children. It is marked by reversal and Leiden:
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600

Islam and the Muslim World

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Gerard Wiegers

Thirteenth-century mystical Persian poet Jalal al-Din Mohammade Balkhi, above,
 is known as Rumi in the West, where his works
 have been translated widely and have come to represent a
 profound and tolerant vision of Islamic spirituality. He founded

RUMI, JALALUDDIN (1207–1273) the Mevlani
Sufi sect of the Whirling Dervishes. THE ART ARCHIVE/
DAGLI ORTI (A)

Jalaluddin Rumi is the name by which the Persian poet Jalal al-Din Mohammad-e Balkhi is conventionally known in the West. In the Muslim world he is generally called Maulavi or (qadi) in Vakhsh would erase. The resulting conflict, which Maulana (Mevlana in Turkish), meaning, respectively, “my can be dated to about 1208—as well perhaps as larger quesmaster” or “our master,” a title reflecting the veneration in tions of political instability in the region—led Baha al-Din to which he was held by his followers, who formed the Mevlevi move to Samarkand, where Rumi recalls living during the (Maulaviyya) order of dervishes around his writings and Khwarazamshah’s siege of the city, circa 1212. example.

Baha al-Din left eastern Persia (Khorasan) with much of Life his family by about 1216, eventually obtaining positions as The hagiographical sources portray Rumi’s father, Baha al- preacher or teacher in provincial Anatolia, where Persian was Din-e Valad, as one of the most important Hanafi scholars the court language. While the family was in Karaman and theologians of his day, placing his family origins in Balkh (Larende), Rumi’s mother, Mo mena Khatun, died, and Rumi, (near Mazar-e Sharif in modern Afghanistan), one of the four at the age of about seventeen, married Gauhar Khatun, with great urban centers of the eastern Iranian cultural sphere in whom he had two sons, including Sultan Valad (1226–1312), the pre-Mongol period. When Rumi was born in 1207, who would later play an instrumental role in founding the however, Baha al-Din was living in Vakhsh, a small town Mevlevi order. By 1229, Baha al-Din had been invited by located in what is now Tajikistan, acting as an itinerant Sultan Ala al-Din Keiqobad (r. 1219–1237) to transfer to the preacher (va ez) and religious scholar. It does not appear that Seljuk capital in Konya, where he taught until his death two Baha al-Din belonged to any established Sufi order though a years later. In 1232, Baha al-Din’s protégé, Borhan al-Din small group of disciples seems to have gathered around him. Mohaqqueq, arrived from Termez to take over the leadership Inspired by dreams, Baha al-Din began to sign his fatwas as of the disciples. Rumi was sent to Aleppo and Damascus to be “Sultan al-ulema” (“King of the Clerics,” or scholars of educated, and he apparently also underwent a period of religion), an unauthorized title that the local religious judge retreat and fasting under Borhan al-Din’s direction. By the

Rumi, Jalaluddin

time Borhan al-Din died in 1241, Rumi had assumed leadership of Baha al-Din's classes and the circle of disciples circa 1262. It consists of a series of versified anecdotes and tales, often amusing and occasionally quite ribald, varying widely in length, style, and subject matter, and rather loosely organized into six books. The Masnavi illustrates a practical mysticism drawing from the Persian Sufi tradition, provides a poetic commentary on the meaning of the Qur'an and hadith, and ant religious scholar and mystic who came to Konya in 1244. It was perhaps under Shams's influence that Rumi began expounds Rumi's views on many of the theological cruxes composing poetry. Shams's talks (preserved in Maqalat-e of Islam. It is arguably the most widely read and frequently glossed poem Shams-e Tabrizi) demonstrate his strong desire to create an in the Muslim world, from Bosnia to Bengal. authentic form of spirituality that dispensed with pretensions and imitative piety. This attitude possibly detracted from The Divan-e kabir, or Kolliyat-e Shams-e Tabrizi, collects Rumi's reputation as a pious preacher, even though the Rumi's lyrical poems, including some 3300 ghazals, qasidas, and strophic ostensible goal of Shams's spirituality was to closely follow poems, along with just under two thousand quatrains the example of the prophet Muhammad. The curtailing of (ruba'iyat). These poems are characterized by an intense Rumi's teaching activities to devote more attention to Shams sense of transcendent longing or loss; a frequently also led to resentment on the part of some of his disciples. conversational, though philosophically rich, style; and a captivating Apparently in response to this situation, Shams left Konya to have been abruptly in the spring of 1246, sending Rumi into a state of composed, and are often performed, to intrude despair during which he ceased composing poetry. After mental accompaniment). German adaptations by Friedrich Rückert of about a year's absence, Sultan Valad found Shams in Syria some of these poems made an impression on the German and convinced him to return to Konya. Shams, despite a philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and initially marriage to a member of Rumi's extended household, soon

gave Europeans the impression that Rumi was a disappeared again (c. 1248), never again to return to Konya. pantheist. Subsequently, especially after Reynold Nicholson's complete explanatory translation of the *Masnavi* into English, Rumi's sense of loss in frenetic poems (mostly ghazals) that cast English, Rumi became synonymous in the West of a deep and tolerant Shams in the role of spiritual guide, and were indeed fre-Islamic spirituality. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, dozens of popular versions and "translations" of Rumi's poems appeared in English free verse, many by individuals what he had learned from Shams, and even addressed other individuals without any knowledge of the original Persian. individuals, first Salah al-Din the Goldsmith (d. 1258) and Rumi's then Hosam al-Din Chelebi (d. c. 1284), to whom Rumi's prose works include the notes recorded by his Rumi's *Masnavi* is addressed, as spiritual mentors. Throughout his disciples during lectures, informal sermons, and classes (Fihe life, Rumi maintained cordial relations with several Seljuk ma fi h, or Discourses); seven sermons delivered on formal occasions sultans and officials, some of whom expressed their devotion occasions (Majales-e sab a); and a number of letters (Maktubat). and extended their patronage to him. See also Persian Language and Literature. The Mevlevi (Maulaviyya) order of "whirling dervishes," BIBLIOGRAPHY founded in the last quarter of the thirteenth century through Chittick, the efforts of Sultan Valad, bases itself on Rumi's poetry and William. *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachhis practice of "turning" to music and verse (sama). Rumi's ings of Rumi. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983. mausoleum in Konya, though now a museum, has functioned as a shrine and center of the Mevlevi order, which has been Lewis, Franklin. *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West*. Oxford, particularly influential in the history of Sufism in Anatolia, U.K.: Oneworld, 2000. the Balkans, and the Levant. Though this order was not active Rumi, Jalaluddin. *The Mathnawí of Jalálu ddín Rúmí*. In in South Asia, Rumi's poetry was widely read in the subconti- E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series. Edited and translated by Reynold A. Nicholson. London: Luzac & Co., 1925–1940. orders. Rumi's poetry and teachings have continued to exert Rumi, Jalaluddin. *Discourses of Rumi*. Translated by A. J. an important influence on the thinking of Islamic modernists, Arberry. London: J. Murray, 1961.*

such as Muhammad Iqbal in Pakistan, and Abd al-Karim Sorush in Iran. Schimmel, Annemarie. *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rumi*. Rev. ed. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Rumi composed his *Masnavi-ye ma navi* (Spiritual couplets; or Couplets of true meaning), a lengthy mystical-didactic work.
Franklin D. Lewis

602

Islam and the Muslim World

Rushdie, Salman

RUSHDIE, SALMAN (1947–)

Salman Rushdie is a novelist and critic who became a household name after his fictional work, *The Satanic Verses*, was protested by numerous Muslims and Muslim groups. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini pronounced a fatwa (legal opinion) sentencing Rushdie to death, and as a result Rushdie was forced into hiding in England from 1989 to 1998. In later years he moved to the United States, dividing his time between Los Angeles and New York City.

Rushdie was born to Muslim parents in Bombay, India, and was educated at the Cathedral School. In 1961, he left India to attend Rugby, a prestigious boarding school in England. Rushdie then attended King's College, Cambridge, where he wrote a paper on Muhammad and the origins of Islam for part of his honors examination in history. Early literary influences on Rushdie were the *Thousand and One Nights* and the Urdu poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a family friend.

Rushdie's first novel, *Grimus* (1975), was a variation of the medieval Sufi poet Farid al Din Attar's *The Conference of the Birds*. It was a commercial failure. His second novel, *Midnight's Children* (1981), was about the lives of 1001 children

born at the stroke of midnight on India's independence from Britain. This book won him critical acclaim, including the almost a decade when in 1989 the late Ayatollah Khomeini,

1981 Booker Prize. However, Rushdie's satirical portrayal of the Iranian Revolution, issued a fatwa demanding

Rushdie's death. Khomeini and many other conservative Muslim

Indira Gandhi resulted in a lawsuit that was resolved only leaders

believed Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses* blasphemed

after a sentence considered particularly hurtful by Gandhi Islam. CHUCK KENNEDY/GETTY IMAGES

was omitted from subsequent editions. His third novel, *Shame*

(1983), satirized Pakistani politics and politicians, such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and General Zia al-Haqq, in the way that protested against in Islamabad (where six people died during its predecessor had satirized Indian politics. Clearly, Rushdie a riot on 12 February 1989) and Bombay (with twelve people killed in a riot on 24 February 1989). On 14 February 1989, and culture. Khomeini pronounced his death sentence on Rushdie. While distancing itself from Khomeini's death sentence, the eleventh session of The Satanic Verses (1988) was Rushdie's fourth novel, and the Islamic Law Academy of the Muslim World League dealt with the themes of migration, of being a member of a World League (held in Mecca from 10 to 26 February 1989), dark-skinned minority in England, and of the multiple identities issued a statement declaring Rushdie an apostate and recomities that come with being Asian in London. The main character mending that he be prosecuted in a British court, and tried in absentia under the sharia laws of an Islamic country. English as "the Angel Gabriel." Beginning with the second chapter of the book, Gibreel has a series of dreams. The first On the whole, North American responses were much more muted of these features a character named Mahound, who is an case of and peaceful than in other countries. To take the orphan, a businessman living in a city named Jahilia, who case of Toronto, the city with the largest population of Canada's through revelation begins to preach a religion called "Sub-Muslims, there was a deliberate effort made by various mission." This religion is, of course, Islam. In another chapter, Muslim communities to keep the protests nonviolent. The protests in Toronto were not used for political purposes, simply as "the Imam," who is intended to be recognized as the in the same way that they were used in, for example, Iran or India, and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. there was even some sympathy and tolerance expressed for Rushdie. The book was first banned in India on 5 October 1988 at the urging of several Indian Muslim politicians. Subsequently, See also Arabic Literature; Persian Language and Literature; South Asia, Islam in; Urdu Language, Literature; and Poetry. The book was banned in South Africa (24 November 1988), Literature; South Asia, Islam in; Urdu Language, Literature; and Poetry. The book was banned in South Africa (24 November 1988), Literature; South Asia, Islam in; Urdu Language, Literature; and Poetry.

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Amir Hussain

604

Islam and the Muslim World

S

SADAT, ANWAR AL- (1918–1981)

October victory, he was assassinated by Islamist extremists.

Sadat remains a controversial figure at home, and a balanced

The future president of Egypt, Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat,

assessment of him still remains impossible twenty years later.

was born on 25 December 1918 in a Nile Delta town, the son

See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal; *Reform: Arab Middle*

of an army clerk. Sadat grew up in Cairo and entered the

East and North Africa.

military academy in 1938. In the army he joined a Muslim

Brotherhood cell; there he met Jamal Abd al-Nasser and

BIBLIOGRAPHY

other future Free Officers. Patriotic, yet reckless, he contacted German agents

and conspired in the murder of a pro- Beattie, Kirk J. *Egypt*

During the Sadat Years. New York:

British pasha. Recommissioned after eventual acquittal, he

Palgrave, 2000.

regained contact with dissident officers who seized power in

July 1952.

Joel Gordon

A fellow conspirator, Sadat served the Nasser regime in

various capacities. Vice president in 1970, he succeeded

Nasser, supported by power brokers who thought to domi-

SADIQ, JA FAR AL- See Ja far al-Sadiq

nate him. Instead, he purged Nasserist foes in May 1971, then

threw his support to Islamist activists, releasing jailed Muslim

Brothers and allowing others to return from exile. In October 1973 he initiated war against Israel, scoring a political victory that led ultimately to normal relations. In 1974 he proclaimed an “opening” to Western investment and diminution of the public sector. For several years Sadat reaped glory as “hero of the Timurid period (fourteenth century) the sadr referred to the chief, government-appointed officer who oversaw the breaching Israeli defenses across the Suez Canal. In November 1977, after a stunning public declaration, he traveled to appointment of mosque, madrasa, and other religious Jerusalem and addressed the Israeli Knesset. The following personnel; and cared for the poor, needy, and orphans. Up year he accepted an invitation from American president the late sixteenth century, the first Safavid century, Jimmy Carter to join Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin provincial sadrs also existed, but they were not always under at Camp David. The talks paved the way for a peace direct authority of the central-government sadr. treaty in 1979.

The Safavids also formalized the Timurid practice of Sadat became an international celebrity, but economic the responsibilities of the post between two figures, troubles, anti-Israeli sentiment, a surge of intercommunal overseeing the endowments bequeathed by the shah and violence, and his growing aloofness shattered public opti- other those left by private individuals, with the former mism at home. In uncharacteristic fashion, Sadat now turned seemingly the preeminent figure, and gradually also divided against opponents from all political tendencies, secular and authority of the two along geographical lines. As befit the religious. In September 1981 he ordered sweeping arrests of highly personalized nature of Safavid politics, however, one political foes. On 6 October 1981, at a parade marking his individual might hold both posts, and an individual holding

Sadr, Muhammad Baqir al-

another post at court might also be appointed sadr. The post 1959, and by 1969 he was the chairman of the Higher Shi ite was nearly always held by a religious scholar, a sayyid (descen- Council, which he had helped to create in that same year. Aldant of the Prophet), in both Timurid and Safavid times. Sadr led and tried to transform the people of the historically quiescent Shi ite community of Lebanon, who needed cour- BIBLIOGRAPHY age to stake

out a claim in their fractured country. He
 Floor, Willem. "The Sadr or Head of the Safavid Religious advanced
 the notion of ideological Islam, and proposed that
 Administration, Judiciary and Endowments and Other the leader in
 Lebanon should be an imam, much like Ali
 Members of the Religious Administration." Zeitschrift der Shari ati, a
 religious intellectual, had advocated in Iran before
 Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 150 (2000): 461–500. the Islamic
 revolution.

Andrew J. Newman Al-Sadr was a political moderate who was considered
 a

reformer by his followers. The title of imam was applied to
 only twelve individuals in the Shi ite tradition: It was given to
 Musa al-Sadr and Ruhollah Khomeini, the Iranian leader, by
 SADR, MUHAMMAD BAQIR AL- their
 followers and subsequently accepted by the high-ranking
 (1930–1980) clerics.

Sadr disappeared in Libya while on a visit to Libya's
 ruler, Mu ammar al-Qadhdhafi, in 1978. He and two com-
 Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr was a scholar and revered figure of panions, a
 cleric and a journalist, were never heard from again.

Shi a in Iraq. He wrote widely on matters of Islamic economics and modern logic
 and philosophy. His books were bibles See also Imamate; Lebanon;
 Political Islam; Revoluof Islamic modernists, Sunni and Shi ite alike,
 throughout the tion: Modern.

Muslim world. Some of his works, including Falsafatuna (Our
 philosophy) and Iqtisaduna (Our economics), are used as BIBLIOGRAPHY
 textbooks in Shi ite seminaries. Most of his writings and Ajami,
 Fouad. The Vanished Imam: Musa al Sadr and the Shia of
 teaching concentrated on renewal of principles of jurispru- Lebanon.
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dence in Islamic tradition. He attempted to reconcile the
 traditions and strictures of Islam with the ideas and practices

Majid Mohammadi
 of the West. He was one the most enlightened Shi ite legists
 and inspired much devotion among the people of Iraq.

Al- Sadr's orientation was not excessively political. Never- SAHARA
 theless, there were many people in Iraq who were receptive to
 Iran's Islamic Revolution. Therefore, when Iraq's Shi ite Once a
 lush and fertile environment sustaining a diversified human
 community began to look to al-Sadr for political leadership,
 population, fauna, and flora, the Sahara experienced an
 and when Iran's Arabic radio broadcasts repeatedly referred
 irreversible process of desertification from 3000 B.C.E.
 to him as the "Khomeini of Iraq," he became a threat to the onward.
 Since then, two events significantly marked the

Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein, whose base of support history of the Sahara: the introduction of camels, sometime consisted of Sunni military officers and functionaries. As a after the second century, and the spread of Islam, starting in consequence, both al-Sadr and his sister were executed on the the eight century. The adoption of camels, the “vessels of the orders of Iraq’s president Saddam Hussein. desert,” revolutionized the nature of transportation in endurance, volume, and efficiency. Adherence to Islam, its philoso-

BIBLIOGRAPHY phy, and code of law, favored the development of successful

Batatu, Hanna. “Iraq’s Underground Shia Movements: Char- commercial and scholarly networks connecting Muslims across actors, Causes, and Prospects.” MERIP Reports: Islam and the Sahara desert and beyond. In time, the majority of Politics no. 102 (Jan. 1982): 3–9. Saharans would become Muslim.

Mallat, Chibli. The Renewal of Islamic Law: Muhammad Baqer Although Islam arrived at least two centuries earlier, the as-Sadr, Najaf and the Shi i International. New York: Cam- Almoravid movement in the eleventh century was the first bridge University Press, 1993. organized attempt at religious reform in the Sahara. To be sure, the Almoravids were interested in controlling a share of Majid Mohammadi the gold trade as much as they were motivated to spread their Muslim faith. From then onward, trans-Saharan trade flourished. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the ostenta- SADR, MUSA AL- (1928–1978?) tious pilgrimage to Mecca of the emperor of Mali, Kankan Mansa Musa, alerted the Muslim world to the gold riches of Musa al-Sadr, who was born in Qom, Iran, was a politically Western Africa, and consequently would attract many more active and controversial cleric. Al-Sadr arrived in Lebanon in Muslim visitors to Saharan towns such as Timbuktu and Gao.

606

Islam and the Muslim World
Saint

By the seventeenth century, Saharan towns were well- Webb, James L. A. Desert Frontier: Ecological and Economic established markets and centers of Islamic learning. The Change along the Western Sahel, 1600–1850. Madison: reputations of notable scholars of Timbuktu, Walata, and University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. Shingiti extended all the way to North Africa and the Middle East. Saharan scholars regularly organized caravans to per-

F. Ghislaine Lydon

form the pilgrimage. They built mosques, developed libraries, and established schools. One cannot underestimate the significance of trans-Saharan trade and the development of scholarly networks to the spread of Islamic knowledge and Arabic literacy in the region. Caravaners relied on their literacy skills for correspondence, accounting, accountability, and for drawing contractual agreements, all in accordance with Islamic law.

Wali, the word roughly defined as “saint,” which is derived from the Arabic root w-l-y and has a root meaning of proximity, generally is found in the construct wali Allah, that is, someone who is close or intimate with God. It is a designation formed as traders and vice versa in Saharan commercial centers such as Shingiti, Tishit, Walata, Timbuktu, and overlapping categories of pious people, religious scholars, Ghadames. To uphold the law, traders relied upon the Sufis, and Shi'i imams. In English wali is translated variously as protégé, services of scholars of Islamic law or judges. Moreover, until European colonization, Saharan towns tended to be governed by Muslim scholars who performed as regional judges while a wali with walaya focuses on the closeness or nearness to God (being a friend of God). Both of these meanings can be harmonized with interpretations of Qur'anic usage. Except for nomadic groups who provided protection services to both town dwellers and trans-Saharan travelers. conflates these meanings since one close to God has power to protect and intercede and vice versa.

The late nineteenth century saw the end of the great camel caravan. European conquest redirected trade toward new The popular idea of wali, an heir of the Prophet, is a postcenters of control located along the Atlantic coast and in key Qur'anic development whose first textual source, the writings of al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. c. 910), dates to the second half of the ninth century. Tirmidhi proposed a “seal of God’s friends” to French, and later Moroccan, overrule. Not surprisingly, that was later claimed and subsequently popularized by Ibn Saharans presented the greatest challenge to European con-

al- Arabi (d. 1240). This “seal” corresponds to the quest. This was due to the shrewdness of Muslim leaders as creedal notion of Muhammad as the final prophet or the “seal much as the ruggedness of the terrain. It was not until of the prophets,” while assiduously subordinating awliya the 1930s that the French could claim control over the (plural of wali) to prophets. The developing doctrine of wali whole region, connecting Morocco and Algeria to their accounts for non-prophetic expressions of the sacred, for West African colonies. Later, when the Spanish relinquished example, ilham (non-prophetic divine inspiration) versus wahy their Western Saharan colony in 1975, both Morocco and (prophetic revelation) in a way that explained extraordinary Mauritania fought the Saharan independence movement, or phenomena without violating creedal dictates. Polisario, for claims over the contested region. To date, the fate of the Western Sahara has not been sealed, as a UN The contemporary theological war over legitimate religiferendum is repeatedly postponed.

ious authority, often initiated and funded by scripturalist An image of Saharan desert landscape appears in the volume groups such as Salafis or Wahhabis, denies that anyone can be two color insert. a friend of God. Instead, they assert that all Muslims have equal access to God through the written scriptural sources of See also Globalization; Networks, Muslim. Qur an and hadith, absolutely undercutting any possibility of intercession or of spiritual hierarchy. Presently a growing BIBLIOGRAPHY minority of Muslims shares this scripturalist perspective.

Hunwick, John. Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire. Leiden: They are mostly concentrated in Arabic-speaking countries Brill, 1999. and in countries like the United States, which are influenced Levtzion, Nehemia, and Pouwels, Randall. History of Islam in by Salafi interpretations of Islam. Africa. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000. On one hand, wali is a socially constructed concept based Views From Arab Scholars and Merchants. New York: upon a recognizable community consensus. Generally Mus- Markus Wiener, 2003. lims recognize a wali Allah on the basis of four overlapping

sources of authority: spiritual/genealogical lineage, religious example are powerful symbols in the modern Middle East.

experience (spiritual traveling), acquisition of transmitted His subsequent struggles against the forces of the Third Crusade religious knowledge, and exemplary behavior in harmony the stuff (1189–1192) and King Richard I of England became and Richard with the Prophetic sunna. Hagiographic literature has estab- of romance in European literature, where Saladin lished a narrative paradigm that reinforces these sources of emerge as rival chivalrous foes.

authority in the popular imagination. On the other hand, in the Sufi environment wali is a technical term based on Saladin’s career began in the armies of Nur al-Din b. Zangi, consensually verified phenomena allowing specialists to clas- ruler of Aleppo and Damascus, and himself a famous sify types of proximity to God.

counter-crusader. Saladin went to Egypt in early 1169 in a contingent of Nur al-Din’s army sent to assist the Fatimid Caliphate, In terms of religious practice, the concept of wali provides forces, which in late 1168 had been attacked by Crusader a basis for the development of shrine rituals at the tombs of Saladin subsequently removed the Fatimids from power, and deceased saints located throughout the Islamic world. Often made himself ruler in Egypt, subservient to Nur al-Din. at these shrines the descendants of the deceased holy person, Upon the latter’s death in 1174, Saladin moved against considered to be walis, act as mediating shaykhs who “pass requests to God” instead of acting as spiritual masters teach- cities of Syria under his command. He then used the coming a person how to arrive close to God through a set of bined resources of Egypt and Syria to attack the Crusaders.

contemplative practices. Although the legitimacy of these By forcibly uniting Muslim territory prior to assaulting the Franks, he shrine rituals is strongly denied by scripturally oriented followed the pattern of Nur al-Din and Zangi.

Muslims, these shrines provide meaningful religious experi- The same strategy would be used by the Mamluks in their final ences for many pious visitors. Functionally, the multivalent elimination of the Latin states in 1291.

concept of wali varies historically and geographically so as to include scholars, saints, spiritual mentors, counselors, healers, See also Crusades.

and intercessors, both living and deceased.

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See also Ibn Arabi; Mi raj; Silsila; Sunna; Tasawwuf; Tariqa; Ulema.

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Radke, Bernd, and John O’Kane. The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism. Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Curzon Press, 1996. SALAFIYYA

Salafiyya is the name given to those who follow the ideas and practices of the righteous ancestors (al-salaf al-salih). This

“salafi” approach rejects later traditions and schools of thought, calling for a return to the Qur’an and the sunna as the authentic basis for Muslim life. The salafi approach emphasizes the application of ijtihad (independent, informed judgment) and rejects taqlid (adherence to established precedents)

Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub (d. 1193), who became known in conformity with existing traditional interpretations and the West as Saladin, was a Kurdish warrior renowned for his institutions).

victories over the Crusaders and as the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt, Syria, and upper Iraq. Saladin’s defeat of the “righteous ancestors,” or salaf, are usually considered the Crusaders at the Horns of Hattin (4 July 1187) in to be the first three generations of Muslims, including the northern Palestine led to the Muslim reconquest of Jerusalem immediate companions of the Prophet. Because of the close and the near elimination of the Franks in the Levant. His ness of these salaf to Muhammad, later Muslims regarded the

success in jihad against the Crusaders was celebrated by his former’s transmissions of the Prophet’s traditions, their incourt biographers. Not surprisingly, Saladin’s name and formed practice as believers, as having special authority.

Salafiyya

Major figures in the definition of the salafi perspective and important Salafi-modernist movements developed approach are Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855), the founder of the nineteenth century, sometimes relatively independent Hanbali school, and Ahmad ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328). Sometimes in close coordination with the group around Abduh. In South Asia, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) The fundamental concern of modern Salafiyya, who recognized that Muslim power and influence is in decline relative to the West, is the relationship between Islam and modernity. established the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College (which later became Aligarh Muslim University). As the goal of the movement is to make Islam a dynamic force in the contemporary world. The modern Salafiyya invoked the Russian Empire completed its conquest of Muslim areas in classic themes: a call for a return to the Qur'an and the sunna, the nineteenth century, another Islamic modernist movement a rejection of the medieval authorities (taqlid), and an affirmation, "Jadidism," developed there under the leadership of Ismail Gasprinskii (1851–1914). He created a new school curriculum (ijtihad). In the modern context, this involved an emphasis on for Muslim children, and his journal, Tarjuman, the compatibility of reason with revelation, and of Islam with modern science. It also was important in creating a modern, cohesive sense of identity among Muslims living in Russia. entailed a call for moral social reform. However, by the end of the twentieth century, the term Salafiyya also came to be applied to extremist movements that Many movements throughout the Muslim world were advocated violent jihad against existing regimes and social directly inspired by the Abduh tradition, and were in communication with it. In North Africa, non-Muslim, and that did not adhere to a rigid and literalist understanding of the Qur'an. movements like the Association of Algerian Ulama under Abd al-Qadir Salafis organized movements to adhere to a rigid and literalist understanding of the Qur'an. This new Salafiyya often differed from the time-Hamid Ibn Badis (1889–1940). Salafi intellectuals and organizations became important parts of Muslim life and Ibn Taymiyya by organizations became important parts of Muslim life in Syria rejecting independent analysis (ijtihad). and Iraq as well, and in Egypt and many other parts of the Muslim world. In Southeast Asia, the Shia Imami, which

Among those involved in the definition and establishment of the largest organizations in the Muslim world, of the modern Salafiyya, the best-known are Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897) and Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905). Abduh created the broad intellectual foundations for modern Salafiyya. First in exile and then as Grand Mufti of Egypt, he shaped the thinking of generations of Muslim intellectuals. The theological core was an emphasis on tawhid, which is the singleness of God and the comprehensive assertion of the modernity of God's message. Tawhid was the basis for showing the compatibility of Islam with modern science and revelation. Thought in Islam, and other works. At the same time, with modern reason. Consistent with the earlier Salafiyya, Abduh advocated the informed, independent analysis of the Qur'an and sunna. The Dustour Party in Tunisia and the drive toward liberal nationalism in Egypt in the first half of the century. The new Salafiyya did not involve direct opposition to European imperial rule over Muslims. Rather, it saw internal Islamic reform as the first priority, and the key to the scholarly establishment, and scholars like Fazlur Rahman (1919–1988) further developed modernist methodologies and al-Manar, the journal published by his follower and associate, Rashid Rida (1865–1939), was read throughout the Muslim world. Following Abduh's death, Rashid Rida became the most visible international articulator of Salafi ideology of violent jihad against existing Muslim thought, becoming active in organizing Pan-Islamic congresses and, after the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate in 1924, in working for the establishment of a modern Arab

became one of the largest organizations in the Muslim world, was formed in 1912 to advocate specifically Salafi-style reform, Abduh created the broad intellectual foundations for modern Salafiyya. First in exile and then as Grand Mufti of Egypt, Throughout the twentieth century, individuals and groups built on and developed the modernist Salafi traditions in many different directions. In South Asia, the work of Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938) provided the assertion of the singleness of God and the comprehensive modernity of God's message. Tawhid was the basis for showing the compatibility of Islam with modern science and revelation. Religious Thought in Islam, and other works. At the same time, he worked with modern reason. Consistent with the earlier Salafiyya, he worked for the creation of Pakistan. Some forms of nationalism were presented in Salafi form, as in the development of the Dustour Party in Tunisia and the drive toward liberal nationalism in Egypt in the first half of the century. Later, Mahmud Shaltut (1893–1963), as shaykh of al-Azhar University, confirmed the Abduh tradition at the heart of the Islamic reform as the first priority, and the key to the Islamic implementation of its goals was education and scholarship. Rahman (1919–1988) further developed modernist methodologies in forms and al-Manar, the journal published by his follower and associate, Rashid Rida (1865–1939), was read throughout By the end of the twentieth century, the term Salafi came to be applied to a very different type of Islamic revivalism. When an ideology of violent jihad against existing Muslim societies became the most visible international articulator of Salafi thought, becoming active in organizing Pan-Islamic congresses and, after the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate in Salafi-style call for a return to the purity of faith exemplified by the 1924, in working for the establishment of a modern Arab

righteous ancestors. As this message was developed by caliphate. He came to view the efforts of Abd al- Aziz Ibn later activists, however, the emphasis was placed on militant Sa ud to create a state in the Arabian Peninsula based on the action, rather than on intellectual effort. By the beginning of puritanical reform traditions of the Wahhabiyya as repre- the twenty-first century, the term was widely applied to sending an important manifestation of the reforms necessary advocates of violent jihad. Terrorists like those who defor all Muslim societies. stroyed the World Trade Center, along with Usama bin

Islam and the Muslim World

609

Saleh bin Allawi

Ladin and his organization, al-Qa ida, are called Salafi, as are monopolized by or restricted to descendants of the Prophet militants throughout the Muslim world. and select other families. It was to the credit of Allawi both as an outsider to Lamu and as a member of the Alawi tariqa (that The older style of Salafi modernism was also significant at emphasized education and training of scholars) that he began the beginning of the twenty-first century. The intellec- to teach people previously denied this education. When he tual content of curricula in Islamic schools and interna- began to teach them Qur anic exegesis, he angered the town's tional Islamic universities around the world reflects much elitist traditional scholars. Eventually he established his own of the tradition of Abduh, while organizations like the madrasa (Islamic school) in Langoni (a district in the south- Muhammadiyya in Indonesia remain a significant part of ern part of Lamu Island). There he taught the slaves and political and social life. recent immigrants to the island. This madrasa became the See also Abduh, Muhammad; Ijtihad; Muhammadiyya famous Riyada mosque-college, which attracted students from all (Muhammadiyah); Nationalism: Arab; Wahhabiyya. over East Africa, and spread his fame as a scholar and saint.

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John O. Voll SANHURI, ABD AL-RAZZAQ, AL- See Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri

SALEH BIN ALLAWI (C. 1844–1935)

Saleh bin Allawi (Ar. Salih bin Alawi) was a renowned scholar and founder of the Riyada mosque college in Lamu. He was DYNASTY

SAUDI

of Yemenite origin and born in the Comoro Islands. From there he migrated to Lamu sometime between 1876 and family of Saudi Arabia, the Saudi dynasty, is

The ruling

1885. He belonged to the Jamal al Layl Sharif lineage (one of House (al) of Sa ud. Founding of the dynasty is

known as the

the Sharif lineages and descendants of the Prophet), whose conventionally dated in 1744, when the ruler of the small

members have been responsible for the dissemination of Dir iyya (south of Riyadh), Muhammad ibn Sa ud,

oasis town

Islam and its intellectual tradition in East Africa. In fact, alliance with the reformist religious activist Muhammud of Islam as it is

taught and practiced in East Africa bears mad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Muhammad ibn Sa ud accepted

the stamp of Yemenite influence. Descendants of these families puritanical interpretation of Islam propounded by

the strict,

lies were born of African mothers, and this factor facilitated Abd al-Wahhab as the basis for his state, and

Muhammad ibn

their easy integration into the Swahili community.

the latter

pledged his support for the expansion of the

former's domains. Two Saudi realms in Arabia (1744–1818,

Allawi's membership in the Alawi tariqa (Sufi order)

1824–1891), destroyed by Ottoman intervention and internal strife, enabled him to side with and patronize the slaves and the poor, preceded the foundation of the current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia of Lamu Island, who became the main focus of his religious efforts. Before this time religious education in Lamu was (known in the West as Ibn Saud) at the outset of the twentieth

610

Islam and the Muslim World Science, Islam and

century. By 1934, Abd al- Aziz had expanded the kingdom to regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation, a distinctive shape. its current boundaries. He has been succeeded as ruler by a Mention is frequently made of several sayings (hadith) of the number of his thirty-six sons: Sa ud (1953–1964), Faysal of the Prophet that state “seek ilm, even in China.” (1964–1975), Khalid (1975–1982) and Fahd (1982–present). The Including the direct descendants of Abd al- Aziz, the de- Arabic term ilm (pl. ulum) refers more broadly to scendants of his brothers, and significant cadet branches of “knowledge” and its antonym is considered to be “ignorance” the family, the number of princes in the Saudi royal family is (jahl). In its various verbal forms, ilm is found frequently in the estimated now at between five and eight thousand. the Qur an. At a fairly early date, however, the concept of ilm was differentiated from that of ma rifa. The latter refers to a F. Gregory Gause III form of knowledge derived from personal experience or intuition, whereas the former is contingent upon the observation and discovery of first principles. This is not to say, however, that all of the primary sources make a sharp distinction between these two modes of knowledge.

The concept of science in Islam is a vast subject. Historically, Arabs and Persians who were interested in explaining over, to rule” and is commonly used to refer to a descendant the natural world around them first introduced Greek science of the prophet Muhammad (normally through his grandson tific treatises to the Arabic-speaking world during the eighth al-Husayn), but can also, more generally, signify a holy century. From the ninth century on, scholars traveled from person (also called wali). Descendants of the Prophet are one end of the empire to the other, carrying books and ideas, accorded respect, particularly in Shi ism, but also in Sunni Islam. In Shi ism, respect is generally preserved for descen- thereby

insuring what some have called the cultural and
dants of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, through her
intellectual unity of the Islamic world. Since this time, countmarriage to Imam
Ali. In Twelver Shi ism, sayyids gain this less Muslims from all over
the world throughout the course of
respect through their genealogy, including relation to one of many
centuries have been involved in scientific developments.
the Twelve Imams, and many contemporary Shi ite families
Yet, almost immediately there is a conceptual and
claim sayyid status. In Zaydi Shi ism, the leader of the comtaxonomical
difficulty. How exactly is the term “Islamic
munity must be a descendant of the Prophet for his rule to be
science” defined? Ostensibly, “science” is a universal term
legitimate. In Sunni Islam, sayyids have certain legal privileges
that knows no linguistic or ethnic bounds; yet, the adjective
over non-sayyids. In all these branches of Islam, the privileged
“Islamic” implies a particular language by a definable group
status of sayyids is perhaps most obvious in the rules concernof people. Does
“Islamic science,” then, refer to a particular
ing marriage, where a sayyida (female descendant) should
“Islamic” take on science? Or, does it refer to science done by
marry only a sayyid to preserve the “equity” (kafa a) status in
individuals who identify themselves as Muslims? This entry
the marriage. In popular religion, descendants of the Prophet
assumes the latter assertion.
in all branches of Islam are often viewed as channels for divine
blessing (baraka). The colloquial term *sidi*, derived from An
equally difficult hermeneutical problem presents itself:
sayyid, is used as an honorific before Muslim saints, especially When
Arabic speakers use the term *ilm* did they mean by it
in North Africa. It does not always imply that the saint is a something
similar to what today is called science? Because the
descendant of the Prophet. Arabic term
is not identical to the Western concept of hard
science, it is often used in a number of theological and
See also Sharif.
mystical contexts. For instance, early Muslim hadith criticism
was known as *ilm al-rijal* (lit., “the science of the men” who
BIBLIOGRAPHY made up the
chain of transmitters, or *isnad*). Despite the
Gilsenan, Michael. *Recognising Islam: Religion and Society in the* employment
of the term *ilm* there was nothing particularly
Modern Middle East. London: Croom Helm, 1982. scientific
about it. Likewise, even theology (*ilm al-kalam*) was
regarded as a science with its own demonstrative method
Robert Gleave derived from first principles. These principles, however,
were

not derived from syllogistic reasoning, but the Qur'an. A more recent trend has fundamentalists arguing that the Qur'an predicts many important scientific discoveries, thereby validating the Qur'anic miracle for the believers.

The concept of 'ilm, "science," has been an important one in Premodern Scientific Developments the history of Islamic civilization and has gone a long way. A momentous impetus was given to the development of science in the Islamic world with the accession of the Abbasid

Islam and the Muslim World

611

Science, Islam and

caliphate to power and the subsequent foundation of Baghdad (maratib al-ulum). One of the most famous examples of this is as its capital in 762. This resulted in a translation movement the Enumeration of the Sciences, by al-Farabi (870–950). In the that saw, by the end of the tenth century, virtually all of the preface to this work, al-Farabi states that his intention is to give an scientific and philosophical secular Greek works that were enumeration of all the sciences of his day and provide descriptions available in the Late Antique period (fourth to seventh the of their themes and subject matter. He divides the sciences centuries C.E.) translated into Arabic. These works included the sciences into those dealing with (1) language, (2) logic, (3) mathematics, many diverse topics such as astrology, alchemy, physics, science, (4) physics and metaphysics, and (5) political jurisprudence, and dialectical theology. Other lists were phy. The great majority of these texts were translated from Ibn compiled by the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwan al-Safa), al-Nadim, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), al-Ghazali, and Ibn Khaldun. the earliest translators were Christians, many of whom were employed in the renowned bayt al-hikma ("House of Wisdom") the sciences into those that are either praiseworthy (mahmud) or domain"). This functioned as the official institute and library for or blameworthy (madhmum). translation and research. The caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 833) sent Such emissaries throughout the Mediterranean world to seek out and purchase books on lists, however, are by no means a medieval phenomenon. In 1980 at the Second "ancient learning," which were sub-Saharan. In 1980 at the Second World Conference on Muslim

quently brought back to Baghdad and translated into Arabic Education,
sponsored by the King Abd al- Aziz University in
by a panel of scholars. The result was an impressive official Jiddah and
the Quaid-i Azam University in Islamabad, delelibrary that included many of the
most important scientific gates adopted a similar list. The main
difference between
and philosophical works produced in the ancient world. their
enumeration and that of someone like al-Farabi was that
These works would form the foundation for medieval sci- theirs
begins with the memorization of the Qur an and ends
ence, not only in the Islamic world, but also subsequently in with the
practical sciences.
the Christian world.

Highlights

The earliest Greek works translated into Arabic were Two caveats must
be made at the beginning. First, the
often made for purely pragmatic reasons. This is why treatises Muslims did
not invent any of the sciences. Rather, as
devoted to astrology, mathematics, and alchemy represent mentioned,
they received texts from the Greeks (especially
some of the earliest scientific works in Arabic. A useful list of those of
Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Euclid) and, in the process,
the treatises translated into Arabic and when and by whom adopted and
adapted their theories as they saw fit (e.g., in
can be found in the account given by the biographer of order to
reconcile them with monotheistic sensibilities or
Islamic writings, Ibn al-Nadim (d. 995). with new
advances made in observation). Second, the term
Arabic science might be better than Islamic science, because
A common, though incorrect, assumption has it that the there was
nothing particular religious about science, and
Greeks invented the sciences, the Arabs rescued them from many of the
scientists spoke Arabic, even though religiously
disappearing in the “Dark Ages,” and subsequently passed they
might have been Christian or Jewish.
them untouched and uncommented upon to the Renaissance
period. This ignores the fact that many people living in the Muslims
made many important innovations in a great
Islamic world wrote commentaries to the works of important majority of
the sciences. In astronomy (ilm al-hay a; lit. “the
individuals such as Aristotle, Galen, and Ptolemy. The genre science of
the figure”), for example, Muslim thinkers made
of the commentary was not a slavish recapitulation of a text, important
advancements, following on the heels of Ptolemy,
but often a creative way of writing about science and philoso- in
discerning the laws governing the periodic motions of the
phy in the medieval period. Rather than regard commentaries celestial

bodies. One of the most famous of the Islamic as uncreative, they often allowed scholars to think about astronomers was al-Battani (Albategnius). He compiled a scientific matters in such a way that they could validate their catalog of the stars for the year 880, in which he determined claims by putting them in the mouths of ancient sages. In fact, the various astronomical coefficients with renowned accumany commentators often used ancient authors to argue the racy. He was also responsible for discovering the motion of very opposite of what these ancient authors had intended in the solar apsides. In addition, he also wrote an important the first place. So although the Arabs worked within the introductory treatise that was used in European universities parameters of science as established by the Greeks, they made until the sixteenth century. Gradually, in order to reconcile many important developments in the Western scientific perceived observation of the universe, Muslim thinkers, disatradition. greeing with Aristotle, posited the existence of epicycles that revolved not around the earth, but around the various celes- Classification of the Sciences tial spheres. This movement away from Aristotle greatly Many of the medieval philosophers compiled various “lists of bothered the Andalusí thinkers, especially Ibn Bajja and Ibn the sciences” (ihsa ulum) and “classifications of the sciences” Rushd (Averroes), who decided to remove the epicycles. This

612

Islam and the Muslim World Science, Islam and

created almost as many problems as it solved. In the thirteenth century, however, at the observatory in Maragha, Islamic Law Science, as is to be expected, was a very malleable term. It scientists explained the motions of the heavenly spheres as the referred not only to those disciplines (e.g., physics, mathecombination of uniform circular motions. This is the model matics) that today are considered to be the purview of science, that was eventually adopted by European astronomers, such but also to other disciplines whose scientific veracity is rather as Copernicus. difficult to ascertain. The Muslims had a tendency to consider every potential discipline as a science, and as a result Mathematics (ilm al-hisab; lit. “the science of reckoning”) tried to articulate first principles for them. Important in this was, according to al-Farabi’s classification, divided into seven regard is the science of law or fiqh. For the practitioners of branches. Furthermore, he divided mathematics into two fiqh, known

as the fuqaha, the law was a science and consisted of two types: practical (amali) and theoretical (nazari). The former is of the proper knowledge of the Qur'an and the sunna. It is concerned with numbers as they pertain to numbered things such as tables or humans. The latter, in contrast, is concerned with numbers in the abstract, including the properties that numbers acquire when related to one another or when they derive the law. The first principle was the Qur'an, combined with or separated from one another. In the tenth century, Nichomachus's Introduction was translated from Greek into Arabic. This resulted in the acquaintance of mathematics with other subjects, such as geometry, astronomy, and music. In its developed form, the science of Islamic legal theory recognized a variety of sources and methods (usul al-fiqh) by which to derive the law. The first principle was the Qur'an, followed by the sunna which, though second in importance, provided the overwhelming majority of material from which the law was derived. The third principle is consensus (ijma') of the legal scholars in the name of the entire community. The fourth principle is known as human reasoning (qiyas). The fourth important Arab physicist, was Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen; d. 1039). These four principles became the means whereby legal scholars could, in their opinion, scientifically determine the legal effects of regulate the flow of the Nile. He also composed over a hundred different scientific treatises, most devoted to medicine. The supreme Muslim science was considered to be religio, mathematics, and physics. Furthermore, he was responsive to law as opposed to theology as it was in the scholastic world. This had important repercussions: Because scholastic theologians also did work on logic and medicine, they conequilateral hyperbole with a circle) that still bears his name. tended that God could not do what was logically impossible. Islamic fuqaha, in contrast, were not interested in deducing religious principles from reason or explaining them rationally. In the field of medicine, probably the most important name is Ibn Sina (Avicenna; d. 1037). In his autobiography he informs us that medicine (tibb) was not one of the difficult Having surveyed some of the major features and trajectories of science and he claims to have mastered it by the age of 16. Why did Islam not carry out a scientific revolution in the same manner the question arises: sixteen. Throughout his life he engaged in medical experiments and wrote various treatises on specific topics. He also

that the Europeans did? After all, Islam pracomposed a medical encyclopedia, Qanun fi 'l-Tibb (The Canon of Medicine), that became the standard textbook on the subject not only in the Islamic world, but also in the West for over five hundred years. The primary difference resides in the fact that, whereas European scholastics succeeded in developing the modern sciences, Islam created a metaphysics that was more medieval scholars considered to be sciences, but which are interested in mysticism. According to the analysis suggested not thought of in that way today: astrology and alchemy. Both by John Walbridge in *The Leaven of the Ancients* (2000), this of these sciences provided important sources for an empirical was the result of several features. First, the Muslim philosoand experimental approach to nature. Whereas Aristotelianism phers consistently held the position that the world existed offered an explanatory framework for understanding the without a temporal beginning and were thus more interested in physical world, astrology and astral magic supplemented this in ontological hierarchies than temporal chains of causality. by providing explanations (and prognostications) for the As a result, they tended to speculate about metaphysics and ontology phenomena of this world in the heavens. Both astrology and as opposed to the natural sciences. Second, astral magic presupposed a thorough knowledge of mathe- Muslim theologists (mutakallimun) developed an extreme matics and astronomy. In like manner, alchemy (al-kimiya) occasionalism that refused to bind God in any way to the was concerned with the transmutation of base metals into natural order. At its most extreme, even a philosopher such as Ghazali, who precious ones. Although most often associated with the that God attempted to "create" gold, many regarded it as an important destroyed and created the universe in every instant part of natural philosophy. in accordance with His arbitrary Will. God's law, in other

Islam and the Muslim World

613

Secularism, Islamic

words, was regarded as totally arbitrary and, thus, the notion Fakhry, Majid. *A History of Islamic Philosophy*. 2d edition. New of natural law was for the most part foreign to Islam. Third, York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

the discovery of mysticism by the Islamic philosophers (beginning with Ibn al- Arabi in the thirteenth century) coincided with the almost complete lack of interest in natural philosophy, especially physics and mathematics. The end result was that by the thirteenth century, philosophy increasingly was reduced to metaphysics with the primary tools of its discovery being intuition and mystical experience as opposed to deduction and scientific observation. And so it remained until the modern period when Muslims who engage in scientific discovery use, for the most part, models and paradigms developed by Europeans.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Modern Approaches

For sake of convenience, there are essentially three main trajectories. The first trajectory is that of the “fundamentalists.” Many think that the Qur’an predicts modern science. Rosenthal, Franz. *Science and Medicine in Islam*. Aldershot, U.K.: Variorum, 1990.

its nontechnical language actually refers to modern scientific data (e.g., embryology, geology). This is impossible to verify, Homer to Omar Khayyam. Vol. 2: From Rabbi Ben Ezra to Roger Bacon. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1927.

their religion. A second attempt to bring science and Islam together is based on, for lack of a better term, apologetics. John. *The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardi and the Heritage of the Greeks*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

According to this approach, “Western” science has failed to formulate a vision of truth based on revelation; rather, it relies on the rational and secular principles as handed down by the pagan Greeks. The result is the desacralization of knowledge

Grant,
Medieval
sity Press, 1996.
Gutas,
Arabic Translation Movement in
Society.
Ibn Nadim.
Dodge.
Ibrahim,
2d
Qadir, C.
U.K.:
Sarton,
From
Ezra to
Walbridge,
the
York

(cf., Nasr, Qadir). Islam, in contrast, presents a sacred worldview and it is the job of “Islamic science” to ascertain this. Proponents of this approach argue that there is such a thing as Islamic science and that it does not subscribe to the theory of evolution. Accordingly, whenever science threatens secularism is a movement seeking to limit the scope of religion (e.g., evolution), the former must ultimately give way to the latter. Such a dichotomy between “Western” and traditions. The limitation may be ideological, as in “Islamic” science is, as should be clear from this entry, based on essentialism and ignores the fact that for much of its institutions or from social relations; or it may be experihistory Islamic science was, for all intents and purposes, ential, as in the encroachment by consumerism and mass Western science. The third and final trajectory seems to be activities previously regulated by religious authorthemost mainstream; namely, the thousands of Muslim ity. Ideological secularism arose in the nineteenth century, scientists throughout the globe who engage in the ongoing atheists such as Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzada (1812–1878) discovery of scientific principles by means of careful and Islam as inherently incompatible with modern ideals controlled observation. progress. In the twentieth century, ideological secularism gained adherents among devout progressives as well. Major An image of a fourteenth-century yellow copper astrolabe ap- were drafted by Muhammad Husayn Na ini appears in the volume two color insert. (1860–1936), who warned against “religious despotism”; Ali Abd al-Raziq (1888–1966), who argued for a separation of See also Astrology; Astronomy; Education; Falsafa; religious and political authority; and Nurcholish Madjid (b. Ghazali, al-; Ibn Arabi; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Sina; Ikhwan 1939), who called for the “secularization” of worldly matters al-Safa; Law; Modernity; Qur an. so as to leave the divine to God.

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generation of military leaders in the middle of the Alfarabi. “The Enumeration of the Sciences.” In Medieval twentieth century, beginning with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk Political Philosophy. Edited by Ralph Lerner and Muhsin (1881–1938), forcibly secularized many Muslim societies, Mahdi. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963. subjugating

religious authority to increasingly intrusive lay

614

Islam and the Muslim World

Secularization

supervision and stripping it of institutions it previously monopolized, such as courts and schools. At the same time, not necessarily conflict with secular orientations. In the experiential secularism spread in the daily practices of Muslim world, contrary to the expectations of the first generation of modernization theorists, there has been an upsurge in bank accounts increased despite widespread prohibition by antisecular movements even in those societies long exposed to Islamic authorities. Nonetheless, secularism remains a taboo posed to modernization (for example, Turkey). Muslim except in many Muslim communities, where it is associated, experts have argued that modernization does not have to result with atheism and Western cultural imperialism. in secularization and that modernization is a universal concept over which no single civilization or culture has monopoly. See also Modernism; Modernity; Secularization.

oly. The premise that Muslim countries will inevitably grow more secular as they are exposed to Western notions of

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rationality and progress is not axiomatic. The secularization Adelkhah, Fariba. *Being Modern in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

world; instead, reaction to it has become a major contributor Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. 2d ed. London: Hurst & Co., 1998.

group of leaders has adopted a Western secular worldview, the vast majority of Muslims have not adopted secular Charles Kurzman perspectives.

Islam has not experienced a reformation analogous to that of SECULARIZATION

Protestantism in Western Christianity. Islamic movements have sought to purify Islam of worldly and heretical

It is often said that secularization is intimately related to the accretions by reinforcing Islamic authority over society and process by which the Christian West split religion from law. In Western Europe, the rise of the nation-state in the

politics. The origins of this process are traced to Christ's oft-seventeenth century led to secularization and decreased religious influence. "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." Muslims, instead, gave allegiance to the umma, which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." the community of the faithful as defined by common adherence to Muslims, in contrast, have fused religion and politics in an faith rather than by political or ethnic boundaries. attempt to maintain their unique cultural identity worldwide. The notion of the nation-state did not take shape in Muslim This approach has endured a checkered history: a period thought until the late nineteenth century. Whereas in Europe of decline and external domination followed by a recent the secularization process was gradual and proceeded in reassertion of civilizational vigor. Muslim leaders and ruling tandem with socioeconomic growth, in the Muslim world it elites have been preoccupied with the exact nature of state was treated as an externally imposed blueprint reflecting and nation-building, the absorption of social change, and European imperial interests. While in the Muslim world the adjustment to, or backlash against, the processes of secularization preceded religious reformation, in the Eurosecularization by which property, power, and prestige are pean case it resulted more or less from such reformation. passed from religious to lay control. Today, the term secularization refers to the overall process by which religious To understand the secularization process in the Muslim institutions have been deprived of their economic, political, world, it is important to examine the extent to which religious and social influence. institutions and norms are pervasive in all areas of life. In the majority of Muslim societies, there is not a distinct separation It is important to realize, however, that the great achievebetween religion and other aspects of people's lives. Islam is ments of the West in the economic, scientific, and technoboth din wa dunya (religion and the world). The basic conflict logical realms, culminating in what is known as globalization, here is not necessarily between religion and the world, as was have spread the secular life throughout the world. The opportunities generated by enhanced higher education and the case in Christian experience; rather, it is between the mass communications have had profound impact on both forces of tradition and the forces of modernity. women and men of the Muslim world, fostering an awareness In the Muslim world, secularism resulted entirely from of and a debate over new religious rethinking, public life, civil European contact and influence. Many Middle Eastern counsociety, religious and

ideological tolerance, and individual tries adopted secular legislation, inspired mostly by European rights and responsibilities. To small but growing numbers of models, on a wide range of civil and criminal matters. These Muslims, human rights are the expression of the process of laws are now the target of the Islamists' attack. While conceding the value of Western technology, Islamists question those The secularization process has also led to a religious values and practices associated with modernization, including revivalist backlash in both the Christian and Muslim worlds. materialism, consumerism, individualism, and moral laxity.

Islam and the Muslim World

615

Seljuq

Contemporary reformists in the Muslim world vehemently the
Tunisian Shaykh Rachid al-Ghannouchi, have demanded an
resist any institutionalized control by religion over human
Islamic constitution and resistance to "Westernization."
life, arguing that such dominance fosters absolutist tenden- Others,
such as Abd al-Karim Soroush, an Iranian political
cies, destroys the existing intellectual life, and promotes less
philosopher, have called for an inward-looking approach to
tolerant and antidemocratic forms of social and political consider
the Muslims free and responsible individuals, capacontrol.
ble of using their independent
judgments. Soroush's views
are capable of revolutionizing Muslim theology and mass
Since the 1970s, as a result of Iran's Islamic Revolution,
religiosity. Neither the lay modernism of the ruling elites nor
the key question has become, if the struggle between Islamic the
rejectionist populism of traditional leaders has been able
reformists and Islamic conservatives is legal or political. to offer
a sustainable course for the future of the Islamic
Arguably the struggle between the two is both political and world.
Soroush's synthesis may stand as a viable alternative.
legal. Both reformists and conservatives have governed most The
Muslim world has increasingly become the site of an
Muslim countries since they gained independence from West- emerging
cultural conflict over "who" controls the process of
ern colonial rule. Emphasizing the separation of religion and social
change as well as over "whose interests" are really
politics, these leaders extensively secularized their legal and served
by change or resistance to it.
educational systems. Some nationalists, such as Mustafa Kemal
Ataturk (Turkey, 1881–1938), Jamal Abd al-Nasser (Egypt, See
also Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; Reform: Arab

1918–1970), and both Reza Shah (Iran, 1878–1944) and Middle East and North Africa; Reform: Iran. Mohammad Reza Shah (Iran, 1919–1980), adopted aggressive secularization methods and programs; others, such as

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sued a more subtle and circumspect approach to secularization.

Falk, Richard A. “The Monotheistic Religions in the Era A variety of governments—including monarchies, mili- of Globalization.” *Global Dialogue* 1, no. 1 (Summer tary dictatorships, and liberal authoritarian regimes—ruled 1999): 139–148.

Egypt for most of the twentieth century. They faced occa-Filali-Ansary, Abdou. “Islam and Liberal Democracy: The sional challenges and threats from the Muslim Brotherhood Challenge of Secularization.” *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 and other Islamic organizations. In both Iran and Turkey, the (1996): 76–80.

imposition of a secular state from the top has backfired, Monshipouri, Mahmood. *Islamism, Secularism, and Human resulting in the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran and by the Rights in the Middle East*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner brief takeover of political power by an Islamist prime minister Publishers, 1998.

in Turkey in 1996. In Algeria, nationalist rule since indepen- Sadri, Mahmoud, and Sadri, Ahmad. “Let the Occasional dence in 1962 has resulted in a bifurcated society like Egypt’s. Chalice Break: Abdolkarim Soroush and Islamic Libera- A secular society and culture for the urban bourgeoisie and tion Theology.” *The Iranian*, 26 (October 1998).

intellectuals exist alongside an Islamic culture in the country- Voll, John Obert. *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modside and the urban slums*. The abrogation of the 1992 elec- ern World. 2d ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University

toral process, which prevented Front Islamique du Salut (Islamic Press, 1984.

Salvation Party or FIS) from controlling parliament, has plunged Algeria into a civil war. Secularism is now violently Mahmood Monshipouri challenged by Islamists.

Since Pakistan’s creation in 1947, that country’s leaders have faced different forces vying with each other for political power. In Muslim countries where Islamists have ruled (e.g.,

SELJUQ See Sultanates: Seljuk

Iran, Sudan, and Afghanistan), they have failed to find longterm solutions to many contemporary ills. In Afghanistan, the Wahhabist Taliban regime immersed the country in a civil war as well as in a foreign war as a result of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001.

SHAFI I,

AL- (C. 767–820)

Recent trends throughout the Muslim world point to the Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi i, the jurisprudent, was probemergence of an intense debate over reforming Islam. Women ably born in Asqalan (Ashkelon) in Palestine. He was a pure in the Muslim world are beginning to demand greater free- Arab on both sides, and on his father's side he was a third dom and to question the restrictive status that cultural tradi- cousin, six times removed, to the Prophet. He grew up in tions have imposed on them. Some Muslim leaders, such as Mecca and northern Arabia and became renowned for his

616

Islam and the Muslim World

Shafi i, al-

archery and Arabic as well as law. He is said to have studied means toward understanding the application of Qur an and under Malik ibn Anas in Medina for as long as ten years and hadith. His concept of consensus is fairly undeveloped. Howlater debated with al-Shaybani in Baghdad. He emigrated to ever, as made explicit by later tradition, consensus does not

Old Cairo about six years before his death there. Accounts invent new ordinances but rather rests on data from the vary as to how he died: of an illness; from the after-effects of a Qur an and hadith lost to later generations but known to the beating at the hands of aggrieved adherents of the Maliki Companions of the Prophet, who could scarcely have agreed school, one of whom he had denounced to the governor for unanimously without the hardest evidence.

insulting him in the course of a debate; or from a beating by adherents of the Mu tazili theology.

Among modern writers, Schacht stresses an argument

Shafi i made expressly in two of the short works: that local

Writers of the later Shafi i school distinguish between custom,

hadith from experts of the previous centuries, and

Shafi i's early teaching (al-qadim), in Iraq, and his later (al-

common sense are always outweighed by hadith from the

jadid), in Egypt. Nine or ten short works on jurisprudence are Prophet.

(The Risala assumes without discussion that only

extant, as many as half of which may be early; otherwise, the hadith

from the Prophet have weight.) Calder (1983) finds

early teaching is lost except for scattered quotations. The Risala legitimizes disagreement among jurists; later works that survive are the Risala (Epistle), an exposition distinguishing between simple questions whose answers all of how to infer ordinances from the evidence of revelation; know and abstruse questions only experts can address the Umm (Guidance), a large, systematic collection of ordinances and whose answers even they can know only probably, nances; and the rest of the short works. Two large works certainly. Adherents of all schools from the tenth century sometimes published in his name, a substantial collection of legitimized disagreement in roughly the same way, hadith and a collection of ordinances from the Qur'an, are it is hard to say to what extent Shafi'i's arguments later extracts from known works. Other works (statements of what caused the theory to spread. Hallaq argues that just his creed, comments on asceticism) are likely pseudonymous. it sought a middle course between traditionalism and rationalism, well in advance of majority opinion, the Risala At the level of theory (usul al-fiqh), medieval Muslim little attention until the tenth century. commentators credit Shafi'i with reconciling the two great early approaches to discerning the law, mainly hadith and Umm as we know it manifestly includes some interplay, traditionalism and rationalism. The traditionalists' interpolations by later authors. Calder (1993) proposes that the posed to base Islamic law entirely on what had been transmitted from the earliest generations, especially hadith reports of as well) are primarily the work of later disciples writing what the Prophet had said and done. The rationalists allowed Shafi'i's name. Among other things, Calder argues that more play to reason and sometimes, when it came to revelation, works appeal to prophetic hadith (as opposed to the tradition, argued for reliance on the Qur'an to the exclusion of of earlier jurists) in the fashion of other hadith. With the traditionalists, on the one hand, Shafi'i's from the early tenth century, not from the early ninth. Risala argues for reliance on revelation before reason and for Calder's opinion has not commanded wide assent, but the hadith as a necessary complement to the Qur'an. On the of attribution remains open. other hand, with the rationalists, it proposes a sophisticated A Shafi'i school of law was constituted when, first, Shafi'i's system of manipulating the revealed texts to justify the law. doctrine had been collected and organized and, second, a One of Shafi'i's greatest accomplishments was to systematize

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by
Muslims
the Umm (Guidance), a large,
dress and whose answers even they can
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procedure had been developed for training and certifying analogical reasoning. According to Shafi'i, the jurisprudence of the new Shafi'i jurists. The two came together with a student looking for a strictly defined condition common to known Ibn Surayj (863–918) in Baghdad. He trained his advanced students and unknown cases, concerning which there is a certain students with the Mukhtasar (Epitome) of al-Muzani, Shafi'i's most ruling from elsewhere in Qur'an or hadith. So, for example, most important Egyptian disciple. The other surviving schools of law the Qur'an expressly forbids grape wine; the reason (ma'na) in of law formed similarly over the course of the tenth century. Shafi'i's exposition, *illa* in the later tradition of *usul al-fiqh*) is The Shafi'i school is distinguished by the acuity of its juridical that it intoxicates (not, say, that it is red or imported from reasoning, so that writing about the theory of Islamic law was Byzantine territory); date wine also intoxicates; therefore, long dominated by Shafi'i jurists, although doubtless their date wine also is forbidden. preponderance will appear to diminish as more and more non-Shafi'i works are studied. Outside North Africa, the Later writers in the Shafi'i tradition argued expressly that Shafi'i and Hanafi schools for centuries almost divided the Islamic the law had basically four sources, meaning four sorts of Islamic world between them. At the end of the Middle Ages, evidence by which the jurist discerned God's will: however, the Hanafi school was favored by Turkish rulers from the Qur'an, hadith, consensus, and analogy. However, Lowry has from the Ottoman Empire to the Mogul, so the Shafi'i school is now shown that the *Risala* itself ultimately recognizes only two is now predominant only on the edges of the Islamic world, as in sources, Qur'an and hadith. For Shafi'i, analogy is just a in Indonesia, Yemen, and East Africa.

Islam and the Muslim World

617

Shah

See also Law; Madhhab.

See also

Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa.

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Schacht, Joseph. The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1950. Often translated

as "Islamic law" the shari'a is better understood as the path of correct conduct that God has revealed

Christopher Melchert through his messengers, particularly the prophet Muhammad. The earliest sources indicate its meaning as a "way of belief," either Muslim or non-Muslim, and it was used to translate the word Torah into Arabic. Jurists tend to prefer the SHAH See Monarchy term fiqh

(understanding) in their books on jurisprudence, leaving shari'a as a general term. Intention (niyya) to fulfill one's duty to God is often as important as the act itself, and every action should be conceived as worshipping God.

SHALTUT, MAHMUD (1893–1963) This

focus on God extended to a medieval institutionalization of the shari'a that limited human authority. Even

Mahmud Shaltut was an Egyptian religious scholar, jurist, today, there is no central authority for matters of Islamic law

and reformer of al-Azhar, the renowned center of Islamic in Sunni Islam (some Shi'ites have developed authority structures in Cairo. Born in a farming village of lower Egypt, tures), and Muslims may seek advice from a number of

Shaltut distinguished himself as a student in the principal authorities (muftis) before making up their mind. different

pal religious institute of Alexandria and later at al-Azhar. Further, actions are assigned one of five "shari'a values"

He became an instructor of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) at (ahkam); between required and forbidden are: recommended,

al-Azhar in 1927. The following year, the reform-minded indifferent, and disapproved. These valuations have led some

Muhammad Mustafa al-Maraghi was appointed shaykh al-shari'a as ethics rather than as law. Arguably, to describe

Azhar (rector), and Shaltut immediately emerged as one of postcolonial legal institutions have utterly changed the Muslim's relationship to shari'a, both by

conservative opposition forced codifying the law and by

al-Maraghi out of office the following year, Shaltut con-replacing shari'a courts.

tinued pressing for reform. Because of his opposition, he was dismissed from al-Azhar in 1931. Upon al-Maraghi's Shari a in Western discourse has come to signify Islam as reappointment as rector in 1935, he returned as a senior moribund or authoritarian, perhaps reflecting Christian preofficial in the faculty of Islamic law. Following service in sumptions of a distinction between law and gospel. Rhetorical numerous committees and conferences inside and outside of use is also found among Muslim intellectuals, some of whom al-Azhar, Shaltut was appointed shaykh al-Azhar in 1958. urge a "return" to shari a focusing primarily on issues of During his tenure, Shaltut oversaw a modernization of the public dress and ritual conduct, but also invoking the idea of school's curriculum in theology and law, and the addition of the shari a as a total way of life. new faculties, including medicine. His influence, however, See also Law.

was undermined when the Nasser government imposed direct state control over al-Azhar in 1961. The progressive bent to Shaltut's thought is best exemplified in his condemnation
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of Islamic sectarianism and his appointment of scholars of Calder, Norman. "Shari a." In Vol. 9, Encyclopaedia of Islam. Shi ite fiqh at al-Azhar. But on social issues such as polygyny Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962. and birth control, he adopted more conservative positions Goldziher, Ignaz. Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law. Princeton, that were at odds with government reform programs. N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.

618

Islam and the Muslim World
Shari at-Shangalaji, Reza-Qoli

Weiss, Bernard. The Spirit of Islamic Law. Athens: University meanings in Muslim usage, and the word is related in meanof Georgia Press, 1998.

ing to sayyid. Ashraf (the plural form of sharif), like sadat (or sada, the plural form of sayyid), are subject to special rules in Jonathan E. Brockopp Islamic law. One meaning, that of a descendant of the Prophet, is perhaps the most common, and specifically it often indicates descent through the line of al-Hasan, the Prophet's grandson. Muslim genealogists differ in their definition of SHARI ATI, ALI (1933–1977) sharif (as they do over sayyid). Some define sharif in a broad manner (including, for example, descendants of the Prophet's Born in 1933 in the province of Khorasan, northeast of Iran,

Ali Shari'ati died in 1977 in London of natural causes. His cousins); others are stricter, limiting the term to descendants intellectual disposition was formed in early adulthood through of Muhammad through Hasan, the older son of the Prophet's daughter his involvement with the Center for the Propagation of (Fatima) and her husband, Ali. The two extremes Islamic Truths, an educational and advocacy institute founded only roughly correspond to the Sunni or Shi'ite proclivities. by his father, and later with the movement God-Worshipping For example, ashraf are prohibited from receiving the alms (zakat), Socialists. Both organizations advocated a reformist Islam, though in Shi'ite law they are compensated by being the goal of which was to liberate religion from its "regressive" the sole recipient of the one-fifth tax (khums). Some hadith and "passive" outlook and to promote social justice. Shari'ati portray the ashraf as guaranteed a place in heaven, and others never received any traditional seminarian education. He exhort the community to show them respect and honor. earned a bachelor's degree in French from Mashad University in 1958 and received his doctorate from the Sorbonne in not nullified, even if the individual is a sinner. The governor 1963. His residence in Paris in the early 1960s and his of Mecca (who was always a descendant of the Prophet) was exposure to African anticolonial movements and their French known as al-sharif during the Ottoman period. intellectual advocates proved to be significant in the development of his Islamic worldview. See also Sayyid.

Shari'ati formulated an Islamic Weltanschauung in his BIBLIOGRAPHY most celebrated book *Islam-shenasi* (Islamology), published Gilson, Michael. *Recognising Islam: Religion and Society in the* in 1969. He identified a dynamic and progressive "true Islam" Modern Middle East. Croom Helm: London, 1982.

of Imam Ali (Alavid Shi'ism) and distinguished it from the petrified institutionalized Islam of the clergy (Safavid Islam). Through a revisionist genealogy of Islamic concepts and

Robert Gleave

ideas, he articulated a philosophy of history and social change that he believed would appeal to young modern Iranian intellectuals. He conceived his Islamic Weltanschauung as a counter hegemonic ideology against the "trinity of oppression"—the economic power of capitalism, the coercive political power of monarchy, and the cultural dominance of the (1890–1943)

Safavid Islam. Although Shari'ati came to be known as the A reformist

Iranian theologian during the secularizing reign
ideologue of the Iranian revolution par excellence, his ideas of Muhammad
Reza Shah Pahlevi, Reza-Qoli Shari atremained marginal to the state-sanctioned
interpretations of Shangalaji was considered a heretic by his religious
peers for

Islam in postrevolutionary Iran. his attempts

to modernize and reform Islam in Iran. He

supported Twelver Shi ism: namely, the existence of free will

See also Reform: Iran.

in human beings, the infallibility of the imam, and the idea

that the twelfth, or current, imam is hidden from the world

BIBLIOGRAPHY

and will emerge again. However, he also advocated the use of

Rahnema, Ali. An Islamic Utopian, A Political Biography of Ali scientific

thought in Islam and the pursuit of social justice,

Shari ati. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

and may have been an admirer of Wahhabism, which was

hostile to Shi ism. His main suggestion, to use ijihad (discus-

Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi

sion) for the purposes of reform in order to get rid of taqlid

(conservatism), was rejected as too secular by the religious

leaders of the Iranian ulema, who were conservative and

SHARIF already felt

under attack by Reza Shah's own secularizing and

authoritarian reforms. After Reza Shah's fall from power,

The word sharif is derived from the Arabic root "to be noble, they

reestablished control and reinstituted strict Islamic law

highborn." Sharif is an honorific term that has a variety of in Iran.

Shangalaji's reformist thought was subsequently

Islam and the Muslim World

619

Shaykh al-Islam

declared heretical and ignored, particularly under the cur- was

abolished, as were all the trappings of the Ottoman

rent, fundamentalist regime, which advocates traditional in- caliphate, in

1924.

terpretations of Muslim law and opposes reform. Since his

death, Shangalaji's ideas have fallen into obscurity. See also

Empires: Ottoman; Empires: Safavid and Qajar.

See also Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi; Reform: Iran;

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SHAYKHIYYA

Paula Stiles

Shaykhiyya was a nineteenth-century Iranian, mystical, sectarian movement within Shi ism that was inspired by Shaykh

Ahmad al-Ahsa i, an eighteenth-century cleric who originally

SHAYKH AL-ISLAM came from the

Arabian peninsula. It was more popular with

the common people, who found it more accessible and vital

Before the rise to power of the Ottomans and Safavids, shaykh than its

rival Shi ite schools, Usulism and Akhbarism. It

al-Islam (pl. shuyukh al-Islam) was, in general, an honorific emphasized

gaining gnostic knowledge through the love of

title given to the leading scholar (or at times, spiritual Sufi God, in

addition to the dry, legalistic study of the Qur an and

master) in a particular locality. During the Ottoman and hadiths and

rigid traditionalism advocated by the other two

Safavid dynasties, it evolved into an official administrative schools.

Shaykhiyya espoused the concept that the twelfth

position. The shaykh al-Islam was responsible for government imam

(descendant of the prophet Muhammad) of Shi ite

control of education (through the madrasa system) and law Islam had

gone into hiding from humankind and remains in

(through the courts), and therefore, for the purposes of

“occultation” until he returns shortly before the end of the

legitimacy, had to be a legally trained and well-respected world. The

“Fourth Principle” of Shaykhiyya (rokn-e rabi)

scholar. His fatwa (opinion), though technically nonbinding envisaged a

“perfect Shi a,” the only person on Earth who

on a judge (qadi), held the force of government policy. In the could become

aware (through mystical intuition) of the

Ottoman Empire, the great shaykh al-Islam Ebus-Su ud (Ar. Hidden Imam

while he was in occultation. Shaykh Ahmad did

Abu l-Su ud, d. 1574) acted, not only as a powerful influence not claim

this role for himself, but the followers of his chief

over the sultan in terms of policy, but also enforced the successor,

Sayyid Kazim Rashti, believed that Rashti was the

primacy of Hanafi legal doctrine within the empire. Ottoman perfect

Shi a of his time. Rashti formed much of the basic

shuyukh al-Islam were known as the “Mufti” of the empire,

organization of Shaykiyya as a school of thought.

and while others were able to give fatwas, it was their legal

opinions that (at least officially) were authoritative. Within Shaykh

Ahmad (1753–1826), one of the last great Muslim

the Safavid Empire, shuyukh al-Islam such as Mohammad philosophers
before the influx of European thought, was a
Baquer Sabzawari (d. 1679) and Mohammad Baquer Majlesi (d. gentle man of
paradox who enjoyed both the patronage of the
1699) were renowned as scholars rather than policy makers, court of the
Qajar Shah in Tehran and the love of the masses,
though they too clearly had official responsibilities which yet refused
an official position for fear that he might lose
included presiding over the coronation ceremony of a new touch with
the common people. Originally from Bahrain, he
shah. The shuyukh al-Islam formed a network of government- spent the
last twenty years of his life in Iran. He considered
appointed figures in Safavid Iran, and functioned as a means himself an
orthodox Shi'ite who was hostile to Sufism, yet
of enforcing a legal unity over a diverse and often fractious inspired a
movement that incorporated many elements of
population. Sufi thought.
Shaykh Ahmad emphasized the necessity for a
religious leader to combine mystical revelation with tradi-
The post of shaykh al-Islam survived in both the Ottoman tional
jurisprudence. His philosophy, influenced by visions of
Empire and Iran into the nineteenth century, though with a the prophet
Muhammad, numerology, rigorous study of
reduced significance. The Afshar, Zand, and Qajar dynasties Muslim law,
and the religious thought of his native Bahrain,
of Iran certainly appointed shuyukh al-Islam, though these inspired the
movement that bore his name after his death.
were rarely major figures within the religious establishment. The movement
was influenced heavily by its founder's fasci-
In Iran, the post seems to have died out in the late nine- nation with
myth and gnostic thought (irfan). Though Ahmad
teenth century. The shaykh al-Islam of the Ottoman Porte in was a mystic,
and held many beliefs similar to the Sufis', he
Istanbul continued to be appointed, though there too the attacked them
as anti-Shi'ite Sunnis with pantheistic tendenpost was rarely held by renowned
or dynamic scholars. It cies and criticized them for claiming
authority that only the

620

Islam and the Muslim World

Shi'a

imams should have, though the ultimate authority belonged The First
Fitna
to the prophet Muhammad. After Ahmad's death, his follow- The Shi'a
first formed an identifiable movement in Islamic
ers used the Sufi ideal of the Perfect Person to formulate the history
during the First Civil War (fitna), which tore the

concept of the Perfect Shi'a. This person could be used as an Muslim community apart between 656 and 661 C.E. Accord authority because he had received mystical knowledge from ing to Shi'i doctrine, Ali was meant to assume leadership of

God, in addition to his study of Muslim law. In a way, the community upon the Prophet's death in 632. Tradition Shaykhiyya later became a form of Sufism untouched by holds that the Prophet designated his cousin as heir in a Sunni influence, eventually inspiring Babi and Baha'ism. The speech made at Ghadir Khumm on the way back from Perfect Shi'a did not take precedence, however, over the Muhammad's farewell pilgrimage, made shortly before his death. imams, who were exalted to a higher degree than in the past. death. However, the jealousy and ambition of the Prophet's This reflected the chaos in eighteenth- and early nineteenth- other principal Companions (Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman) century Shi'ism, caused by external forces, and which created prevented him from assuming that post. Abu Bakr was the an increased need for tradition and a central authority to first, serving as leader from 632 to 634. He was followed by follow. Instead, Shaykhiyya, like its founder, attempted to Umar (634–644), and finally by Uthman (644–656). strike a balance between the dry legalism of pure jurisprudence and the uncontrolled (in their eyes) individualistic Shi'ism as a movement, however, burst into full view with esotericism of the Sufis, though it did not always succeed. the assassination of Uthman and the ensuing civil war. Two branches of Shaykhiyya have survived in Tabriz and Uthman, a member of the aristocratic Umayyah clan of Kerman. The activities of the Shaykhis of Kerman were Quraysh, had converted to Islam early on, marrying the suppressed under the Islamic Republic of Iran. Prophet's daughters Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthum. As caliph, he appointed many of his relatives to lucrative governor-

See also Shi'a: Early; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver). ships in the newly conquered provinces, and was consequently widely criticized for nepotism. Disgruntled Companions,

BIBLIOGRAPHY based primarily in Egypt, conspired against him and succeeded in assassinating him in Medina in 656. At this point, Cole, Juan R. I. "The World as Text: Cosmologies of Shaykh Ali was Ahmad al-Ahsa'i." *Studia Islamica* 80 (1994): 1–23. Ali was chosen as caliph, but soon met opposition from the Umayyah clan, the Prophet's widow A'isha, the prominent Paula Stiles Companions Talhah and al-Zubayr, and others. Uthman's enemies accused him of complicity in Uthman's

assassination, because he showed little interest in pursuing
SHI A the
conspirators and in fact had close ties with some of them,
including his step-son Muhammad b. Abu Bakr. Protest
against Ali sparked a major war, pitting Ali's supporters,
EARLY

Devin J. Stewart who were
centered in the garrison town of Kufa, in Iraq,
against opposition forces based in Basra and Syria. In 656,
IMAMI (TWELVER)

Ali's forces met those of A isha and her co-generals, Talha
David Pinault
and al-Zubayr, just outside Basra, in what came to be known
ISMA ILI as the Battle
of the Camel, because A isha joined the fray in
Farhad Daftary
an armored palanquin mounted on her camel, Askar.
ZAYDI (FIVER)

Robert Gleave Ali's
forces were victorious. Talhah and al-Zubayr were
killed, and A isha was captured and returned to Medina in
shame. The tide turned against Ali the following year,
EARLY however,
with the battle of Siffin in the Syrian desert. Ali lost
The Shi a were originally the "partisans" of Ali, cousin of this
battle after his deputy bungled arbitration with the agent
Muhammad's cousin and husband of the Prophet's daughter, of
Mu awiya, the governor of Damascus. A large group of
Fatima. Today, however, the label designates a number of Ali's
supporters, angered that he had submitted to arbitradistinct groups that have
arisen over the course of Islamic tion, left his cause. Known as the
Kharijis "deserters," they
history and which are united by a belief that the leader (caliph became
bitter enemies of Ali.
or imam) of the Muslim community (umma) should be a
member of the Prophet's family (ahl al-bayt). The Shi a Ali
retreated to Kufa, but rallied sufficiently to defeat a
include the Twelvers, second largest of all the Muslim sects Khariji army
at Nahrawan in 658. In 661, Ali fell to the blows
(the largest being the Sunni). Other Shi a groups include the of a Khariji
assassin in Kufa. Ali's supporters recognized his
Zaydis, Khoja Isma ilis, and Bohra Isma ilis, who taken to- eldest son
Hasan as their leader, but Hasan soon entered into
gether, represent more than ten percent of the world Muslim a truce with
Mu awiya and renounced his claim to the
population. Caliphate.
Thus, the First Civil War ended.

Shi'i Imams

Shi'a

Ja'far

1. Ali
al-Abbas

(d. 661)

Abdallah

Abdallah

(by Fatima)

Fatima)

2. Hasan

Husayn

(d. 669)

680)

Ali

Mu'awiya

4. Ali (Zayn al-'Abidin)

Abu Hashim

(d. 714)

(d. 716)

Zayd

Muhammad

Hasan

Abdallah

Abdallah

b. Mu'awiya

(d. c. 758)

(d. 746)

Ibrahim
5. Muhammad al-Baqir

(d. 731)

Zayd

(d. 740)

(d. 748) Ibrahim al-Saffah al-Mansur
(d. 754) (d. 775)

Yahya Ibrahim Muhammad Idris
(d. 763) al-Nafs 6. Ja'far al-Sadiq Yahya

Isa
al-Zakiya (d. 765) (d. 743)
(d. 783)
(d. 762)

The Abbasid Caliphs

Ibrahim Tabataba

Ahmad

(d. 860)

Muhammad

7. Isma'il

7. Musa al-Kazim

b. Tabataba al-Qasim (d. 760)
 (d. 815) (d. 799)
 (d. 860)

8. Ali al-Rida
 (d. 818)

Zayd

Muhammad

Husayn al-Mahdi

9. Muhammad al-Jawad
 (d. 835)

Hasan Muhammad
 (d. 884) (d. 900)

The Qarmatians 10. Ali al-Hadi

(d. 868)

Yahya al-Hadi Ubaydallah
 (d. 911) (d. 934)

Zaydi Imams

11. Hasan al- Askari

of Tabaristan

(d. 874)

12. Muhammad al-Mahdi

Zaydi Imams The Fatimid
 of the Yemen Caliphs

The "Twelver" or Imami Shi a

SOURCE: Peters, F. E. Allah's Commonwealth. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973.
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Islam and the Muslim World

Shi a imam lineage.

Shi a

Shi a Under the Umayyads the eighth

Imam of the Twelver Shi a line, as his succes-

The Muslim community was united under one regime, for sor in 816.

Mu awiya became caliph of the entire community by default.

The capital was moved to Damascus, and when Mu awiya Shi a and

Sunni: A Comparison

designated his son Yazid as heir, the Umayyad dynasty An

untenable distinction is often made between the Sunni

(661–750) was established. Doctrinally, however, the Muslim caliph,

seen as a purely political authority, and the Shi a

community remained divided into three main groups, Ali's imam,

seen as a religious authority. In the early period, the

supporters (the Shi a), enemies of Ali who had originally titles imam

and caliph referred, at least potentially, to the supported him but renounced their allegiance at Siffin (the office and authority. The goal behind the Shi'a revolts Kharijis), and the main body of his opponents, the Umayyads and Abbasids was to depose what was and their supporters. considered to be the illegitimate leader of the community and to replace him with a legitimate one. Both for the Shi'a and Throughout Umayyad rule, the Shi'a engaged in periodic opponents, the Shi'ite Imam was always a potential uprisings against what they viewed as the illegitimate caliphs, counter-caliph. Whether chosen from the descendants of Ali revolting in the name of various members of ahl al-bayt. The another line, the caliph was held to be both a religious most famous of these incidents is the revolt of Husayn, Ali's political authority even by the Sunni, and was called second son, upon the death of Mu'awiya and the accession of well as sahib hadha al-amr ("the one in charge"). imam as his son Yazid in the year 680. Husayn was summoned to Kufa to lead a revolt. He set out from Medina with a small In the first Islamic century, there can hardly have been any contingent, but Umayyad forces halted him in the Iraqi other identifiable religious authorities; jurists, theologians, and others desert, preventing him from reaching his supporters in Kufa. did not gain influence until later. An indication of Rather than surrender, Husayn and his followers fought. the caliphs' religious authority is the fact that their decisions Most were slaughtered, and Husayn's head was delivered to often became enshrined in Islamic law. An example of this can be found in Yazid in Damascus. The martyrdom of Husayn and his the "Conditions of Umar," restrictions on the ahl al-dhimma followers is still retold and re-enacted by the Shi'a on Ashura, imposed by the second caliph, Umar b. al-Khattab (or the tenth day of Muharram, which is the first month of the possibly the Umayyad Umar b. Abd al-Aziz). These Islamic calendar.

"Conditions" provide the basis for many of the laws that govern the status of Jews and Christians in Islam. Four years after Husayn's death, a faction among the Kufan Shi'a arose in revolt. This group became known as al-popular misconception is that Sunnism is the Another Tawwabun (the penitents), a name that reflected their dedication to the cause of Husayn and their regret they had failed original the opponents of the Shi'a were not Sunnis, beginning, to come to his aid. In 686, Mukhtar al-Thaqafi led an initially properly speaking, but adherents to what might be termed

successful revolt in the name of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, Umayyad Islam. Sunni Islam is a compromise position between Shi'ite and Umayyad Islam, and 686–687. In 740, Zayd, a grandson of Husayn, led a new revolt in southern Iraq, but into existence some time after the advent of the Abbasids. was defeated and killed. Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya, a great- This may be seen succinctly in the Sunni phrase al-khulafa' grandson of Muhammad's cousin Ja'far, led yet another al-rashidun (lit. the "rightly guided caliphs"), which indicates insurrection (744–747). approval of all the first four caliphs. The Umayyads revered the first three caliphs, but Ali was anathema to them. They Shi'a and the Abbasids reportedly instituted a practice of cursing him from the pulpit. The Abbasid revolution that toppled the Umayyads in 750 in Friday prayer. The Shi'a, however, revered Ali but debated, in part, as a Shi'a movement, adopting the slogan al- tested or disapproved of the first three caliphs. The Sunni rida min al al-bayt "the acceptable candidate from the family approval of all four could only have developed at a much later of the Prophet." Upon victory, a descendant of the Prophet's date, as an attempt to reconcile the two opposing positions. uncle Abbas assumed rule as caliph. In a clear pro-Shi'a move, the new dynasty established their capital in Iraq, first at Rival Factions within the Shi'a Community Wasit, then at Baghdad, which was founded in 761. Conflict over leadership of the Muslim community and over succession among rival Shi'i claimants to the imamate gave The Abbasids, however, soon turned on their Shi'a allies, rise to theological doctrines and concepts that would remain important and eventually took over the Umayyads's role as illegitimate throughout Islamic history. In the course of the rulers and the nemesis of Shi'a aspirations. Muhammad al- eighth century the Shi'a developed the doctrines of the Nafs al-Zakiyya, "the Pure Soul," led a Shi'ite revolt against imam's isma, meaning "infallibility" or "divine protection the Abbasids as early as 762, and the Abbasid period would from sin," and nass, the explicit and divinely sanctioned designation witness countless more revolts in the name of various descendants of Ali. Attempts at reconciliation were short-lived, the (extremists) developed more exaggerated forms of reverence most notable being al-Ma'mun's appointment of Ali al-Rida, for various claimants to the imamate, including beliefs that

Shi'a

the imam did not die but went into occultation (ghayba) or Wilfred. *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of that he would return (raja) as a messianic figure (mahdi) Caliphate. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.* the Early before the apocalypse. Others claimed that the imam shared in prophetic authority, had status equal to that of the Prophet, Hossein. *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.* possessed divine qualities, or manifested divinity through (hulul). Some of these extreme concepts, particularly occultation, would become standard doctrine in Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.* A second set of issues had to do with the status of the Moussavi, Ahmad Kazemi. *Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam. Prophet's Companions. In order to bolster the legitimacy of Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought* Ali, the Shi'ites used hadith reports and historical accounts and Civilization, 1996. concerning the first three caliphs, A'isha, and many other Sachedina, Abdulaziz Abdulhussein. *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of Companions to impugn their characters, casting them as Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.* sinners, incompetent leaders, or outright unbelievers. The city of New York Press, 1981. Sunnis, used similar accounts to uphold the view that the Watt, W. Montgomery. "Shi'ism Under the Umayyads." Companions were all exemplary. The Shi'ite position, while Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1960): 158–72. certainly exaggerated over time, readily admits the seriousness of the conflicts that wracked the early Muslim community, while Sunni historiography has often endeavored to Watt, W. cover them up or explain them away. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973. Devin J. Stewart

A seventeenth-century fresco depicting Iman Shah Zaid is IMAMI (TWELVER) represented in the volume two color insert. The term Ithna Ashari ("Twelver") or Imami refers to the See also Empires: Abbasid; Empires: Umayyad; Shi'a: denomination of Shi'ism to which the majority of Shi'as worldwide Imami (Twelver); Succession.

adhere. Characteristic of Twelver Shi ism is recognition of the authority of twelve successive imams (spiritual leaders) who were members or descendants of ahl al-bayt (the

BIBLIOGRAPHY

prophet Muhammad's immediate family). Their authority is Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. *The Divine Guide in Early Shi ism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*. Translated by Muhammad's daughter Fatima and her husband, Ali. Also said to have been transmitted over time via the lineage of Muhammad's David Streight. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. characteristic of Twelver Shi ism is an emotional attachment to ahl al-bayt that manifests itself in annual rituals commemorating the Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden battlefield death of the imam Husayn, grandson of Imam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. Muhammad. Crone, Patricia, and Hinds, Martin. *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*. Cambridge, U.K.: Twelver Shi ism identifies the first imam as Muhammad's cousin and Cambridge University Press, 1986. son-in-law, Ali b. Abi Talib. According to Shi a Donaldson, Dwight M. *The Shi ite Religion*. London: tradition, the Prophet, shortly before his own death, publicly Luzac, 1933. announced the selection of Ali as his successor. But Ali was Farouk, Omar. "Some Aspects of the Abbasid-Husaynid blocked repeatedly from power. He did not contest the Relations during the Early Abbasid Period, 132–193/ election of the first three caliphs, apparently out of a desire to 750–809 A.D." *Arabica* 22 (1975): 170–179. avoid civil war. Finally, Ali did obtain the caliphate and ruled for five years, only to be murdered in 661 C.E. Goldziher, Ignaz. *An Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*. Translated by Anras and Ruth Hamori. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984. In Twelver Shi ism the term imam indicates those mem- bers of ahl al-bayt who are the true spiritual leaders of the Halm, Heinz. *Shi ism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Muslim community regardless of any political recognition or Press, 1991. lack thereof extended by the Islamic world at large. After Ali, Hodgson, Marshall G. S. "How Did the Early Shi a Become the imamate passed to his sons, Hasan and Husayn successively. Sectarian." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75 (1955): 1–13. The martyrdom of the third imam, Husayn, during the Kohlberg, Etan. "Imam and Community in the Pre-Ghayba second

civil war in 680 is the most decisive event in Shi'ite history. At Karbala, near the Euphrates River, he was intercepted and surrounded by forces loyal to the Umayyad caliph, Yazid. During the initial days of the month of Muharram the

624

Islam and the Muslim World

Shi'a

imam Husayn and his followers withstood siege by Yazid's army, which hoped to force the small band to surrender. Husayn chose death instead. On Ashura, the tenth of the month of Muharram, Husayn was killed, his household taken captive. The train of captives, including Husayn's sister Zaynab and his son Ali Zayn al-Abidin, was marched through the desert to Damascus. Husayn's death at Karbala marks the beginning of the transformation of Shi'ism from a political movement to a distinctive religious tradition within Islam. His death is viewed by devout Shi'as as a sacrifice that benefits believers. In exchange for the suffering voluntarily undergone by Husayn and the other Karbala martyrs, God has granted them shafa'a (the external or literal meaning) and the batin (the hidden significance) of the Qur'an. The batin is accessed via ta'wil, an interpretive process that applies allegory and symbolism to the scriptural text. The power of intercession). Intercession is granted especially to those believers who earn savab (religious merit) by mourning Hasan al-Askari, the eleventh imam (d. 874). Skeptics in the Muslim community claimed that Hasan had died without leaving behind a son as leader of the Shi'as. But Imami doctrine asserts that Hasan did in fact have a son, named Abu Muhammad, and it explains the circumstance that the emergence of distinctive Shi'ite communities, not only in

was unknown to his contemporaries by invoking southern Iraq, the site of the imam's martyrdom, but also in the ancient concept of ghayba (occultation). To protect the Lebanon, Syria, and parts of South Asia. To this day various twelfth imam from his persecutors, God concealed the young man from localities in India and Pakistan commemorate Husayn's death the world at large. The period from 874 to 941 is with an annual "Horse of Karbala" procession. Mourners known as the Lesser Occultation. From concealment this parade a riderless stallion caparisoned to represent Zuljenah, "Hidden Imam" provided guidance to his community through the horse ridden by Husayn at Karbala. The horse's appearance acts as a stimulus to rituals of lamentation, the performance of agents, who met with him and conveyed his directives to the world.

The period from 941 to the present day is known as the Twelver Shi as recognize as the fifth imam Muhammad Greater Occultation. No longer are there agents who confer with the al-Baqir (d. c. 735), the son of the fourth imam, Ali Zayn al-Hidden Imam directly or transmit his instructions to Abidin. Like his father, al-Baqir avoided confrontation with the faithful. Nevertheless he is alive and will return to earth the reigning caliphate. He promulgated the doctrine of nass one day as the Mahdi, "the rightly guided by God," when he will ("designation"): guided by God, each imam designates the person who is to be his successor as spiritual leader of the the time when Ali, Husayn, and the other members of ahl al-Muslim community. Thus the imamate is not a matter of bayt were first denied the political recognition to which they were entitled. For this reason the twelfth imam is called alactivities of al-Baqir's half-brother Zayd b. Ali, who attracted Muntazar ("the Awaited One"), for Imami Shi ite belief looks hopefully the support of militants impatient with al-Baqir's political to the Mahdi's return as the inauguration of the Day of passivity. Zayd led an uprising against the reigning Umayyad Judgment.

government in Kufa and was killed there in the fighting in 740. Imami folklore includes tales that indicate that the twelfth The political engagement characteristic of Zaydi Shi ism imam dwells among us, invisibly present but capable of manifesting was countered by Ja far al-Sadiq (d. 765), the sixth imam in himself to individuals in moments of need. Iraqi Shi as in the Twelver tradition. Like his father al-Baqir, he espoused the 1990s who had returned from the pilgrimage to

an accommodationist attitude toward the caliphal authorities. Mecca recounted to this author stories of hajj-sightings. Also like his father, he advocated the doctrine of nass, thereby Elderly people who had been knocked to the ground and delegitimizing rival claimants to leadership of the Shi'ite nearly trampled in the pilgrim-crowds told of how they had community. Some Muslim scholars trace to his imamate the been rescued by "a tall youthful man of radiant appearance" doctrine of taqiyya ("dissimulation"), which permits Shi'as who subsequently vanished. Surely, they argued, this had threatened with persecution to conceal their denominational been the Hidden Imam. identity as followers of the imams. These teachings fostered in the Imami community a political quietism that furthered The net effect of Twelver belief concerning the Mahdi was to their survival as a religious minority under the Sunni caliphs. strengthen the accommodationist attitude already prevalent among the Imami Shi'as. Desires for social justice, Ja'far al-Sadiq was also renowned as a scholar of law (for for radical changes in the worldly order, and for the restoration of the body of legal lore in Twelver Shi'ism is tion of the caliphal throne to ahl al-bayt were linked to the

Islam and the Muslim World

625

Shi'as

concept of *intizar*: "expectation," the passive awaiting of the the martyrs), which was written by Husayn Wa'iz al-Kashifi Mahdi's return at the end of time. (d. 1504). "Paradise is awarded to anyone," argues Kashifi, "who weeps for Husayn for the following reason, that every Twelver theology underwent further elaboration with the year, when the month of Muharram comes, a multitude of the creation of the Safavid dynasty in Iran beginning in 1501 lovers of the family of the Prophet renews and makes fresh under Shah Isma'il. This monarch established Imami Shi'ism the tragedy of the martyrs." as Iran's state religion. The Safavids clashed frequently with the neighboring empire of the Ottoman Turks, whose sultans "Lovers of the family of the Prophet": Here Kashifi arrogated to themselves the title of caliph, with its implications of universal Islamic sovereignty. The settlement of the but in terms of emotional disposition and ritual activity. His description caliphate in Istanbul from the sixteenth century sharpened description suggests an important aspect of Imami Shi'ite Sunni-Shi'as tensions as a religious expression of international identity. At

the popular level, from the premodern era through political rivalries. the twenty-first century, Twelver Shi as tend to define themselves as those Muslims who excel beyond all others in their Theological developments during the Safavid era (sixteenthlove for the Prophet’s family and for the Prophet’s desceneighteenth centuries) reflected the Iranian clergy’s desire to dants, the imams. This affection is expressed annually in the heighten adherence to Shi ite communal identity in lands action of matam (displays of grief for the Karbala martyrs). under the shah’s dominion. This is reflected in the writings of the celebrated alim (religious scholar) Muhammad Baqir Safavid-era ulema such as Majlisi developed a predestinarian Majlisi (d. 1698). In a work called Bihar al-anwar (The oceans theology of voluntary suffering, ritual commemoration, and of lights) he assembled numerous Shi ite hadiths so as to intercession as a reward for mourners. They also campaigned justify the linkage of popular ritual practices with a distinc- vehemently and sometimes violently against Sufi shaykhs and tively Imami soteriology. For example, in a chapter of the the tariqat (mystical associations) that were under the direc- tion of Bihar entitled “The Ways in Which God Informed His tion of the Sufi masters. Twelver ulema condemned Sufism as heterodox Prophets of the Forthcoming Martyrdom of Husayn,” Majlisi heterodox out of a recognition that popular devotion to the emphasized the predestinarian quality of the seventh-century shaykhs and visits to the tombs of Sufi saints threatened to events at Karbala. compete with the forms of piety administered by the clerical hierarchy, namely, devotion to the twelve imams and pilgrim- Majlisi linked Husayn’s martyrdom at Karbala with the age to shrines associated with the imams. imam’s power to grant intercession in paradise to those who honor Husayn through acts of ritual commemoration. Majlisi Persecution of Sufis, however, did not preclude Sufi also promoted popular veneration of Husayn and the other influence on Imami Shi ism. Such influence can be seen in the imams by collecting in the Bihar various traditions describing later Safavid era with the flourishing of the “School of the twelve imams as ma sum (sinless, infallible, and protected Isfahan,” which is associated with Mulla Sadra (d. 1640). The from error). In Shi ite devotion today, the imams, together school of Isfahan pursued the study of Hekmat-e elahi (“divine with the prophet Muhammad and his daughter Fatima, are wisdom”), a discipline that combined formal training in known collectively as the “fourteen Infallibles.” Their Qur anic studies and related Islamic sciences with rational

sinlessness guarantees their closeness to God in heaven as philosophic inquiry and the cultivation of the direct and well as their ability to intercede for those on earth who unmediated personal experience of divine reality. Hekmat-e remember Husayn through acts of lamentation. elahi traces its origin to Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (d. Twelver Shi ism spread in Syria during the rule of the 1191), who in works such as Hikmat al-ishraq (The wisdom of Hamdanid dynasty in the tenth century. Aleppo became an illuminationist dawning) envisioned intellectual studies as the important center of medieval Shi ism. Another center of propaedeutic to mystical ascension and encounters with the Shi ite learning in the region emerged in Mamluk and Ottoman sacred. In the Twelver tradition this intellectual-mystical man times in Jabal Amil in present-day Lebanon. A number approach to learning is linked to the term *irfan* (“gnosis”: the of Shi ite scholars emigrated to Iran after the establishment of seeking after of experiential and participatory knowledge of the Safavid empire, but the Shi ite community continued its the patterns governing the cosmos). The term carries political life in the region and constitutes over one-third of the cultural implications. With the decline of centralized government population of Lebanon at present.

tal authority in the later Safavid and Qajar eras (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries), the ulema acquired ever more temporal power. Public rituals lamenting the Karbala martyrs are attested A spiritual elitism evolved in which at least some as early as the tenth century in Baghdad. The Safavid era, clerics were willing to accord the highest rank to the scholar however, witnessed the elaboration of a soteriology that cum-mystic: the perfected Gnostic, the theosopher-king.

joined ritual mourning with Shi ite communal identity. This This illuminationist strand in Imami theology culminated in is attested in a work that became increasingly popular during the twentieth century with the founding of Iran’s Islamic the reign of the Safavids, *Rawdat al-shuhada* (The garden of Republic under Ruhollah Khomeini.

626

Islam and the Muslim World

Shi a

The declining power of the Safavid shahs was accompanied by a passive expectation of salvation) into “Red Shi ism” (whereby Shari ati nished by the increasing importance in the public realm of the invoked the color of blood to call for confrontation, and self-sacrifice in the service of society). revolution, Usuli form of Shi ite jurisprudence. One way to understand Usulism is as a refutation of traditional Imami Shi ite attitudes toward

governance. Imami theology argued that since Husayn but also the revered women of the only legitimate government is that administered by the ahl al-bayt have been subjected to reinterpretation in recent years. An perfect and sinless imam, during the imam's occultation all at Karbala, example is Zaynab bt. Ali, Husayn's sister. Present forms of earthly government are necessarily imperfect and she was taken prisoner by Yazid's soldiers and presented to sinful. Many traditionalist Shi as therefore avoided engagement with worldly politics, preferring to await the Hidden Imam's return as the Mahdi. Despite her powerlessness, she spoke out defiantly and denounced Usuli jurisprudence, however, Yazid as a tyrant. Supporters of Khomeini during his granted to qualified ulema the latitude to apply ijtihad struggle against the Pahlevi regime described Zeinab as a model of (scripturally based independent reasoning) to every aspect of political activism worthy of imitation by contemporaries, not only religious, but also social and political. Those rare Shi ite women. Writing shortly after the 1979 revolution, scholars whose studies qualified them to exercise ijtihad were Zeinab, Farah Azari, one of the founding members of the Iranian Women's Solidarity Group, stated, "[I]t was Zeinab who came to the forefront to symbolize the ideal of the modern Muslim woman in Iran. Those enigmatic young revolutionary jurisprudents, Usulism restricted religious and intellectual women clad in a black chador bearing machine guns, aspire to independence among the masses. Usuli clerics insisted that follow Zeinab. It is not inappropriate that they have been the Shi ite laity must select a living mujtahid as a marja al- sometimes referred to as 'the commandos of her holiness taqlid ("reference point for imitation"), a guide that one Zeinab'" (Azari 1983, p. 26). Since follows in legal, moral, and ritual issues. The centralizing and authoritarian tendencies implicit in Usulism were resisted by thought in Khomeini's death in 1989 contemporary Shi ite the more conservative Akhbari school of jurisprudence, which and the Iran has been characterized by increasing diversity argued that Muslims should direct their taqlid ("imitation" or Shi ism. the emergence of a movement for the reformation of devout and unquestioning obedience) only to the imam and Shi ism is Among recent theological developments in Imami not to any earthly mujtahid. But by the late eighteenth Shi ism is the advocacy of taqrib ("rapprochement"), the century Usulism was clearly ascendant. Since the nineteenth easing of religious clashes between Shi as and Sunnis. In 1990

century certain of the most prominent Usuli maraji (plural of Khomeini's successor, Ayatollah Sayyed Ali Khamene i, marja al-taqlid) have received the title na'ib al-imam ("the founded the Majma al-taqrib ("the rapprochement association"), implying the jurisprudent's right to Hidden Imam's deputy"), with the idea of establishing an international league of govern as the lieutenant of the twelfth imam. In recent times Sunnis and Shi'as who would be united as Muslims in the face of perceived opposition from the non-Muslim world at large. Khomeini after the success of Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution. Khomeini rationalized the imamic deputy's role in society With this goal in mind, Khamene i has taken steps to through his doctrine of velayet-e faqih ("the rule of the reform a Shi'ite practice frequently denounced by Sunnis: the ritual of zanjiri-matam, in which mourners employ knives, razors, and chains in acts of self-flagellation to honor Husayn Islamic law. and the Karbala martyrs. In the 1994 Muharram season Khamene i issued a fatwa forbidding acts of matam per- Preparation for the 1979 revolution involved a formed in public involving the use of weapons to shed one's own blood. Such attempts to curb "bloody" matam have met In the prerevolutionary Iran of Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign, the at most with very limited success. Even before Khamene i's fatwa, in the 1980s an attempt to forbid Muharram self-suffering, whom one lamented during Muharram and to flagellation had been made by Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, whom one turned for shafa'a (intercession) and personal "spiritual mentor" of the militant Lebanese group Hezbollah. But Hezbollah Shi'as in Beirut disregarded Fadlallah's prohibition. And in various localities in India and Pakistan, Shi'ite matami (lamentation) associations continue to sponsor public 1970s, however, replaced the image of Husayn-as-savior with matam-performances in which many members engage in self-Husayn-as-revolutionary exemplar. Such thinking is evident flagellation. When interviewed, these mourners explained their reasons for persisting in this ritual: the wish to honor intellectual who advocated the transformation of "Black Husayn and

earn religious merit, as well as the desire to assert Shi'ism" (associated with mourning for Husayn and the communal identity in the presence of neighboring Shi'ite

Islam and the Muslim World

627

Shi'a

faith communities, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or Sunni Muslim community. The message of the movement was Muslim. The Iranian government's program of imposing uniformity worldwide in Shi'ite ritual practice is by no means parts of the Muslim world.

complete.

The early success of the Ismaili movement culminated in One of the most progressive Imami thinkers of the present the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa in day is Abd al-Karim Soroush (b. 1945). He offers a postpositivist 909.

Abdallah al-Mahdi (d. 934) and his successors in the assessment of modernity's challenge to revealed religion. Ismaili

imamate ruled as Fatimid caliphs over an important While religion itself is divine in origin, Soroush argues, all state that

soon grew into an empire stretching from North human knowledge of religion is limited, indeterminate, and Africa to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. The Fatimid period was necessarily subject to change. No interpretation of Qur'anic the

"golden age" of Ismailism when Ismaili thought and scripture can ever be definitive. According to Soroush, every literature

attained their summit and Ismailis made important scriptural interpretation, no matter how authoritative the contributions to Islamic civilization, especially after the seat of the

source, is fallible and can offer only an approximation of Fatimid caliphate was transferred to Cairo, itself founded in

divine truth. Such indeterminacy should not be viewed with 969 by the Fatimids. The early Ismailis developed alarm. Rather, this condition is intended by God so as to a

distinctive esoteric, gnostic system of religious thought encourage humans to engage in the ongoing process of based on a

distinction between the exoteric (zahir) and ijtihad, whereby they exercise the divine gifts of intellect and esoteric

(batin) aspects of the sacred scriptures as well as independent judgment. Because of the challenge to tradi- religious

commandments and prohibitions. They also devalued clerical authority implied by such arguments, Soroush opined a cyclical view of religious history and

a cosmological

has aroused considerable hostility among members of the doctrine.

The early doctrines were more fully elaborated in

governing hierarchy in Iran's Islamic Republic. Fatimid
times by Isma'ili da'is who were also the scholars and
authors of their community. Isma'ili law was codified through
See also Taqiyya; Usuliyya. the efforts
of al-Qadi al-Nu'man (d. 974), the foremost jurist
of the Fatimid period, and the Fatimid Isma'ilis developed
BIBLIOGRAPHY distinctive
institutions of learning.

Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden
Imam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. The early
Isma'ili movement had been rent by a schism in
899 when a faction of the community, designated as Qarmati,
Azari, Farah, ed. *Women of Iran: The Conflict with Fundamentalist Islam*.
London: Ithaca Press, 1983. refused to acknowledge
continuity in the Isma'ili imamate
and retained an earlier belief in the Mahdism of the seventh
Halm, Heinz. *Shi'a Islam: From Religion to Revolution*. Prince-
Isma'ili imam, Muhammad ibn Isma'il, who was expected to
ton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1997.
reappear. The Qarmatis, who did not recognize the Fatimid
Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi'a Islam*. New Haven, caliphs as
their imams, founded a powerful state in Bahrain,
Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.
eastern Arabia. The Qarmati state collapsed in 1077.
Pinault, David. *Horse of Karbala: Muslim Devotional Life in
India*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. The Fatimid
Isma'ilis themselves experienced a major
schism in 1094, on the death of al-Mustansir (1036–1094),
David Pinault the eighth Fatimid caliph and the eighteenth Isma'ili imam.
Al-Mustansir's succession was disputed by his sons Nizar (d.
ISMA'ILI 1095), the
original heir-designate, and al-Musta'li (1094–1101),
Isma'ili Shi'a represent the second most important Shi'ite who was
installed to the Fatimid throne through the machi community after the Twelver
(Ithna'ashari) Shi'a and are nations of the Fatimid wazir al-Afdal
(d. 1121). As a result, the
scattered in more than twenty-five countries in Asia, the unified
Isma'ili da'wa and community were split into rival
Middle East, Africa, Europe, and North America. The Isma'ilis Nizari and
Musta'li factions. The da'wa organization in Cairo
have subdivided into a number of factions and groups in the as well as
the Isma'ili communities of Yaman and Gujarat, in
course of their complex history. western
India, supported the claims of al-Musta'li. The
Isma'ilis of Iran and adjacent lands, who were then under the
The Isma'ilis recognized a line of imams in the progeny of leadership of
Hasan Sabbah (d. 1124), upheld Nizar's right to

Isma'il, son of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765), hence their designation as Isma'ili. By the 870s, the Isma'ilis had organized a revolutionary movement against the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. The aim of this religio-political movement, designated as al-da'wa al-hadiya or the "rightly guiding mission," was to install the Isma'ili imam belonging to the prophet Muhammad's family to a new caliphate ruling over the entire world. On the death of the Abbasid caliph-imam al-Amir al-Mu'tazz (847–849), the Mustali Isma'ilis themselves subdivided into the Hafizi and Tayyibi branches. The Hafizi Isma'ilis who recognized al-Hafiz (1130–1149) and the later Fatimid caliph al-Muhammad (1149–1171) as their legitimate imams, while the Tayyibi Isma'ilis recognized their imams disappeared completely after the Fatimid

628

Islam and the Muslim World

Shi a

dynasty was uprooted in 1171 by Saladin, the founder of the	known as
Khojas and they developed an indigenous tradition,	
Ayyubid dynasty who championed the cause of Sunnism.	designated as
the “Satpanth” or true path. The Nizaris of	
Tayyibi Isma ilis established their permanent stronghold in	Badakhshan,
now divided between Tajikistan and Afghanistan	the Yemen. By the end of the
sixteenth century, the Tayyibi	stan, have preserved numerous collections
of Persian Isma ili	
Isma ilis split into separate Da udi and Sulaymani branches	manuscripts.
The Nizari Khojas, together with the Tayyibi	
over the question of the rightful succession to the twenty-	Bohras, were
among the earliest Asian communities to have	
sixth da i mutlaq, Da ud b. Ajabshah (1567–1589). By that	settled in
the nineteenth century in East Africa. In the 1970s	
time, the Tayyibis of India, known locally as Bohras, had	and later,
many East African Isma ilis immigrated to the	
greatly outnumbered their Yemeni co-religionists. Da udi	West. Under
the leadership of their last two imams, Sultan	
and Sulaymani Tayyibis have followed different lines of da is.	Muhammad
Shah, Aga Khan III (1885–1957), and Prince	
Da udi Bohras, accounting for the great majority of the	Karim Aga
Khan IV, who in 1957 succeeded his grandfather	
Tayyibis, have split into a number of groupings, the largest	as their
forty-ninth imam, the Nizari Isma ilis, who number	
numbering around 800,000.	several
million, have entered the modern age as a progressive	
community with high standards of education and well-being.	
Hasan Sabbah’s seizure of the mountain fortress of Alamut,	
in northern Iran, in 1090, marked the effective foundation of	See also
Da wa; Khojas; Nizari.	

designated as

Badakhshan,

end of the

ous collections

manuscripts.

Bohras, were

settled in

and later,

West. Under

Muhammad

Karim Aga

as their

several

See also

what became the Nizari Isma'ili state of Iran and Syria. Thus, Nizaris acquired political prominence under Hasan and his seven successors at Alamut. In 1094, Hasan also founded the Daftary, Farhad, ed. *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*. independent Nizari da'wa and severed his ties with Fatimid Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Egypt. The Nizari state was comprised of a network of strongholds and towns in several regions of Iran and Syria, in Daftary, Farhad. *A Short History of the Ismailis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

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the midst of the Seljuk sultanate. Hasan's armed revolt against the Seljuk Turks, whose alien rule was detested by the Iranians, did not succeed, nor did the Seljuks succeed in

Farhad Daftary

destroying the Nizari fortress communities despite their superior military power. A stalemate, in effect, developed between the Nizaris and their various enemies until their Shi'ism known as the Zaydiyya owes its name state in Iran was destroyed by the all-conquering Mongols in the imamate of Zayd b. Ali. Adherents

ZAYDI (FIVER)

The branch of

1256. The Nizaris of Syria, who had numerous military Zayd as imam because it was he who raised an encounters with the Crusaders, and Saladin, among others, Ummayyad rule in an aborted uprising in 740 C.E.

to the belief

proclaimed

were later subdued by the Mamluks. The Iranian Nizaris are the inheritors of that element of Shi'ism that elaborated their own teachings and adopted Persian, in preference to Arabic, as their religious language. They also a characteristic of the imam, rather than an

army against

The Zaydis

emphasizes a

structures as

established libraries at Alamut, the headquarters of the Nizari conception of the imam as spiritual guide with a state and da'wa, and other mountain fortresses, also extending different relationship to God than the ordinary their patronage of learning to outside scholars.

believer. The

qualities of the imam for Zaydis include a

willingness and ability to assume some sort of political power,

The Nizari Isma'ilis survived the destruction of their along with

learning (ilm, in the traditional, rather than

state. Initially, for about two centuries, they remained dis- esoteric

sense of the word) and descent from the Prophet's

ganized and developed independently in scattered communi-

cousin and

son-in-law, Ali. It is not essential that the imam

ties, also adopting Sufi guises to safeguard themselves against be

designated by the previous imam, and there may be times

persecution. During the Anjudan revival in the post-Alamut when the

world is entirely bereft of an imam since no

period of their history, which lasted some two centuries from descendant of Ali is qualified to assume the position. For the middle of the fifteenth century, the Nizari imams emerged some Zaydis, there may be times when there is more than one at Anjudan, in central Iran, and increasingly established their imam, each leading Islamic states in different parts of the world (though control over various communities of their followers, also regularly the long-term aim that these states conjoin is expressed). Indeed this was the case in the tenth century, when time, the Nizaris of Iran and adjacent lands retained different Zaydi states existed simultaneously in Yemen taqiyya or precautionary dissimulation practices of disguising and Tabaristan (on the Iranian coast of the Caspian Sea) with themselves under the cloaks of Sufism and Twelver Shi'ism, separate imams. the official religion of Safavid Iran. The Anjudan revival achieved particular success in Central Asia and South Asia, The rejection of the special qualities of the imam in Zaydi where large numbers of Hindus were converted in Sind, thought removes one of the elements of Shi'ism viewed as Gujarat, and elsewhere. The Indian Nizaris became locally problematic by Sunni authors. This has led to a certain

Islam and the Muslim World

629

Shirk

rapprochement between Zaydis and Sunnis, and the develop- tribal loyalty versus imamate authority are a constant theme ment of a Zaydi theological and legal tradition that intersects in the history of the area. with the Sunni tradition more than with that of the Isma'ilis or Imamis. This rejection of the special qualities of the imam Perhaps the most interesting figure of later Zaydi thought manifests itself in the common Zaydi assertion that Ali, is Muhammad b. Ali al-Shawkani (d. 1834), whose learning in both Hasan, and Husayn were designated as imams, but that their in both Sunni and Zaydi traditions has earned him the title designation was hidden (nass khafi), and could only be discov- mujaddid (renewer) of the twelfth hijri century by no less a erudite after investigation. This exempted some of the compan- Sunni authority than Rashid Rida. Though not an imam himself, ions of the Prophet, who had not recognized Ali's imamate, he was appointed as chief judge of the Zaydi imamate. from blame or censure. Zaydi theologians and historians have Shawkani's exposition of ijtihad, and his refusal to slavishly imitate past also been less eager to criticize the caliphates of Abu Bakr (r.

legal authority (of either the Zaydi or Sunni 632–634), Umar (r. 634–644), and Uthman (r. 644–656). schools) brought about a revivification of legal studies, the The legal system, it is claimed by Zaydi scholars, owes much effect of which was felt well beyond the boundaries of the to Shafi'ite jurisprudence. Zaydi state.

The theological writings of the Zaydiyya show the imprint The Zaydi imamate in Yemen continued well into the of the Mu'tazili school. Al-Qasim b. Ibrahim al-Rassi (d.860), twentieth century. This was in part due to the charismatic and dynamic imam an early imam and supposed founder of the Zaydi legal Yahya Hamid al-Din who fought against the Ottomans school, set the tone for later Zaydi exploration of Mu'tazili themes with his support of standard Mu'tazili principles such the area) and took the disputed town of Badr from the Saudis. After his as the unity of God (tawhid), the justice of God (adl), and the death in 1948, the imamate faced a number of challenges promise and the threat (al-wa'd wa l-wa'id). Al-Qasim's grand- and eventually collapsed in 1962 as Yemen experienced, al-Hadi ila al-Haqq al-Mubin (d. 911), himself a noted encouraged a revolution influenced by the thought of Jamal Abd al-Nasser. theologian, founded the Zaydi state in Yemen, and a close The republicans who formed the Yemen Arab Republic, relationship with Mu'tazilism characterized Yemeni Zaydi and negotiated an abortive union with Egypt, divesting discourse thereafter. Other Mu'tazili principles that permeated the Hamid al-Din line of the imamate. This brought the end of ate Zaydi theological works include a belief in human free will the most long lasting Shi'ite state in the Muslim world, and (qadr), a renunciation of anthropomorphism (tashbih) with although Zaydi scholars still study and teach in the highlands of regard to God, and the widely cited Mu'tazili slogan taklif ma Yemen, the legal tradition has become increasingly mixed with Shafi'ite law, the other be interpreted as meaning that ingly mixed with Shafi'ite law, the other major legal tradition in the area. God cannot demand that his subjects (mukallafun) perform duties they are incapable of either doing or knowing; to do so See also Shafi'i, al-; Shi'a: Early; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); would make God unjust. These principles were not, however, Shi'a: Ismaili. incorporated into Zaydi Islam without debate. Perhaps most notable of the dissident groups was the Mutarrifiyya, a Yemeni Zaydi movement that emerged in the eleventh century and BIBLIOGRAPHY was named after its founder Mutarrif b. Shihab (d. 1067). The Abrahamov,

Binyamin. Anthropomorphism and Interpretation
Mutarriifiyya claimed to be adhering strictly to the teachings in the
Qur'an in the Theology of al-Qasim b. Ibrahim. Leiden:
of al-Qasim b. Ibrahim in rejecting certain elements of E. J.
Brill, 1996.

Basran Mu tazilism in support of some of the conclusions of Madelung,
Wilfred. Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval
the Mu tazili school of Baghdad. In Zaydi Tabaristan, the Islam.
London: Varirum Reprints, 1985.

state founded by a descendant of Zayd, al-Hasan b. Zayd (d.
888), there was also much theological and legal debate,
Robert Gleave
particularly under the imamate of al-Nasir Hasan al-Utrush
in the tenth century. The latter's legal doctrine was a matter
of dispute among the Zaydis both during his life and after his
death (in particular his doctrine that three statements of SHIRK
divorce announced by the husband in one session was a valid
form of divorce). The intellectual history of the Zaydi school Meaning
"association," the term shirk generally implies asis, then, a history of
debate and dispute that at times threat- signing partners or equals to God,
and is considered to be the
ened the unity of the community. When the Zaydi state in paramount
sin in Islam. The central doctrine of Islam is
Tabaristan collapsed in 1126, however, Yemen became (and tawhid
(divine unity), which came to mean that God does not
remains to the present day) the undisputed home of Zaydi need nor
have partners to assist Him. By contrast, Muslims
theology and law. The Zaydi imamate in Yemen had grown base their
understanding of shirk on three passages from the
out of a loose coalition of Yemeni tribes, and the dynamics of Qur'an
(34:20–24, 35:40, 46:4), which advise Muslims against

630

Islam and the Muslim World

Silsila

associating helpers or partners with God. For instance, Sura Surty,
Muhammad Ibrahim. The Qur'anic Concept of al-Shirk
34:20–24 establishes the non-duality of God, arguing that
(Polytheism). London: Ta Ha Publishers, 1990.

evil and good originate in God's creative act and that evil (the Watt, W.
Montgomery. Islamic Philosophy and Theology: An
shaytan) has no power over creation. Extended
Survey. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University
Press, 1985.

Sura 34:23 has been used by some commentators to
suggest that God's power is so all-encompassing that hu-

R. Kevin Jaques

mans have no free will, and that God has predetermined who will be saved and who will be damned. The Jabriyya (compulsionists, circa eighth-to-ninth century) argued that those who advocated a free will position (the Qadariyya) held, SIBA I, MUSTAFA AL- (1915–1964) by implication, that humans have abilities over which God has no power, in effect making humans equal to God in Mustafa al-Siba i was the socialist founder of the Society of certain respects. This view was later modified by al-Ash ari the Muslim Brothers of Syria, a branch of the Egyptian, anticolonialist organization Ikhwan. Unlike the original Broth- (d. 935), who held that God creates a range of choices from erhood in Egypt, the lesser-known Syrian branch did not which humans have the limited ability to choose (kasb, literally engage in terrorist activities under Siba i and was ally “to acquire”) at the moment of decision. In this way, generally regarded as following peaceful means to achieve its God’s ultimate unity is not violated and humans do not goals. Born in Homs, Damascus, in 1915, Siba i went to associate themselves with God’s creative power. Egypt in 1933 to study at the University of Al-Azhar, where Some contemporary Islamic revivalists have argued that he was influenced by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. In the Qur an accuses Christians and Jews of shirk, based on 1949, he completed his Ph.D. dissertation, entitled “The Position of Sunna in Legislation.” Charged with subversion and the Christians call Christ the son of God.” Furthermore, by the British government in 1934 and 1940, he was eventu- ally Sura 5:72–73 accuses Christians of associating Jesus with God and deported to Palestine. Siba i questioned the economic and contends that “if they do not desist ... a painful punish- and cultural reliance of Muslim states on either the United States or ment will come upon them.” Sura 2:105, however, draws a distinction between Christians and Jews, whom it refers to as their independence from Western influences. He advocated ahl al-kitab (people of the book) and the polytheists, whom it social reform based both on Marxist theories and traditional calls the mushrikun (literally the “ones who associate”). The Islamic thought and strongly believed in the idea of universal distinction is based on the idea that while Christians and Jews Muslim solidarity. Siba i discussed the rights of women under Islamic law may be in error, they base their mistake on a corruption of and scholar in an article published in 1962. A noted author and scholar of fiqh and sunna, he also edited the journals Alof God’s true religion while

interpolating certain ideas that Manar, Al-Muslimin, and Hadarat al-Islam. need to be corrected for them to fully follow God's path. The See also Ikhwan al-Muslimin.

mushrikun reject all revelation and prefer to worship their own gods in preference to the united and all-powerful God (see Sura 23:51–77).

Salt, J. "An Islamic Scholar-Activist: Mustafa al-Siba i in Contemporary Islamic revivalists have also used the con- 1945–54." Journal of Arabic, Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies 3 (1996): 103–115.

cept to justify attacks on non-Muslims, as well as fellow Muslims who reject revivalist ideologies. Many contempo- Paula Stiles

rary revivalists base their ideas on the writings of Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966), who argued that true Islam had been corrupted by pre-Islamic and extra-Islamic ideas that promoted concepts of shirk and interwove them with Islamic ritual and theology.

According to this view, only through the violent expulsion of shirk concepts can true Islam flower as it did during the time Arabic for chain, is the word commonly used to

of the prophet Muhammad and his Companions and successors. spiritual genealogy of Sufi lineages, which in

turn are used to legitimize the authority of Sufi shaykhs. It is

See also Allah; Arabia, Pre-Islam; Asnam; Modern both the "heart-to-heart connection" and the

Thought; Political Islam; Qutb, Sayyid.

teaching originated with Muhammad, hence the

need for a series of spiritual links constituting a "chain" that

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back to the Prophet acting as a "conduit" for divine

Qutb, Sayyid. Milestones. Indianapolis: American Trust Pub- God. In many respects these sufi genealogical

lications, 1990. chains

resemble hadith isnads (chains of hadith transmitters).

Islam and the Muslim World

631

Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad

The encompassing principle involved in both isnads and Sirhindi's notions of Islamic orthopraxy/orthodoxy and silsilas is the personal encounter between two reliable trans- reflections on Sufi doctrine are discussed extensively in his mitters. Generally, hadith scholars define this encounter in (536 Collected Letters), which have been translated personal, verbal terms and for Sufis it entails a nonverbal original Persian into Arabic, Turkish (Ottoman and sharing of the heart. This allows Sufi silsilas to have "Uwaysi

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Syria,

SILSILA

Silsila,

describe the

assumed that

spiritual

connects

grace from

Maktubat

from the

modern), and Urdu. Other of his writings include Mabda links,” which involve “supra-temporal” meetings of Sufis in wa-ma ad, Makashafat-e ayniyya, Ma arif laduniya, Sharh-e their imaginal forms. ruba iyat-e khwaja Baqi billah, and Ithbat al-nubuwwa.

The earliest Sufi silsila traces the spiritual genealogy of See also Falsafa; Ibn Arabi; South Asia, Islam in; Ja far al-Khuldi (d. 959) back to the Successors. Like hadith Tasawwuf; Wahdat al-Wujud.

isnads, these Sufi chains were “raised” over time to connect with Companions and then to Muhammad. In many Sufi

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lineages disciples memorize the silsila of the lineage as a litany Friedmann, Yohanan. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of invoking divine grace or as a contemplation exercise to attract His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity. the spirits of deceased shaykhs.

Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1971.

Haar, J. G. T. Follower and Heir of the Prophet: Shaykh Ahmad See also Khilafat Movement; Tariqa.

Sirhindi (1564–1624) as Mystic. Leiden: Het Oosters Institute, 1992.

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SOCIALISM

Arthur F. Buehler In the Arab Middle East, socialism (Arabic, ishtirakiyya) as an

explicit political-economic ideology had a brief period of prominence in the 1960s. Policies that could be identified as socialist, however, have been much more enduring, even in

SIRHINDI, SHAYKH AHMAD

countries

that explicitly reject socialist ideology. If socialism

(1564–1624)

is

understood as government control of the major sectors of the economy, combined with a commitment to redistribution

Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi was born in Sirhind, a small town of wealth

and an assurance of economic security to all citillocated two hundred kilometers northwest of Delhi. The zens, then even the most “capitalist”

of the Arab states in the

head of a Sufi lodge as well as a competent religious scholar, Middle

East are to some extent socialist.

he was initiated into three Sufi lineages: the Chishtiyya, the Qadiriyya, and the Suhrawardiyya. The turning point of his

Political circumstances drove early moves by Arab states life came with a meeting with Muhammad Baqi billah (d. in the post-World War II period to take a more controlling role in 1603), a Central Asian Naqshbandi shaykh. In three months their economies. Egyptian and Iraqi military coups in the 1950s Sirhindi returned to Sirhind with unconditional permission were followed by land reform measures aimed at destroying the economic base of the pillars of the old regime, years later Baqi billah died and Sirhindi was recognized by the large landowners. Confiscated lands were mostly redismost of Baqi billah's disciples as the principal successor. tributed, not kept by the state, but this process brought these governments more directly into the management of the From this point Sirhindi elaborated a new set of Sufi agricultural economy. Symbols of foreign economic control like the doctrines and disciplines grounded in following the pro-Suez Canal in Egypt and the British Petroleum phetic example (sunna) and Islamic law (shari a). More than concession in Iraq were nationalized in whole or in part as any other Naqshbandi since Baha uddin, Sirhindi became the expressions of political independence and to provide revenue pivotal figure in India who redefined Sufism's role in society to the new regimes. While populist and nationalist in nature, and who integrated Sufi practice into strict juristic notions such steps were not animated by explicitly socialist blueprints. of shari a observance. Indeed, after Sirhindi's death, the They did, however, further increase government control of the Naqshbandiyya became renowned as the Naqshbandiyya-economy.

Mujaddidiyya, named after Sirhindi's title of "the renewer of the second millennium" (mujaddid alf-e thani). In the twentieth century selective interpretations of Sirhindi's thoughts in the Arab Middle East. In 1961 the United Arab Republic have been utilized by Pakistani nationalists to legitimize the (Egypt) adopted the "Socialist Decrees" of 1961, in one fell swoop creation of Pakistan. nationalizing most large-scale industry, all financial

632

Islam and the Muslim World

Socialism

Arab students occupying the Syrian embassy in London in 1963, the year the Ba th party came to power in Syria. The Ba th party's motto is "Unity, Freedom, and Socialism." The Ba th party effected wide nationalization measures in Syria and, a few years later, in Iraq. GETTY IMAGES

institutions, all utilities and transportation concerns, and all reinforced in the minds of many Arab leaders by the strong foreign trade. Soviet-style “five-year plans” became the blue-print for economic development. In 1962 the Egyptian ruling party was renamed the Arab Socialist Union. In the same year opposition to Western colonialism and neo-colonialism rean explicitly socialist party, the National Liberation Front (in quired a socialist orientation, and the anticolonial zeitgeist in French, the FLN), came to power in newly independent Africa, and Latin America bolstered that notion. Algeria. The new government confiscated the agricultural Undoubtedly many Arab leaders believed that “scientific” and industrial assets of the departed French colonists and, planning and state direction of the economy were the shortest rather than redistributing them, turned them into state assets. to economic development and social justice. But equally It subsequently nationalized the French companies that had enticing to new and sometimes unsteady Arab regimes was developed the country’s oil and natural gas reserves. In 1964 political power that state control over the economy the ruling party in Tunisia added the “Socialist” sobriquet to placed in their hands. The state could provide jobs in its its name as well, and adopted state planning as the way to expanding bureaucracy and in state enterprises, subsidize bring about a socialist transformation of the economy. The housing and consumer goods, and direct capital toward its Ba th party (whose motto is “unity, freedom, and socialism”) favored clients.

came to power in Syria in 1963 and Iraq in 1968, and in each state far-reaching nationalization measures were adopted. An enormous oil price increases of the 1973–1981 period explicitly Marxist regime took power in South Yemen in 1967 mixed and paradoxical effect on the socialist trend in the after the withdrawal of British colonialism.

world. States with little oil, like Egypt and Tunisia, in large measure abandoned the socialist rhetoric of the 1960s in The reasons behind this trend of explicit socialism in the to attract foreign investment and carve out a trading 1960s are a mixture of intellectual fashion, foreign policy, and in a world where the export-led growth model had political opportunity. The success of the Soviet model in the supplanted the socialist models of the 1960s. Socialist oil 1950s, in rebuilding war-torn Russia into a superpower, was producers, like Algeria and Iraq, had vast new resources at

Both

Asia,

path

the

The

had a

Arab

an effort

niche

South Asia, Islam in

their disposal to increase their control over their economies. south of the Himalaya and Hindukush mountain ranges: the

The Libyan regime added the term “socialist” to the official Ganges and Indus river plains and the peninsula (now the name of the state in 1977. Syria, with a small amount of oil nations of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). Included in South Asia production but an ability to attract aid from other Arab oil are the mountainous regions (Afghanistan, Nepal, producers and from the Soviet Union, made a few gestures in Bhutan, Burma, Tibet) whose societies have been in close the 1970s toward a more open economy, but basically contin- contact with the Indus and Ganges plains. Also in the South ued on the socialist economic path. Asian cultural zone are islands of the Indian Ocean (Sri Lanka, Lakshadweep, Andaman, Nicobar, and the Maldives).

The Arab monarchies, explicit opponents of socialism on an ideological basis, during this period began to adopt poli- South Asia is a distinctive area with complex relations to other parts of Asia. The world’s highest mountains separate those of their socialist neighbors. In Saudi Arabia and the South Asia from China, Central Asian steppes, and the smaller Persian Gulf states, vast oil revenues allowed the Iranian plateau; yet mountain passes provided conduits for governments to dominate their economies, build huge state trade, religious and cultural exchange, migration, and invabureaucracies, and provide a level of welfare benefits to their sion. Sea lanes connect South Asia to the “Middle Eastern”

citizens far beyond what the socialist states could. Even in lands of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea and to islands of Morocco and Jordan, without oil, foreign aid and phosphate Indonesia and the Malay peninsula. South Asia developed complex sales gave the governments the wherewithal to substantially agrarian societies, political empires, and highly developed increase their control over their economies. Differences with religious systems (from local cults to Brahmanical the “socialist” economies certainly remained. Much more of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism).

the monarchical economies remained in private hands, notably the financial sector. But the trend toward practical eco- Islam in South Asia nomic convergence was clear. These geographic boundaries and connections shaped the growth of Muslim communities in South Asia, which con-

With the falling off of oil prices from the mid-1980s, the tains a diversity of Muslim groups. Muslims in South Asia last vestiges of official socialist doctrine were for the most include all major sectarian groups and different legal schools, part abandoned in the Arab world. Algeria began to invite and speak many regional languages. If the populations of foreign investment; Iraq privatized (to cronies of the regime) India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are combined, the South many state assets; even in Syria the official discourse became Asian core area has the highest population of Muslims globally. more favorable to private sector initiatives. But while the rhetoric of the market dominated the Arab world at the turn Early Muslims in South Asia of the new millennium, in reality the Arab states, whether Commerce, conquest, and conversion led to the growth of formerly “socialist” or not, were having a hard time giving up Muslim communities in South Asia. Maritime commerce first the power that state control over the economy brings. The established a Muslim presence in South Asia. The western Arab states lagged far behind East Asian and Latin American coast of South Asia had intimate commercial and political states in actual privatizations and in foreign investment, relations with the “Middle East” long before the time of outside of the energy sector. The vocabulary of socialism has Muhammad (died 632 C.E.). The southwest of Malabar (from Ma bar, disappeared, but its practices hang on, more for political than Ma bar, Arabic for “place of crossing,” now Kerala) housed for ideological and economic reasons. merchants and settlers from pre-Islamic Arab, Jewish, and Christian communities.

See also Communism; Modernization, Political: Participation, Political Movements, and Parties. The advent of Islam transformed Arab settlers into Muslim settlers. At first, this may not have dramatically changed

BIBLIOGRAPHY their relation with rulers or local populations. Arab mer- Issawi, Charles. *An Economic History of the Middle East and chants* married local women and were recognized as a distinct North Africa. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. caste with high status. Muslim Arab traders built mosques Richards, Alan, and Waterbury, John. *A Political Economy of and acted as* overseas commercial agents of local rulers and the Middle East. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996. political advisors. Tamil-speaking Muslims on the southern tip of the peninsula are known as Marakkayar, meaning F. Gregory Gause III “sailors” (possibly derived from Arabic Markab or ship).

Arabic literacy raised the status of Muslim Arabs in Malabar, as the Islamic empire in the Middle East and the Iranian

SOUTH ASIA, ISLAM IN plateau
established Arabic as the commercial lingua franca in the Indian Ocean basin. Children of Arab merchants and South Asia is commonly known as the “Indian Subcontinent” South Asian women were raised Muslim, creating the nucleus or the “Indo-Pak Subcontinent.” Its core is the landmass for a more indigenous Muslim community; in addition Hindu

634

Islam and the Muslim World

South Asia, Islam in

and may have colluded with Arab Muslims in order to displace them. Muhammad ibn Qasim extended dhimmi status to Brahmanical Hindus and Buddhists: the first example in Islamic history of “protected religious community” applied to groups not mentioned in the Qur'an. Despite this, Arab rulers justified their conquest of Sindh with a call for conversion to Islam. There is no evidence of a sustained effort to convert local populations (as in the Umayyad empire as a whole). After conquest, Brahmanical temples functioned and Hindu communities administered revenue collection.

The Arab conquerors founded Mansura as a garrison and the capital city (from approximately 730). Multan became the second Islamic urban center, though it had been a major city and Hindu temple site before the Arab conquest. After the Abbasid empire transferred the caliphal capital to Baghdad, cultural, religious, and scientific contact between South Asians and Muslims in the central Islamic lands increased.

Political strife in the central Islamic lands affected Sindh.

As the Fatimids established a revolutionary counter-caliphate In Bhopal, India, Muslims in the streets surrounding the Taj al Masjid mosque offer prayers on the final day of the Tablighi Ijtema religious at Cairo, Isma'ili missionaries (da'is) in Sindh engineered a gathering, in which thousands of Muslims from over forty countries coup. Sunnis were driven underground and Sindh became a took part. © AFP/CORBIS

satellite of Fatimid rule. Isma'ili missionaries drew equivalence between Islamic beliefs and those of native populations to facilitate conversion and gain support beyond urban centers rulers appointed children to Arab families to learn techniques ters. Allah was pictured as equivalent to Brahma, while Adam of the seafaring trade. According to legend, a Hindu ruler was an incarnation or avatar of Shiva and Ali was an avatar of converted to Islam during Muhammad's lifetime and traveled

Vishnu. Beyond political strategy, this syncretic theology to Medina, leaving his Hindu descendants to rule by delega- promoted the idea that Hindu theism was compatible with or tion from the disappeared “Muslim king.” This legend pro- equivalent to Islam.

vided a mythic explanation of the cooperative relationship between Hindu kings and Arab-Muslim trade communities.

The

Ghaznavid Sultanate (997–1175 C.E.)

Initial contact between Islam and South Asia came via sea

The Conquest of Sindh (711–997 C.E.)

routes, but more sustained contact came though land routes.

Unlike Malabar, the northwest coast was not hospitable to the Abbasid period Central Asia, Khurasan, and

During

Arab and Persian merchant settlers. The Hindu communities Afghanistan became important regions of the Islamic empire.

of Sindh and Gujarat were already engaged in maritime trade;

When

Abbasid rule became weak, Turkic slave-soldiers

Arab settlements were competition, not complement. As the

(mamluks) governing outlying territories asserted indepen-

dence

Islamic community expanded into an empire in the seventh

as sultans, beginning with the sultanate of Ghazna in

century, it conquered the Sassanid empire and absorbed the

962.

With its capital of Ghazayn (in Afghanistan), the sultanate

Iranian potential to dominate the Indian Ocean basin.

bridged the land routes between the Iran plateau and

South Asia.

The Umayyad dynasty initiated diplomatic and commercial relations with Sri Lanka and the Indonesian archipelago, Mahmud of Ghazna ruled this

sultanate from 998–1030,

coming into conflict with Hindu rulers in Sindh over pirates’

creating a Turkic aristocracy with Persian court rituals and

interference in sea routes. Sindhi rulers failed to control

strong

loyalty to Sunni sectarianism. He expanded westward

piracy (or perhaps profited by it). In 711, when Sindhi pirates

into

Khurasan and eastward into Punjab, establishing Lahore

captured a ship bound from Sri Lanka to the Umayyad ruler

as a

frontier garrison town and important center of Islamic

with royal gifts, the Arab-Islamic empire mounted a naval

scholarship. Mahmud patronized Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, a

expedition that conquered Sindh.

scholar who authored a study of the religions and sciences of

South Asia (Kitab al-Hind).

The expedition leader, Muhammad ibn Qasim, established the first Arab-Islamic

polity in South Asia. Sectarian

Mahmud participated in larger

political and religious

feuds in Sindh facilitated conquest; Mahayana Buddhists

rivalries. He invaded Sindh, opposing the Isma ili Fatimid

struggled for political supremacy against Brahmanical Hindus, presence there. He raided far into the Ganges plain; political

Islam and the Muslim World

635

South Asia, Islam in

chronicles attribute to him a policy of plundering the wealth of this continuity, Muslim artisans, intellectuals, of Hindu temples. Historians argue over the extent of his religious leaders immigrated to South Asia, causing plunder and whether iconoclastic desecration was a religious Islamic scholarship, and literary and fine arts to justification for military campaigns. All agree, however, that Official structure of the administration included plunder funded westward campaigns rather than ruling South leaders: A shaykh al-Islam, who was the most authoritative Islamic scholar in each city or region, presided over qadis, who acted as judges and notaries drawn from the Sufi organizations began to move into Ghaznavid-scholars trained in jurisprudence (fiqh) and theology controlled territories and acted as missionaries for Sunni al-din). Although the sultans of Delhi favored the Shafi i allegiance. Suhrawardi Sufis were active in opposing the law, most South Asian Muslims adhered to the Isma ili presence: These include Baha uddin Zakariya, who school (as did Turkic peoples in Central Asia). Muscreated a devotional center in Multan; Sayyid Jalal Bukhari in ilims of the southern coasts like Malabar continued to follow Uchh; and Ali Hujwiri (known as Data Ganj Bakhsh) in the Shafi i school. Lahore. Sufis continued the Isma ili effort to convert South Asians to Islam by preaching, teaching, and healing. Religious life outside state control was vibrant. Sufis established mosques and hospices (khanaqa or jama at-khana) The Sultanates of Delhi (1175–1526 C.E.) in smaller towns as devotional, educational, and charitable Ghaznavid rule allowed further Turkic slave-soldier regimes centers. Discourses of Sufi masters introduced new intellecto invade. In 1175, Muhammad ibn Sam invaded from Afghanitual disciplines and scholarly knowledge. The Chishti Sufi, stan into Punjab. Unlike the Ghaznavids, he conquered Nizam al-Din Awliya (died 1325 C.E.), was one of the first in Delhi and set up a lasting administration in the South Asian South Asia to debate religious topics through constant referheartland. This administration, known as the sultanate of ence to prophetic hadith. Although state officials and Sufi

Delhi, was ruled by a succession of slave-soldier regimes: leaders debated issues of religious practice, they were not Ghuri (1193–1290), Khalji (1290–1320), Tughluq diametrically opposed. Especially outside the capital, tacit (1320–1398), Sayyid (1414–1450), and Lodi (1451–1526). cooperation between qadis and Sufi leaders was the norm. Despite rapid dynastic change, these sultans created a stable political structure. In their rhetoric, “Islam” meant the Regional Islamic Kingdoms (1338–1687 C.E.)

The Delhi sultanate became weak in the mid-fourteenth political dominance of the Sunni Turkic and Afghan elite.

This rhetoric (preserved in coinage, monumental architecture, and historical chronicles) should not obscure the fact

governors asserted independence, creating regional dynasties. The Ilyas Shahi dynasty built a kingdom in that local Muslim communities were growing outside state

1342 with its capital at Lakhnawti, while the control. Hindu kings (rajas) who fought against the Turkic

dynasty threw off Delhi’s rule in the Deccan in dynasties employed South Asian Muslims as soldiers, just as

Thereafter, the Deccan split into five small Islamic Hindu soldiers fought with the Turkic armies. Political

Golkonda, Khandesh, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, and Berar. conflict between Turkic sultans and Hindu rajas was not a

Gujarat, the Zafar Shahi dynasty created its local clash between two religions or two incompatible civilizations

Ahmadabad. These smaller Islamicate dynasties despite claims of colonial-era and contemporary nationalist

distinctive regional Islamic societies and literature in histories. local

languages beyond Persian.

The Delhi sultanates introduced new forms of political dynasties justified independence from Delhi by

administration (the iqta or jagirdari system), military organization, architecture, coinage, and patronage of literature and

local Sufi leaders or adopting Shi ite loyalties. In Zafar Shahi dynasty built the tomb of Shaykh

music. These last two cultural spheres involved syncretic Khattu, after whom they named Ahmadabad. In the

creativity between Hindus and Muslims. The system of Bahmani dynasty built a tomb for the Chishti

North Indian (Hindustani) classical music was shaped by Muhammad Hussayni Gesu Daraz, at Gulbarga.

Muslim innovations through court patronage; Amir Khosrow dynasty of Kandesh named their capital Burhanpur

(died 1325), an innovator in Hindustani music, was involved

century;

Islamic

Bengal from

Bahmani

1347.

states:

In 1401 in

capital at

created

Regional

patronizing

Gujarat, the

Ahmad

Deccan, the

Shaykh,

The Faruqi

after the

Chishti Sufi master, Burhan al-Din Gharib. These in Sufism and court life. Sufi leaders migrated from Delhi as central power of the Delhi sultanate broke down. Some of the Deccani dynasties The Delhi sultanate expanded across the Ganges plain to were Shi'a and fostered cultural and commercial relation- ships with Bengal, and southward to Rajasthan and Gujarat, encompass- Iran. ing the Deccan region of peninsular South Asia in 1310 C.E. The Delhi sultans' profound military success was against This centrifugal process accelerated when Timur (Tamerlane) Mongol incursions, turning South Asia into a haven for invaded South Asia and sacked Delhi in 1389. Islamic rule while Iran, Iraq, and Syria were devastated. Timur did not occupy Delhi, but a chieftain of Chaghatai

636

Islam and the Muslim World

South Asia, Islam in

Turks who claimed descent from Timur did. Zahir al-Din Chaghatai Turkish was the native tongue of Mogul royal Muhammad Babur, a Turkic warlord from the Ferghana family, but Persian was the language of court chronicles, Valley (now Tajikistan), invaded South Asia to rebuild his secular poetry, and Sufi devotional literature. Cooperation fortune until he could reconquer Ferghana, defeating Ibrahim and intermarriage between Muslim and Rajput Hindu elites Lodi, the last ruler of the Delhi sultanate, in 1526. created new syncretic possibilities in literature. Urdu, the language of the army camp, formed with Hindawi grammar The Mogul Timurid Empire (1526–1857 C.E.) absorbing vocabulary from Persian and Turkish and became Babur died five years after his conquest of Delhi, yet his the common language of the Gangetic plain and a literary descendants build the largest and strongest agrarian empire language complementing Persian. Sufis innovated in devoof the early modern world. His son, Humayun (ruled tional literature in vernacular Indic languages. Shah Hussayn 1530–1556), consolidated Mogul rule against Afghan nobles. (1539–1599) expanded Sufi poetry in Punjabi. Sayyid Sultan Military remnants of the Lodi regime rallied under the (late sixteenth century) composed the Nabibhanmsa, a mythic leadership of Sher Shah Suri, an Afghan leader in Bihar. Sher retelling of the prophet Muhammad's life, in Bengali. Such Shah Suri defeated Humayun's armies in 1540, drove the vernacular literatures bridged the gap between elite Persian Moguls into exile in Safavid Iran, and reestablished the Delhi

poetry and folk traditions, drawing equivalencies between sultanate under a new Suri dynasty. The Safavid ruler, Shah Islamic theological concepts and local Indic images. Isma'il, supported Humayun who reinvaded South Asia in 1555, defeated the Suri regime, and established Mogul rule. Vernacular compositions reveal increasing conversion of Humayun began conquering regional dynasties in Bengal and local South Asians to Islam. Castes of artisans (like weavers) Gujarat. joined Muslim communities, giving rise to syncretic and iconoclastic religious leaders like Kabir of Banares (1440–1518). Jalal al-Din Akbar (ruled 1556–1605 C.E.) continued this While many Sufis advocated the inviolability of the shari'a, expansion, giving Mogul rule stability and ideological maturity the Mogul era witnessed a rise of Sufis who ignored or ity. Akbar conquered Rajputana, Sindh, and Kashmir. Later disparaged Islamic communal norms. New Sufi communities Mogul rulers Nur al-Din Jahangir (ruled 1605–1627), Shah came to prominence in the Mogul era; the Shattari around Jahan (1628–1658), and Aurangzeb (1658–1689) pushed Mogul Muhammad Ghawth Gwaliori (1501–1562) and the Sabiri rule southward into the Deccan and eastward into Sikkim Chishti around Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (died 1537) expanded Burma. plored yogic exercises and images that were common to The Mogul empire succeeded because of some unique Hindus and Muslims. The Mogul elite cultivated ties to Sufi administrative features. The army and court moved with the communities, and some Mogul nobles were outspoken emperor on a circuit of urban fortress-cities like Lahore and “unifiers” (muwahhid) who believed that Islamic and Hindu Agra, and tent-cities in the provinces. This mobility facilitated theology were compatible rather than contradictory. Prince Dara Shikoh tated central rule and tax collection. An elaborate system of argued the ultimate identity of Hindu and Islamic promotions in court and military kept administrators dependent on following centralized policy. Assignments for Persian translations of the Upanishads, Ramayana, and administration and tax collection were routinely rotated, Mahabharata. preventing governors from building independent power. From In the time of Akbar, the Mogul ruling class absorbed Rajput contrast, this relaxation of communal boundaries in- (Hindu) warlords through promotion and marriage. The spired Muslim reformers who called for a return to the Mogul empire was ideologically open to sharing power with shari'a. Naqshbandi Sufis, like Baqi Billah (died 1603) and his Hindu elites and Ithna Ashari (Twelver) Shi'ite nobles, disciple,

Ahmad Sirhindi (1562–1624), tried to influence diffusing the insistence on Sunni and Turkic supremacy that Mogul nobles. However, reformers came from many communities that had sustained the Delhi sultanate. In Ahmadabad, Ali Muttaqi (1480–1575) strove to reform Sufism and advocated the centrality of the Prophet's Religious Life in the Mogul Empire as an example. His follower, Abd al-Haq Dihlawi (1551–1642), To manage the multiethnic and multireligious court elite, established a reformist madrasa in Delhi in friendly competition with the Akbar elevated the emperor into a divinely guided figure tion with the Naqshbandis. Even earlier, Sayyid Muhammad (through an eclectic blending of Sufi, Mahdawi, and Shi'ite) Jawnpuri (1443–1505) led a reform movement by declaring ideas). Courtiers experimented with a new cult of devotion to himself the Mahdi. The Mahdawi movement was a Sunnathe emperor, the Din-e Ilahi or Universal Religion of God. inspired reform movement that conflicted with Sunni elites Shahjahan and later emperors discontinued it and restored and led to violent conflicts in Gujarat, where it was especially traditional Islamic titles and symbols. Islamic scholars and especially strong. Sufis argued that Akbar's experiment was heretical, but in reality, once Rajput and Shi'ite nobles integrated into court Reformers gained popularity under the emperor Aurangzeb. life, the cult was no longer needed. Naqshbandis like Shah Wali Allah (1703–1762) strove to

Islam and the Muslim World

637

South Asia, Islam in

integrate Sufism with study of the Qur'an, hadith, and Islamic law (in legal and ritual rulings), abandoning conformity with the law to strengthen allegiance to sharia among South Asia Hanafi legal school. Organizing his followers into a militia, he Muslims. He urged Muslims to avoid sectarian extremes and waged a struggle (that he called jihad) against the blind adherence to legal schools by reviving independent Sikh kingdom, and was killed in 1831. Hajji Shariatullah legal reasoning (ijtihad). Two of his grandsons, Abd al-Qadir (1780–1839) organized a similar movement among peasants (d. 1813) and Rafi al-Din (d. 1818), translated the Qur'an in Bengal, known as Fara'idi (The Obligatory Duties). He into Urdu. declared Bengal to no longer be Dar al-Islam since the British ruled it through landlords. He urged Bengali Muslims to British Dominance and Muslim Reaction reform and conform more closely to the sunna of Muham-

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, weaker Mogul rulers he identified with the Arabian practices of Mecca. mad, which could not hold the empire together. Local powers grew in His son politicized the movement, attacking Hindu landstrength: Sikhs in Punjab, Marathas in the Deccan, and lords, resisting British taxation, and subverting Anglo-Shi ite nobles in Lucknow and Hyderabad. Later Mogul Muhammadan courts. Many Islamic leaders participated in rulers grew so weak that the Safavid emperor, Nadir Shah, the 1857 rebellion, like the Sabiri-Chishti leader, Hajji sacked Delhi in 1739. The Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shah Abdali Imdadullah (1817–1899). Under threat of arrest, he lived in Durrani, plundered it again in 1761. exile in Mecca while guiding disciples in South Asia who founded the Deoband Academy (see below). Chaos in the Mogul capital facilitated European expansion in South Asia. The British East India Company (EIC) Other Islamic leaders did not oppose British colonization grew from a trading post to a regional military power based at after the war of 1857. Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) Calcutta. By 1765, the EIC’s governor general had assumed founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (now Aligarh the title of Diwan of Bengal with rights of taxation and fiscal Muslim University). To the British, he demonstrated the administration. Though a nominal “vassal” of the Mogul the loyalty of Muslim educated classes; with Muslim elites, he emperor, the EIC began military and commercial expansion urged cooperation with Christians, politically and theologically. Through the into Bihar and Orissa. The British acted as mercenaries and journal Tahdhib al-akhlaq (The refinement of political advisors to surrounding Muslim rulers, such as the morals), he sought to reconcile rationalism, science, and Nawab of Awadh (Oudh). Orientalist scholars in the EIC, like Islamic theology while promoting the education of Muslim William Jones and Charles Hamilton, translated Persian and women. More conservative Islamic scholars founded a com- peting Arabic texts into English. After the “Permanent Settlement” school, Dar al- Ulum (known as the Deoband Acadof land-ownership regulations in 1793, the EIC administered emy), in 1960 to preserve Islamic law and education after the Islamic law to Muslims in the territories it controlled, and destruction of Mogul patronage. synthesized Islamic and British legal norms in Anglo-Muhammadan Law. Political modernists like Jamal al-Din Afghani (1838–1897) and Muhammad Iqbal (1876–1938) criticized both the Aligarh By 1840, the British controlled most Mogul dominions movement’s

acceptance of colonialism and the Deoband directly or indirectly. After conquering the Sikh kingdom in movement's traditionalism. They agitated for cultural revival 1849, the British integrated the local rulers under their and political self-rule for Muslims in South Asia through control. When the EIC deposed the Nawab of Oudh in 1856, "nationalism" and "Pan-Islamism." Exemplary of this move- Muslim and Hindu soldiers in the EIC army revolted in the ment, Amir Ali's Spirit of Islam presented Islam as a more first Anglo-Indian war (called the Sepoy Mutiny). Rebel "liberal" civilizing force than European Christianity. Epic soldiers and nobles rallied around the Mogul emperor, Bahadur poems of Altaf Husayn Hali ("The ebb and flow of Islam" in Shah II. A proclamation issued in his name read, "In this age 1879) and Iqbal ("Complaint and answer" in 1909) popularthe people of Hindustan, both Hindus and Muslims, are ized these sentiments in Urdu. Islamic modernists blamed being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel "despotic" Mogul rule, Sufi mysticism, and "effeminate" and treacherous English. It is therefore the bounded duty of Persian culture for the political weakness of South Asian Islam. all wealthy people of India to stake their lives and property for the well being of the public." By 1857, the EIC army With the First World War, these sentiments crystalized in reconquered Delhi and executed or exiled the Mogul royal an anticolonial movement. South Asian Muslim elites profamily, and EIC rights were transferred to the British crown. tested when Britain imposed the Treaty of Sevres on Ottoman Turkey in 1920. The Khilafat movement aimed to Some Muslim leaders opposed British expansion and tried preserve the authority of the caliph in Turkey, spreading to restore Islamic rule militarily. Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi anti-British sentiment and inviting Muslim leaders into Gan- (1786–1831), a Sufi leader and soldier, declared South Asia to dhi's "Non-Cooperation Movement." The Jam iyyat-e Ulamano longer be Dar al-Islam (realm of Islamic rule). He allied e Hind (JUH), the Indian Congress of Islamic Scholars, with Wali Allah's family and was ghayr muqallad (independent formed to support the Khilafat movement. Students and

638

Islam and the Muslim World

South Asia, Islam in

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TAJIKISTAN

Islam in

South Asia

0 200 400 mi.

TURKMENISTAN

International border

0 200 400 km Disputed
border

Area conquered by
muslims under Umayyids

SH

U KU

and

Abbasids, 711-999

HIND North-

Area conquered by Mahmud

West L

of Ghazna (r.

1004-1022)

A F G H A N I S T A N L I N E

R O C H I N

A

Frontier O F C O N T

Area conquered by

Khaljê

Kashmir

dynasty, 1296-1316

Ghazayn

Srinagar

City

Ghazna

Map shows modern boundaries.

Jammu

H

Sikh Kingdom

T i b e t

Lahore

I

P u n j a b

M

Multan

PA K I S T A N

Uchh
Baluchistan
L
Delhi
NE
PA
Rajputana
Agra
Uttar Pradesh

R a j a s t h a n
Lucknow
Mansura

Sindh

Bihar
Gujarat
Bengal
Ahmadabad

Calcutta

Khandesh
I N D I A
M Y A N M A R
Burhanpur

agar
A h m a d n
(BURMA)

Berar
Bombay
Orissa

DE CCA N
Hyderabad
B i j a p u r Gulbarga

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Golkonda

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Andaman
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Lakshadweep
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Nicobar
SRI
Islands
LANKA

MALDIVES

INDONESIA

Muslim dynasties in South Asia. XNR PRODUCTIONS/GALE
faculty withdrew from Aligarh Muslim University and founded
“secular” and multireligious
nation. They can be called “Isa “nationalist” Muslim University, Jami a
Milliya Islamiya.
lamic integrationists” (they have been traditionally labeled
“Islamic Nationalists”). These include Abd al-Ghaffar Khan
Islamic anticolonial activity was split between two groups.
(1890–1988), a Pashto-speaking
educator in the North West
The first group felt Muslims had to join Hindus, Sikhs, and
Frontier Province who led the
nonviolent Khudai Khidmatgar
other South Asians to oppose British domination and create a
movement (“Servants of God”)
and Abul Kalam Azad (known
Islam and the Muslim World

639

South Asia, Islam in
as Maulana Azad, 1888–1958), an Urdu-speaking theologian INC’s
“secular” democracy, those more rooted in their local

and journalist from Calcutta. Such leaders cooperated with community than in Islamic nationalism, or those without economic Gandhi and Nehru in the activities of the Indian National resources to move. Muslims remain the largest Congress (INC). religious minority in independent India.

The second group felt Muslims should form an exclusive In 1947, Pakistan began as one nation with two noncontiguous community based on religious identity and communal ethics, territories. Its western territory included West Punjab, Sindh, and that Muslims could not coexist in an independent na- Baluchistan, Kashmir, and North-West Frontier with a Hindu-majority. They can be called “Islamic tier; its eastern territory included East Bengal.

The Awami exclusivists” (they have traditionally been labeled “Islamic League, a political party stressing language and cultural Communalists”). This group included leaders of the Muslim distinctiveness of Bengali Pakistanis, succeeded in demo- League, a political party organized in 1906 by landholding cratic elections in 1970 and pressed for Bengali autonomy. Muslims to seek concessions from the British. Muhammad West Pakistan leaders stalled implementation of the election Ali Jinnah reorganized the League in 1936 to stand provin- results, leading to a civil war in 1971. The Indian military cial elections, rivaling the INC. In 1940 the Muslim League intervened, allowing former East Pakistan independence as Bangladesh. declared that a constitutional government for Independent India was not possible, demanding that Muslim-majority provinces be formed into “autonomous and sovereign” states. Partition created geopolitical crises, such as in Kashmir.

The British ruled most of South Asia directly, but ruled many Partition and Independence of India and Pakistan regions indirectly through 570 “princely states.” The largest British policies placed Muslims and Hindus into two separate was Kashmir where a Hindu prince, the Dogra of Kashmir, and irreconcilable “communal” groups. British histories and governed a 75 percent Muslim population. He negotiated for autonomy, but ethnographies since the eighteenth century portrayed these or Pakistan. A Muslim Kashmiri leader, Shaykh Muhammad Abdallah policy suppressed upper-class Muslim communities while made acute by (born 1905), demanded democratic representation, a Muslim peasants’ insurrection. In reaction, the Dogra bureaucracy. The colonial acquiescence to parliamentary

declared Kashmir annexed to India without a representation for South Asians in 1937 raised questions of popular referendum with his majority-Muslim population. The “proportional representation” and quotas, polarizing communal relations between Muslims and Hindus. The principle of partition, while the Indian government saw it as legal annexation of integral territory. Military stalemate created a “line of control,” with Pakistan occupying one-third of Kashmir and India occupying two-thirds, which includes the heavily populated valleys of Srinagar and Jammu. The “line of control” exists up until the present, though both nations claim the entire territory. The United Nations mandated a popular referendum about Indian annexation, but the Indian government has never executed this. Since the 1980s, some Kashmiri regions within a federal government of independent India. The Muslim League at first advocated that Muslim-majority provinces become autonomous through civil disobedience and violence. Religious India built a Later, the League advocated the “two-nation” solution: British India would be partitioned and Muslim-majority provinces would form the separate state of Pakistan. However, communalist Hindu forces advocate a Hindu India in which Muslims (and other religious minorities) would be excluded from Despite opposition by the INC and some Islamic leaders, full citizenship. A member of the paramilitary Rashtriya partition became a political reality in 1947. Partition uprooted millions as Sikhs and Hindus fled Muslim-majority areas of the Punjab and Sindh, while Muslims in Hindu-majority areas of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Bengal were concerned. Leaders who sympathized with the RSS ruled Maharashtra, furthering Hindu communal politics. The Bharata Janata Party experienced a similar displacement. Communal riots erupted on both sides, resulting in countless murders, looting, and Hindu

communalist ideology (commonly called “Hindutva”),
destruction of property. neo-liberal
capitalist economics, and opposition to the INC.

Partition did not solve the political complexities of South Asia. To capture
power in parliament, the BJP raised a contro-
versy, Asia’s multireligious population. Many Muslims refused or
claiming that the Babri Mosque was built (in the
were unable to move to Pakistan, including those loyal to the sixteenth
century) over the site of a destroyed Hindu temple

640

Islam and the Muslim World South Asian Culture and Islam

at the birthplace of Rama at Ayodya. Calling for destroying
Yohanan. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. New York:
the mosque and rebuilding the temple, the BJP came to
University Press, 2000. Oxford

national power. A coalition of Hindu communalist organiza-
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tions demolished the Babri Mosque in 1993, leading to
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it) compromises the promise of democratic citizenship for all
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a communalist religious movement that is largely apolitical.
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movement to properly “Islamize” Indian Muslims, in reac-
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tion to Hindu missionary movements, like the Arya Samaj,
that viewed them as “lapsed Hindus” who must re-convert
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revival and abandoning participation in “secular” projects like modern education and critical inquiry into religious tradition. It has become international, one of the largest Islamic organizations worldwide. Derryl. Religion and Society in Arab Sind. Leiden: Brill, 1989.

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formulates “Islamist” ideology. The Jama at spread internationally to Bangladesh, Britain, and North America. Along with al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun in Egypt, the Jama at is the oldest and most institutionalized radical political association calling for Islamic revolution in postcolonial nation states. Seyyed Vali Reza. Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

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Identities in Islamate South Asia. Edited by Bruce Lawrence and David

Gilmartin. Gainesville: University of When the Muslims arrived,

South Asia had already cradled

Florida Press, 2000. two great

religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, and was di-

Ernst, Carl. *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a* vided into

culturally distinct areas by differences in terrain,

South Asian Sufi Center. Albany: State University of New climate,

ethnicity, religion, and social background. Apart

York Press, 1992. from the

Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu introduced by

Islam and the Muslim World

641

South Asian Culture and Islam

the Muslims, there were already a vast number of existing of foreign
extraction (Arabs, Turks, Afghans, and Persians)

languages, all of which cut across religious barriers, and were

considered nobility, lived in cities, and maintained

Muslim contributions to the various extant literatures were,

exclusiveness. They spoke first Persian and later Urdu, a new

and are, substantial. Although there were some cities, society language

combining Hindi syntax with Persian and Arabic

was still predominantly rural and agricultural, and religion vocabulary.

The seed for a separate state for the Bengalis of

played an important role in people's lives. Even today, many East

Pakistan was sown when there was a move from the West

social customs are rooted in ancient Hindu practices, for to impose

Urdu as the state language. The cultural divide

example the hereditary caste system, which Islam appropri- between the

two wings, separated by a thousand miles of

ated rather than threw away. Indian

territory, and an economic disparity rooted in oppression and exploitation, led

to civil war and the emergence of

Islam's Entry and Early Conversions Bangladesh

in 1971.

Arab Muslim mercantile interest in western India began in

the seventh century, predating the conquest of Sind (in what Next in

the social hierarchy of Muslim times were upperis now Pakistan) by Muhammad b.

Qasim in 712. Qasim caste Hindu converts, such as the Rajputs. After them came executed opposing soldiers, but spared the traders, artisans, the artisans and “clean” castes, with the “unclean” occupations and ordinary people, and wrought minimal changes in the traditional castes occupying the lowest rung. (Caste is still important in social and administrative structures of Sind. He also struck a balance in arranging marriages.) Local officials learned to speak and deal with the Brahmins, the priestly high caste of Hindus, conduct and dress like the Muslim ruling classes, and gradually integrating them as partners in the administration, exempting marriage with the local population led to Muslim adoption of them from paying the poll tax imposed on non-Muslims and indigenous food and customs. The Muslim and Hindu aristocrats ensuring their right to worship freely. Temples, such as the crafts kept their women secluded behind purdah (curtains) in famous sun-temple in Multan, were important to the early separate apartments, whereas women of the artisan and cultivated Muslim rulers as a source of revenue, as they could collect the pilgrims’ donations. of the economic necessity of working with men. Marriage customs and rituals also cut across religions. Although not As Turks and Afghans after Qasim established small, sanctioned by traditional Muslim law, dowry, a Hindu custom by which Muslim-ruled enclaves in the northwest of India, Arab and tom by which the bride’s father must give money to the Persian mercantile communities flourished along the western couple, was widely practiced among Muslims (it remains so, today), and coast. The merchants were honored and protected by local has resulted in much violence against women. Rashtrakuta kings (eighth to tenth century), intermarried with lower-caste Hindus, spoke Malayalam, and dressed like The practices of Islam and Hinduism influenced each other; Muslim the Hindu military caste. However, Muslims and lower castes mystics (sufis) and holy men (pirs) showed this influence the were excluded from the social life of upper-caste Hindus. most. Their mystical doctrines centered around union with God through love. Highly unorthodox, they were Muslim kings up to the eighteenth century ruled over a nonetheless often revered by Hindus as well, and their tombs vast majority of non-Muslims, largely Hindus, but including became pilgrimage sites for people of all religions, a phenomenon particular to South Asia. In many rural areas such a policy of conquest and reconciliation; conversion was not charismatic men took part in clearing forests, introducing prioritized because it meant less revenue. The fact that the agriculture,

settling populations, and effecting large-scale Muslims of South Asia have remained a minority suggests conversion. that the vast majority of Indians did not seek conversion. While the Brahmins resisted change, it was within the lower Interactions with Folk and Indigenous Religions castes that most conversions took place. Yet the advantages to In the fifteenth century Sufism resonated with popular Bhakti converts were minimal, because their post-conversion life- devotional movements in Hinduism, whose leaders attacked style did not differ much from that which they practiced institutionalized religion, disregarded caste, and taught in as Hindus. the vernacular languages. Kabir (1440–1518) and Nanak (1469–1539), both of Punjab, were two of the most significant The Effects of Caste and Culture contributors to the Bhakti movement, and both assimilated At the partition of India in 1947, following almost two Muslim ideas. They taught devotion and love devoid of ritual hundred years of British rule, the country was divided along framework, and aimed at a reordering of society along egalitarian lines. At that point Bengal and Punjab, the two tarian lines. Their followers are known as the Kabirpanthis foremost agricultural provinces, had the largest number of and Sikhs, respectively. Muslims. The converts in these areas were from indigenous groups who had never been fully integrated into a strong Among the Muslims, interesting developments took place within the Hindu social system, and even after conversion had been within the Nizari branch of the Shi'ite Ismaili community. Their most distanced from the centers of Muslim political power. Caste Their most successful leader in Sind, Sadr al-Din (fifteenth century), is remained operative in Muslim society in India, where families century), is considered to be the first author of the literary

642

Islam and the Muslim World

South Asian Culture and Islam

genre of Das avatar (The tenth incarnation), an amazing Abdul Qadir Bedil (b. 1644) of Uzbek descent. Well acquainted with Islamic and Hindu ideas, in which Ali and the acquainted with Indian religions and philosophy, and influenced by prophet Muhammad are acknowledged as incarnations of the ended by Sufis, he was skeptical of all dogma. Persian remained Hindu gods Vishnu and Brahma. the official language of Muslim India until 1835.

At the popular level there were folk religions of indigenous Due to the disapproval of dance and theatre by orthodox

nous origin, like the cults of Panch Pir (five holy men) and scholars, which stemmed from concerns over the Satya Pir (the true holy man), in which various beliefs and the human image, performing arts were regarded practices were assimilated. Religious reform movements of caution. Nevertheless, a form of passion play the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, led by returnees from especially in areas of Shi'ite concentration, enacting Mecca, disputed the Indian influences on local Muslims, and the tragedy of Karbala when Husayn's (the Prophet's grandson) family was killed in battle. In spite of the orthodoxy, Kathak Descendants of Shah Wali Allah Dehlawi (1703–1762), performing the greatest Indian theologian, spearheaded this movement; and the later Deobandis and Ahl-i Hadith opposed the excessive veneration of saints and tomb worship. Shah Wali Ghazals, short lyrical poems in Urdu set to music; Marsiya, songs Allah translated the Qur'an into Persian that it might be more widely understood, and his grandsons made an Urdu translation. Later, Haji Shariatullah (1781–1840) of Bengal also celebrating the life of the Prophet or a Sufi saint, became popular during this period, and remain so today.

made it his mission to correct the Islam of the Bengali peasantry. His movement was known as the Faraiziyya (Ar. In India, the most dramatic impact of the Muslims was on the visual Faraiziyya), laying emphasis on the faraid, or Muslim religious duties. Because of the orthodox Muslim aversion to the representation of living beings, non-figural art, such as calligraphy, tions, including the veneration of local saints, because of a and vegetal and geometric designs in both architecture of orthodox Sunni Islamic writings in Bengali. Architecture and painting are preferred. Once settled, Muslim sultans started commissioning religious and secular manuscripts in the Language and the Arts various Persian Islamic styles, replacing palm leaf with At the advent of Muslim rule, Sanskrit was limited to Hindu texts, while Buddhist and Jain texts used Prakrit. The new developed, reflecting Indian styles as well as individual rulers' tastes. The Indic vernaculars (Hindi, Bengali, Kashmiri, Punjabi, Nimat-nama (Book of recipes) was done in this style for the Rajasthani, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya, Sindhi, and Assamese),

Sultan of Malwa in the sixteenth century. It can be seen today which grew out of the Prakrit and the Apabhramsa stages of in the India Office Library in London.

Sanskrit, received a tremendous boost from the Muslims, who preferred the newer languages over Sanskrit and Prakrit. Two Persian masters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abd al-Samad, founded the Mughal School of painting in the sixteenth century. Arabic enjoyed prestige as the language of the Qur'an, and the atelier, composed of mostly Hindu artists, was used mostly for religious scholarship, historiography and illustrated both Persian and Indian histories and for translating scientific books on astronomy, medicine, and romances; for example the Dastan-e Amir Hamza (Stories of arithmetic for the West Asian market. Turkish flourished Amir Hamza), part of which is in the Metropolitan Museum briefly as a literary language under the early Mughal emperor of Art, New York. The compositions, fine line, and architects, but was replaced by Persian. Muslims were the most natural detailing were Persian influences, while the vigorous influential writers in the Indic languages of Kashmiri, Sindhi, movement and bold color were indigenous. Contemporaneous Punjabi, and the writing of Indo-Iranian languages Baluchis with the Mughal school was the Rajput style, the subject

and Pashto was exclusively done by Muslims. In Bengal, which was almost exclusively Hindu. The interplay Muslim sultans patronized the translations of Sanskrit classics into Bengali, and Muslims like Syed Sultan (sixteenth century), Dawlat Qazi, and Alaol (seventeenth century) were or simply the movement of artists from the well-known writers in Bengali.

These traditional styles of painting were revived in the early twentieth century by the stalwarts of the In the heartland of northern India, Amir Khosrow Bengal School, who wished to make Indian artists aware of (1253–1325) mainly composed poetry in Persian, but also their own heritage.

wrote in the Awadhi dialect of Hindi. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Muslim contribution to mystic Influences Architectural

(both Sufi and Bhakti) poetry in several dialects and languages was considerable. The so called “Indian style” of architecture, the Indian temple, with its sculpture-encrusted walls and ceilings and dark interior housing an image of a deity, with entry restricted to the Brahmin priest, radically

Urfi, Naziri, Zuhuri, Kalim); the greatest exponent being differed from the mosque of the Muslims, which was open,

Islam and the Muslim World

643

Southeast Asia, Islam in

large enough for congregational prayer, and contained no Dallapiccola, Anna Libera, and Lallemant, Stephanie Zingelimagery. Yet the new Muslim architecture became eclectic, Ave, eds. Islam and Indian Regions. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner capitalizing on the ancient Indian traditions, and introducing Verlag, 1993.

new forms brought from West Asia; for example, the voussoired Eaton, Richard M. Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700: Social Roles of arch (composed of wedge-shaped constituent pieces). Mus- Sufis in Medieval India. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univerlim building activity passed through three stages. The first sity Press, 1978.

was short and violent, when the new rulers politically appro- Eaton, Richard M.. Essays on Islam and Indian History. New priated temples by destroying them. In the second, material Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

from destroyed sites was used to build mosques and tombs. Hasan, Perween. "The Indian Subcontinent." In The Mosque.

Finally, once they settled, Muslims prepared their own build- Edited by Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan.

ing materials for individual structures, and used salvaged London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

material only rarely. Schimmel, Annemarie. Islam in the Indian Subcontinent. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.

As in painting, provincial architectural styles developed in the independent sultanates as the rulers assimilated the local Tarachand, M. A. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture. Allahabad: The Indian Press (Publications) Private Ltd., 1963.

culture. Elegance of style depended on indigenous traditions, terrain, climate, and available materials. This accounts for the Wink, Andre. The Making of the Indo-Islamic World. Vols. 1 enormous difference between the brick and terracotta mosques and 2. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

of Bengal (Mosque at Bagha, 1523), the wooden mosques with spires in Kashmir (Friday Mosque, Srinagar, 1385, 1402, Perween Hasan

and 1674), and the stone-built mosques of Gujarat, the interiors of which have marked temple features (Ahmed Shah's Mosque, Ahmedabad, 1411).

SOUTHEAST ASIA, ISLAM IN

The Mogul style, which started in the imperial capitals of

Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri in the sixteenth century, and Southeast Asia, that is, the Malay world, has one of the which is marked by the spectacular architecture of Humayun's concentrations of Muslim peoples on earth. This tomb, Delhi (1571), the Jami Mosque of Fatehpur Sikri archipelago" encompasses Malaysia (around 55% of (1574), and the Tajmahal, Agra (1643), diffused to the prov- 22 million people are Muslim), Indonesia (87% of 200 milinces as they increased. The universal Mogul style can be lion), Brunei (68% of 330,700), and the Philippines, where

recognized everywhere, but there were special features in Muslims are concentrated in the western and central parts of the every provincial context that were rooted in the vernacular Mindanao island and the Sulu archipelago (4 to 7% of 74 tradition. For example, in Bengal, where there was no marble, million). the brick surface was plastered, lime coated, and polished to a gleam.

The Era of Islamization

Islam was first brought to the "lands below the winds" around Although European styles took over during British rule, the eighth century by Arab Muslim traders. Not until the the Mogul style resurfaced again in the late nineteenth thirteenth century did the process of society-wide Islamization century, when the Indo-Saracenic style became popular for start with the kingdom of Aceh in northern Sumatra, situated the official British buildings. It was an architecture of facades, at what used to be Indonesia's gateway to India and the with a traditionally Indian exterior favoring the Mogul arch Middle East. In the next one hundred years, local communiand dome masking a European interior. Examples of this ties of Muslims sprang up in port towns.

style include the Law Courts in Madras, built between 1888 and 1892. This linkage to the Mughals and to India's past was Between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century Islamic useful to the British in establishing legitimacy for their rule. kingdoms replaced the Hindu-Buddhist states and Islam

spread rapidly throughout the Malay world due to intense See also Hinduism and Islam; South Asia, Islam in; commercial activity. Muslim merchants, religious scholars,

Urdu Language, Literature, and Poetry. and mystics, West Indians from Gujarat and Malabar, and Arabs from Hadramaut carried the message of Islam with

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the main trade routes. Islamic sultanates en- Asher, Catherine B. The New Cambridge History of India. Vol. croached on the power of the Hindu-Buddhist empires. The 4: Architecture of Mughal India. Cambridge, U.K.: Cam- most

formidable one of Majapahit on Java collapsed in 1525
 bridge University Press, 1992. and was
 replaced by the Muslim dynasty of Mataram. Islam
 Beach, Milo C. The New Cambridge History of India. Vol. 3: was both a
 religion and an ideology of rule. The prevailing
 Mughal and Rajput Painting. Cambridge, U.K.: Cam- model was
 “raja-centered”: When local rulers (rajas, later
 bridge University Press, 1992. sultans)
 embraced Islam, their subjects followed, accepting

644

Islam and the Muslim World Southeast Asia, Islam in

them as worldly and spiritual leaders. Islam provided the United
 States. Moros could not identify themselves with the
 theocratic and political base for the Islamic sultanates of the majority
 of Christian Filipinos but failed to be excluded from
 Malayan peninsula, Sumatra, Java, the southern Philippines, the
 Philippine state when it gained independence in 1946.
 and Borneo. The flourishing commerce led to cultural innovation comparable to
 Europe’s Renaissance while Islam cre- During the colonial era,
 Sunni Islam of the Shafi ite
 ated a sense of shared identity among the peoples living school
 continued to grow in Southeast Asia. Rural Islamic
 throughout the archipelago. boarding
 schools called pesantren became the heart of orthodox Islam in Indonesia where
 students studied religious
 The Islam received was pluralistic and mostly tolerant of subjects
 combined with mystical practices.
 other religious traditions. Cultural influences from the Hindu-
 Buddhist era were tolerated or incorporated into Islamic Contact
 between the area and the heartlands of Islam in
 rituals. In certain pockets of the area (the north and northeast the Middle
 East grew after the Suez canal opened in 1869.
 coasts of Java) a legalistic Islamic tradition prevailed. Existing The
 growing number of pilgrims making the Hajj to Mecca
 religious traditions facilitated the reception of mystical Sufi led to
 deepened Islamic learning and a growing tendency
 practices. Seeking unity with God through meditation was toward
 Islamic orthodoxy. Teachers of Islam and Arabic
 part of Hindu-Buddhist religious beliefs. Inspired by the studied
 for years with shaykhs (sheikhs) in Mecca and upon
 works of the great Islamic scholar al-Ghazali, a tradition of return
 contributed to the reform of Sufism and orthodox Islam.
 Islamic learning emerged that combined fiqh (jurisprudence),
 At the beginning of the twentieth century, Islam became a
 kalam (philosophy), and Sufism.

rallying banner to resist colonialism. Mild successes of Chris-
 The Era of Colonialism tian
 missions caused a decline of confidence in Islamic au-
 Island Southeast Asia was the major source of spices and other thorities.
 Resistance arose among reform-seeking Muslims
 natural resources that Europeans sought to control. In 1511 and among
 the ulema who led the traditional pesantren. The
 the commercial empire of Melaka fell to the Portuguese. In first
 Islamic reform movements started in the nineteenth
 the 1570s, Spain began colonizing the Philippines with the century in
 Sumatra. Reformist ideas were brought to Indonethree Muslim principalities of
 Sulu, Maguindanao, and Buayan. sia by religious teachers returning from
 the hajj and via
 The Dutch started trade missions to Indonesia's spice islands journals
 published in Singapore and Egypt. Reformists urged
 in the seventeenth century, gradually colonizing Indonesia. Muslims to
 return to a simple lifestyle, renew the moral basis
 By 1841, British rule started in Malaysia while Brunei became of Islam,
 return to the original scripture, and purify Islam
 a British protectorate (1888). from
 unlawful innovations. Inspired by the teachings of the
 famous Egyptian Islamic scholar Muhammad Abduh, they
 Initially, European colonization changed the outward- advocated an
 accommodation with modern thought and
 looking, vibrant profile of Islam during the age of commerce
 technology. In 1912, Indonesian reformers strengthened
 into an inward-looking conservatism. Islam became regu- their
 movement by creating Muhammadiyah. This sociallated by colonial rules,
 bureaucratized, and suppressed. The religious organization aimed at
 purifying Islam from indige-
 Dutch tried to deny Indonesian Islam by ignoring its deep nous and
 Sufi practices. It built schools that combined an
 roots in society, stressing local traditions and European law Islamic
 and secular curriculum for the majority of Muslims
 instead. Local custom (adat, Ar. adat) was made the basis of who did
 not have access to the Dutch school systems. The
 laws for the indigenous population. Personal matters nor- movement
 was unique in its concern for women who were
 mally regulated by the Islamic shari a, such as marriage, trained as
 preachers for women. The traditionalist Muslims
 divorce, inheritance, and almsgiving, were under the jurisdic- based at
 the pesantren furthered Muslim piety through activation of adat laws. Recourse
 to Islamic law was only allowed ties in the mosques and by bringing
 local village rituals in
 when the rules overlapped the adat. conformity
 with Islam. In 1926, these ulema grouped together in the Nahdlatul Ulama
 movement (NU).

The British curtailed the political role of Malay sultans but allowed them a degree of authority as heads of religion in Malaysia, the reform movement drew educated, urban their states. They misrepresented Islam by incorporating Muslims who gathered around journalistic enterprises. A within it local traditions yet left the application of Islamic law student of Muhammad Abduh founded the periodical al-ta'lim to the sultans.

Iman in 1906 to spread the reformist message.

Hindered by the British colonial regime and opposed by traditionalists and By the 1570s, Spanish incursions halted the Islamization Malay secular elites, reformism in Malaysia remained less process in the islands of the Philippines. The colonizers diverse and socially effective than its counterpart in Indonesia. called the Muslims in the Philippines Moros (because they had the same religion as the Moors of Spain). For over four The Era of Independence centuries the Moros tried to defend their Islamic identity in Indonesia. Upon gaining independence, the newly formed the "Moro Wars" against the colonial forces of Spain and the nation-states had to redefine the position of Islam in their

Islam and the Muslim World

645

Southeast Asia, Islam in

Islam in Malaysia
and Indochina

Area Islamized, 1200-1500

Philippine

Area Islamized, 1500-1800

Major sultanate, 1600

Indochina Islands
City

Malay
Peninsula
Mindanao

BRUNEI

Brunei
Sulu
Archipelago
ACEH

Melaka

JOHOR		Sulawesi	
Singapore	Borneo		TIDORE
Sumatra			
JAMBI			
PALEMBANG			
MATARAM	MACASSAR	TERNATE	

BANTEN

New

Guinea
 Jakarta-Batavia
 Java
 BALI

Islam in Malaysia and Indochina. XNR PRODUCTIONS/GALE

governments. Indonesia chose a nonconfessional govern-

Differences of opinions among Indonesian Muslims still
 ment over an Islamic state in order to unite some six thousand
 run along the spectrum of reformist Muhammadiyah and
 inhabited islands that hold a variety of cultures and religions.
 traditionalist NU. Reformists wish to purify Islam from all
 The founding fathers promoted the state ideology of Pancasila,
 indigenous culture. They consider Islamic scripture to be
 the concept of unity in plurality—one God worshiped in
 complete and self-sufficient, and support the use of ijtihad
 separate ways by Muslims, Christians, Hindus, and Bud-
 (independent reasoning) and personal study. At the conservadhist. Muslim
 aspirations to an Islamic state regularly led to tive end of
 the reformist spectrum are those who are against
 uprisings in Sumatra, West Java, and Sulawesi. The Suharto
 religious pluralism and who lobby for an Islamic state. After
 regime (1966–1998) curbed the political power of Islam. The
 independence the Masyumi political party represented restate established a
 ministry of religion to monitor religious formist aspirations
 in the national government of President
 matters such as the hajj, religious education, and the judicial
 Sukarno (1945–1965). One of their concerns was the growing
 administration. In 1973 the government tried to introduce a
 communist movement. They were banned after rebellions in
 marriage bill that would give precedence to civil authority in
 Sumatra and Sulawesi demanding Islamization of the state.
 cases of marriage and divorce, rather than to the religious
 When political aspirations were denied to all Muslims, in

Muslim courts. The bill was modified when Muslim leaders 1967, theologically conservative ex-Masyumi reformists protested vigorously.

formed Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), an organization for Muslim proselytization.

Leading intellectuals such as Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid advocated focusing on a “cultural”

NU is the umbrella for Muslims tolerant of local culture Islam as opposed to a “political” Islam. The goal was Muslim that does not interfere with Islamic teachings. They stress the renewal —spiritual, intellectual, and economic. This led to a study of fiqh because it espouses the views of generations of strong revival of Indonesian Islam during the 1980s, and the scholars starting from the prophet Muhammad. They only Suharto government realized that Islam was becoming a force exercise ijtihad in the context of this historic body of teachto reckon with.

Non-Muslims started to worry when in 1990 ings, preferring taqlid, following traditional opinions. The the government established the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals’ Association (ICMI) to promote Islamization of state party until the Suharto government forced all Islamic parties and society.

to unite into one government-supervised Islamic party, the

646

Islam and the Muslim World

Southeast Asia, Islam in

Malaysia. When in 1957 Malaysia became independent, UMNO was committed to a secularist vision of the new nation. Challenged by PAS, UMNO became more committed to Islam as Malaysia’s religion. After the 1969 clashes with the Chinese population, “Malayness” came to be defined in terms of the three pillars: Muslim religion (agama), Malay language, or bahasa (not English, Chinese, or Indian), and the government of the sultans (raja). The Malay rulers of each state serve as guardians of Islamic religion and Malay custom. The constitution requires Malaysians (55% of the population) to be Muslim. Islam and Malayness are identified with political dominance. Islam is coordinated through the state, rather than through independent socio-religious organizations as is the case in Indonesia. Being Malay permits access to affirmative action programs that are part of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which was created to allow Malaysians to compete with the wealthy Chinese population. The goal is to transform Malaysia into an industrialized nation by the year 2020.

During the 1970s the revivalist Dakwah (Ar. da wa) movement emerged among urban, middle-class youth organizations that faced the influences of modernization and globalization. It reiterated the reformist themes, seeking to implement Islam as a holistic way of life in society through religious renewal. It made Islam the main pillar of society and challenged the state led by prime minister Mahathir Mohamed to adopt its own Islamization strategy to “out-Islamicize” the opposition. The result was the Islamization of government In Bangkok, Thai Muslim women attend a prayer for peace one week before the start of Ramadan. GETTY IMAGES bodies, the arts, the press, and institutes for learning. The Malay population became more devoutly Islamic. PAS continued its demands for an Islamic state and managed to Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Party for Unity and Development, or PPP). When the Suharto government demanded implement ethnic definition, increased Islamization, and economic benefit, that all mass organizations affirm Pancasila as their ideology, the NU dropped its political aspirations and focused on religious, social, and economic development instead. This shift away from politics has resulted in increased the Malay community has been transformed in what is called the “new Malay.” In Brunei Islam is the national religion. The wealthy country is ruled by an Islamic monarchy, the original raja of a democratic-minded civil society. centered model. The sultan, Hassanal Bolkiah (r. 1968–), is head of the faith and responsible for upholding the Islamic way of life. One After Suharto stepped down in May 1998, the structure of the main issues in Brunei public religious life is the that repressed religion and society collapsed. Political parties life is the disagreement between those who advocate a representing Muslims of various affiliations were set up, theocratic Islamic state, and those who are secularly oriented. religious organizations were free to have Islam as their sole constitution, and Muslims are fully represented in the democratically elected Parliament. Freedom of religion also led to only Philippines. Philippine Muslims, the Moros, live in the Christian-dominated country in Southeast Asia. Moros only the emergence of extreme groups such as Lashkar Jihad in do not identify themselves as Filipinos and have been marginalized 2000 that called for holy war against the Christian population within the institution of the nation-state. Since the 1950s Moro Islam has witnessed a revival in Islamic piety.

Moro Muslims have received assistance to build mosques and Malaysia and Brunei. In 1946, conservative, nationalist educate religious leaders from other Muslim countries. Malaysians aspiring for independence formed the United Marginalization and the increasing influx of Christian Filing Malay Nationalist Organization (UMNO). In 1955 the Pan-pino immigrants into the Muslim regions gave rise to armed Malayan Islamic Party (Partai Islam Se-Malaysia, PAS) registration secession movements. The most popularly supported of these movements is the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

Islam and the Muslim World

647

Southeast Asian Culture and Islam

Its actions caused the Filipino government to implement language, and sets of shared cultural characteristics, many of affirmative action programs for the benefit of the Moros such which are shaped by pre-Islamic cultural systems. Concepts as building religious schools, and scholarships for Moro of power and spirituality, respect for ancestors, belief in students. The administration of Corazon Aquino (1986–1992) spirits, and the local understanding of gender relations owe granted autonomy to four provinces in Mindinao. Armed much to the pre-Islamic beliefs. Key concepts of pre-Islamic struggle continues in the twenty-first century with groups ethics are fused with Islamic ethical teachings. Southeast such as the extremist Abu Sayyaf pressing its claim for Asians stress concepts such as the maintenance of social and independence. religious harmony (rukun), respect toward those whose position in society demands it, and sincerity in one's actions

See also Muhammadiyya (Muhammadiyah); Nahdlatul (ikhlas).

Ulama (NU); Reform: South Asia; Southeast Asian Culture and Islam. Islam,

however, is not just a veneer painted over Hindu-Buddhist notions. Islam became vibrant by accommodating

BIBLIOGRAPHY core elements of the traditions present in the area at the time

Andaya, B. Watson, and Andaya, L. Y. A History of Malaysia, of Islamization through patterns of interpenetration and local 2d ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001. variation. Over time, acceptance was increasingly measured

Barton, G., and Fealy, G., eds. Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional against the scale of compatibility with Islamic teachings. How Islam and Modernity in Indonesia. Clayton, VIC, Australia: far Islam should

coincide with Arab culture became a recurrent topic of debate. Monash Asia Institute, 1996.

Hefner, R. *Civil Islam. Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton, N.J., and Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2000. When considering elements of culture and Islam in the region, the past and the present, the local and the global, Hefner, R., and Horvatic, P., eds. *Islam in an Era of Nation-states*. Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997. tive Islam in local expressions of Islam. Nowadays, local cultures are also changing rapidly under the influence of modernization Leake, David. *Brunei: The Modern Southeast-Asian Islamic Sultanate*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1989. modernization and globalization. With increasingly higher levels of education and knowledge of Western and Arab Majul, C. A. *Muslims in the Philippines*. Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 1999. culture transmitted via the modern media, rituals held sacred for centuries can fade within one generation. Reformists McKenna, T. M. "Muslim Rulers and Rebels." In *Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines*. altogether condemn indigenous rituals deemed inconsistent with Islam. "Purifying the faith" has been their rallying cry since the beginning of the twentieth century. Traditionalist Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1998. Muslims incorporated local rituals, purging them of beliefs or practices Muzaffar, Chandra. *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*. Petaling Jaya, Indonesia: Fajar Bakti, 1987. forbidden by Islam. This entry discusses some of the main ideas that have governed religious rituals practiced by Nagata, Judith. *The Reflowering of Malaysian Islam*. Vancouver: indigenous Southeast Asian Muslims, and the debates and interpretations University of British Columbia Press, 1984. generated by these practices.

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Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1996. religious community. Power is considered a quality that can be obtained through inheritance or by divine favor. Many became Muslim when the king accepted Islam. The king, and Nelly van Doorn-Harder later the sultan, protected this power by performing ceremonies and rituals and by possessing certain artifacts that were said to be laden with mystical power, such as the kris, a dagger that was a symbol of manhood, honor, and ethnic identity.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN CULTURE Religious and worldly power are preferably combined with AND ISLAM various mystical powers (kasekten). Power is stratified according to rank and generation: elders are higher than juniors, and The rich tradition of Islam in Southeast Asia is characterized aristocrats are higher than commoners. Peoples (and spirits) by a variety of local practices and beliefs. Unifying this live in a more or less clearly defined hierarchical structure. colorful spectrum are the basic precepts of Islam, the Malay This hierarchy is expressed during important festivities. Before

648

Islam and the Muslim World Southeast Asian Culture and Islam

marriage the bride and groom will ask forgiveness for wrongs the spirits of deceased ancestors (roh), or local spirits (jinn) done against the parents. During the Id al-Fitri feast that who are sometimes given special dishes called sajen (offer completes Ramadan, Indonesians honor those ranking above ings). Foods served at the meal have ritual meanings and are them in a ritual called halal bi-halal when they visit them, in presented in symbolic arrangements of four, seven, or forty the family, the neighborhood, or their work, to show respect, four. Some believe that the use of incense facilitates communion seek reconciliation, and preserve or restore harmonious nication with ancestral spirits. Prayers said during the slametan relations. are a mix of Arabic and local language. When held in orthodox Muslim families, only Quranic verses are used and Some sultans, for example on Java, still organize large the participants refrain from speech or symbolic acts that traditional celebrations such as the Sekaten and the Gerebeg. refer to spirits. Many Islamic feast days and life-cycle rituals The Sekaten is a month-long fair held prior to the Mawlid al- are celebrated with a slametan. The framework for interpreting Nabi (Prophet's birthday), one of the most popular feasts in ing the slametan depends on the Islamic or indigenous orien-

Southeast Asia. This festivity used to be the prime tool of the participants.

conversion to Islam: Peasants coming from the surrounding villages were moved to pronounce the shahada, thus nominally converting to Islam. The Gerebeg is a parade between Southeast Asia consider death a transition. In order the sultan's palace and a nearby mosque where a mount of the deceased on their way in the afterlife special fruits laden with blessings from the sultan's palace is divided (called sedekah for the Arabic sadaqa, alms) are held at among the people.

intervals after death: on the first, third, seventh, fortieth, and one hundredth day, followed by one year, two years, and a thousand days. Combined with the meal are them called dukun) became incorporated in Islam. Among recitations from the Qur'an in the forms of praise, prayers, dhikr or requests for forgiveness. The foods, in combination with the Islamic and customary or adat ceremonies, using incense, prayers, help to ask the deceased for forgiveness for outstanding offenses to spirits, and prayers. They preserve their spiritual ing offenses and create merit transferable to the dead that will aid the spirit's passage from the world of the living to the afterlife.

guardian spirits. Many consider the spirits to be unacceptable to Islam. Their prayers contain Islamic elements and start Remembering the dead prior to important events is crucial with the invocation of Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim (In the name of God, the Compassionate, the most Merciful). Shadowing. Especially at the beginning and end of Ramadan, people play puppeteers (dalang) belong to these specialists. They will visit the graves in masses to include those who passed on preserve one of the most popular art forms in Southeast Asia, in the spiritual and physical purification during the month of the wayang plays, performing the Javanese versions of Indian fasting.

epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. To many these plays convey the picture of a proper social and spiritual order. Spiritual Authority

Dalangs are of high moral character and spiritual potency. The Islamic equivalent of the charismatic person endowed with Part of their potency is the word; their voice expresses the

spiritual potency are the Muslim saints (wali) who are remembered
realm of the inner or mystical world. Traditions were in- same
and honored by traditionalist Muslims. In this
vented to defend some of these practices by crediting early
tradition the kiyais, leaders of Islamic boarding schools called
Muslim saints with creating them. Indonesians believe that
pesantren, are considered links in a chain of sacred knowledge
nine holy men, wali songo, converted its population. The first
that reaches back to the prophet Muhammad. They are
wali songo, Sunan Kalijaga, is said to have invented the
not only religious, but also social and political leaders.
shadow plays. Spiritual and physical power are linked together
when students are trained in fasting, meditation (dhikr), and
Slametan/Kenduri: Meals of Blessing martial
arts (pencak silat). Developing ikhlas, an inner attitude
A meal called slametan on Java and kenduri in other parts of of
resignation that moves a person to do good deeds for the
Indonesia and Malaysia is a meal of blessing that forms the sake of
good and not for self-promotion, is part of this
central rite of popular religion. The purpose for holding a training.
slametan is to obtain slamet: well-being, safety, social and
spiritual harmony. The meal is held for a variety of events
Academic study in the pesantren concentrates on Qur an,
ranging from pregnancy and birth, circumcision, marriage, Arabic,
and fiqh (jurisprudence). Part of the curriculum used
life crises and death, and occasions such as starting a long trip, to be, and
in some places still is, the practice of mysticism
finishing a house, or to resolve a dispute. Slametan are subject
(tasawwuf) and asceticism. Some pesantren became centers for
to a wide range of interpretations. Some believe they please mystical
orders (tarekat from Ar., tariqa). Mysticism here was

Islam and the Muslim World

649

Southeast Asian Culture and Islam

The Masjid Raya, in the city of Medan in North Sumatra, was built in 1906 by Sultan Makmum al-Rasyid. Adapting elements of Andalusian Moorish architecture, the mosque and the nearby Maimoon Palace are part of the legacy of the Deli Sultan, that was founded in 1630. ©

STEPHEN G. DONALDSON

closely connected to legal Islamic learning. Certain Sufi practice
of ziyara, especially in urban areas, although local
groups in Malaysia practice meditation combined with trance villagers
continue to perform cherished rituals.
dancers. Some practice special veneration for their leaders. At

times Messianic figures gain followings in their quest for a just and prosperous society. Speech
 of Arabic verses from the Qur'an is considered a Recitation
 powerful medium for healing, protection, to have a wish fulfilled, or
 Similar to the Sufi shaykh, a kiyai passes his charisma and purified, or
 to gain power. The words by themselves are purifying
 position on to the son who is deemed most fit. After a their
 and uplifting. Many do not necessarily understand their
 spiritually potent kiyai has passed away, his students will visit their
 meaning. When in 1998 Indonesia fell into a massive
 his grave once a week in order to bring the "gift" of praise
 economic crisis with ensuing social unrest, mass prayers
 (tahlilan), and Qur'an recitation. The popular practice of during
 dhikr meetings called istighosah were held all over the
 visiting graves of saints (ziyara) to perform rituals of prayer, country to
 strengthen and heal the nation. Those who learn the Qur'an
 praise, and meditation is shaped by the idea that their exem-
 by heart are obliged to guard the text the rest of their
 plary religious life brings some persons closer to God after
 life. Forgetting will be their gravest sin. During the month of
 death than others, which qualifies them to become interme-
 Ramadan, the use of holy words is intensified through
 diates for the living. Graves are found all over Lara; the most
 tarawih prayers at night and nightly readings of the entire
 powerful of these are those of the wali songo. Some graves are
 Qur'an, or nightly recitation of one-thirtieth of the Qur'an.
 believed potent enough that visiting them a certain number
 Beliefs in the power of speech are inspired by the Sufi
 of times is considered equal to performing the hajj to Mecca.
 intellectual tradition that identifies material reality as ema-
 Graves shape a sacred landscape filled with male and female nating
 from God. This means that powerful speech can
 saints, teachers, kings, and princes. Reformist and legalistically change
 this reality. Words from the Qur'an are believed to
 minded Muslims have long vehemently opposed ziyara. In have
 healing qualities when used in amulets or mantras. In
 Malaysia, the reformist Dakwah movement has reduced the Malaysia,
 shamans use Islamic stories, images, and texts to

650

Islam and the Muslim World Succession

heal sickness caused by spirit possession. Spirits are identified applies the
 Islamic rule that gives only half a man's share.
 as the jinn that are mentioned in the Qur'an. Imbalance or Through the
 activities of orthodox and Reformist Muslims,
 impurity within the body also causes disease that can be the tendency

now is to stress Syari a rather than adat.

healed by the pronunciation of formula.

An image of a puppeteer at work appears in the volume two

Literature color

insert.

Apart from Qur'anic texts, a large body of Islam-inspired writings, poetry, and prose developed in the Malay language. See also

Ada; Ibadat; Southeast Asia, Islam in.

The writings that reacted to Islamic mysticism became some of the richest in the world. The most famous are the BIBLIOGRAPHY

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created a form of written poetry called syair that became a Press,

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Women

Especially in Indonesia, women share the power of the word.

Nelly van Doorn-Harder

Many women have memorized the Qur'an to become a hafidha and go on to become finalists in the national Qur'an reciting contests. In the past, international competition was not possible since contestants from other Muslim countries

SUCCESSION

were only men. Nowadays women are allowed to compete in certain Muslim countries. Women also teach in the pesantren

The issue of succession—the assumption by a person of and make up more than half of the judges in Islamic Syari'a political or other institutional authority previously possessed (Ar. shari'a) courts.

by another—entered Islam with the death of the prophet Muhammad and Adat has been a subject of continuous debate ever

Southeast Asian societies have developed local legal codes or since.

Simply put, Sunni Muslims believe that the Prophet's practices called adat. This code existed and in many places religious authority died with him, that his political authority still exists alongside the Syari'a. Adat complemented the passed to a succession of caliphs initially selected on the basis

Islamic law in many matters of tradition and custom. The two of consensus and merit, and that the institution of the caliphate

law systems collide regularly in evaluating the same problems: how to divide an estate, what position to assign to military

usurpation. Shi'ites believe that both the Prophet's

women. In general, adat allowed women a position equal to religious and political authority remained united in a hereditary line of men. Orthodox Muslims took offense to these rules, that his dying wishes were subverted and

for example, in the division of an estate where adat grants the suppressed by Sunnis, and that the caliphal succession has

woman a share equal to that of her male relatives. Syari'a law never been legitimate. Recently, scholars have increasingly

Islam and the Muslim World

Succession

questioned the traditional Muslim view of both the theory and identity of these two roots is echoed today in the use by and the practice of caliphal succession. Some have argued that modern Arabic and Hebrew of *badla* and *khalifah*, respect the historical record is obscure on even the most crucial points, to denote “suit”—that is, change of clothes.

points, and that in any case what can be gleaned from it suggests that divine absolutism, primogeniture, and forcible seizure of power were present from the beginning. Other etymological significance of the word *khalifa* in the Qur'an has stressed the contributions of pre-Islamic Middle Eastern political traditions—less obscure than its pre-Qur'anic usage because the Eastern political traditions—particularly that of Persian/ Zoroastrian divine absolutism—to the development of Islamic political theory. Whatever the exact course of events, it is clear that “the classical theory of the caliphate” as formulated by al-Mawardi (d. 1058) was the culmination of an ongoing process of interaction between the Islamic religious and political establishments. Subsequently, Muslim thinkers who strove to preserve an Islamic component in political succession were forced into increasingly distressing compromises than the succession of individual rulers governing peoples by such cataclysms as the Mongol destruction of the Baghdad caliphate, the advent of secular dynastic rule in most Muslim lands, and the increasing intervention in Middle Eastern politics by European imperialism. After the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War, most governments in Muslim lands adopted modern secular principles of political legitimacy, although by the end of the

The scarcity and lateness of commentators who ascribe to the twentieth century, popular support for the reinstatement of word khalifa the connotation of an individual person with a Islamic principles and practices of political succession was political office have suggested to some scholars that the increasing.

connection between the Qur'an's term khalifa and the office of caliphate was not made "before the end of the Umayyad Etymology of Khalifa

period or the early decades of Abbasid rule" (al-Qadi, "The The original significance of the Arabic verb for "to succeed," Term Khalifa"). To others it implied that the idea of a kh-l-f—from which is derived the word for caliph (khalifa)—connection was in the air but played down by early commenis irretrievably buried beneath ancient and impenetrable tators "anxious to avoid approving the Umayyad caliphs' use layers of usage. It occurs in Akkadian meaning "to slip into or of the verse about Adam to enhance their own dignity" (Watt put on [especially clothes]" and in Hebrew meaning "to 1971, p. 567).

succeed, replace or pass away." Dictionaries of early South Arabic give one occurrence of the word khalifa with the quasi- Umayyad Succession

political meaning of "viceroys" in a fourth-century South The role of religion in the Umayyads' justification of their succession Arabic inscription, but also give meanings as diverse as "suit to the caliphate has itself undergone substantial of clothes," "gate of a city," and—happily confirming a revision by scholars—a revision that parallels revisionist views popular conception about Arabic etymology—"pregnant of the progress of both empire and theocracy in the early camel." It is a sign of the ambiguity of the meaning of the Islamic state generally. The Umayyads' use of the title khalifat word that, although in both Arabic and Hebrew the first form Allah—"Caliph of God" (denoting a direct connection to the of the root commonly denotes succession in time, place, or Divine) as opposed to "Caliph of the Apostle of God" (denotfunction, it has come in the former to be applied to the thing ing succession to Muhammad as political leader of the umma)—

succeeding and in the latter to the thing succeeded. Lane's belies the conventional picture of the entire Umayyad period

Arabic-English Lexicon gives the primary meaning of the verb as an interval of secular kingship between the perfect theockhalafa as "he came after, followed, succeeded, or remained racy of the Rashidun and the less perfect theocracy of the

after, another, or another that had perished and died." Of the Abbasids. Umar II's reprise of Abu Bakr's humble declara-

127 instances of the root kh-l-f in the Qur'an, most have specialized meanings related only distantly to the first form rule. The sources abound in evidence of a concerted meaning of "to come behind or after." As demonstrated by Umayyad court poets and scribes to augment the al-Qadi, the array of meanings encompassed by kh-l-f and its Umayyad claim to the caliphate as avengers of the derivatives is closely paralleled by the array of meanings Uthman with the claim that they had been installed encompassed by b-d-l, which can mean both "to exchange" and "to be exchanged" and is used by the Qur'an in contexts court poetry to reverse the traditional view of the emergence of divine absolutism in Islam. They argue that the

652

Islam and the Muslim World Succession

as a state religion from its inception, the political roots of early Islamic sectarianism are not disguised at all. The three broad non-Shi'ite sectarian subdivisions of the earliest period—Kharijite, Qadarite, and Murji'ite—all contained parallel theological and political components—that is to say, doctrinal positions on sin that very closely allied with conceptions of legitimate political succession. The Kharijite doctrine that any sin renders the sinner an apostate had its political reflection in their position that any injustice on the part of the caliph renders his succession invalid. The Qadarite doctrine that humans possess control over (qadar) and therefore responsibility for their actions had its political reflection in their position that the legitimacy of the caliph's succession depended on his dispensing equitable justice to the ruled. The Murji'ite doctrine that judgment of any sinner must be deferred to God had its political reflection in their view that the legitimacy of caliphal succession was the concern of God rather than men. While Kharijite anarchism and Qadarite activism were persecuted under the Umayyads, Murji'ite quietism seems to have been the political ideology of choice for the silent majority during the Umayyad caliphate. In contrast to the supposed period of Rashidun harmony during which no fewer than three of the first four caliphs were felled by assassins, not one of the Umayyad caliphs—with the sole exception of the battlefield death of Sulayman b. Abd al-Malik—ended his term of office for any reason other than death by natural causes until al-Walid II was edged out by

Abd al-Hamid (1842–1918) was the sultan of Turkey from 1876 to 1909. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Yazid III in 744 after the Abbasid revolution had already begun. sultan Abd al-Hamid tried to counter national separatism among Muslim ethnic minorities in the Empire by pushing the idea that

Hadiths

About Caliphal Succession

the Ottoman sultans were legitimate successors to the caliphate It is against this background of political and theological ferment that hadith statements about caliphal succession

Abbasid caliphs in Mamluk, Cairo, had transferred the caliphate to Selim III upon his conquest of Egypt in 1517. © BAIN COLL/CORBIS

attributed to the Prophet must be evaluated. In contrast to the dearth of explicit statements in the Qur'an about legitimate political succession, hadith literature has many explicit

theocratic Shi'ite-type conception of the imamate was the references to the caliphate as a political office. Many of these original one and that from the very first, caliphs aspired to as

hadiths

use the terms imam or emir rather than khalifa in much, if not more, religious authority than the Prophet. It

some or

all variants, leaving open the possibility that they can be plausibly argued either that the interpretation of the

might

have been initially uttered by the Prophet in reference title khalifat Allah by the Umayyads constituted “the first

to

following the leader of the communal prayer and obeying formulated ‘theory’ of the caliphate in Islamic history” (al-

the

commanders of early military expedition, and were later Qadi, “The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology

reinterpreted—willfully or not, and with or without substitution of Practice”) or that the Umayyads “had still not decided to

tion of the word

khalifa—as allusions to a political institution transfer the concept of ‘Caliph of God’ from the sphere of

that

did not exist prior to the Prophet’s death. Those hadiths court flattery and rhetorical salutation into the sphere of law”

which

refer unambiguously to the caliphate reflect debates (Barthold).

about the

political succession in Islam going on among early Muslim intellectuals who wrote down the record of the

Early Islamic Sectarianism and Caliphal Succession

Prophet’s utterances and the history of the early exemplary

If the precise etymology of the caliphal title and the exact

Rashidun

(rightly guided) caliphate centuries after the fact. A nature of the ideological basis on which the Umayyads

vast

majority of approved hadiths about caliphal succession justified their succession are matters of speculation, the fact

fall

into the quietist Muji'ite rather than the radical Kharijite that the air was thick with theological ferment surrounding

or

activist Qadarite category.

the issue of political succession in the umma throughout the Umayyad period is not. Sectarianism in any religion often has question of whether the caliph's full title was properly thinly disguised political roots, but because of Islam's status khalifat Rasul Allah, ("the successor of the Apostle of God"),

Islam and the Muslim World

653

Succession

with the connotation of succeeding the Prophet in his temporal function as defender of the faith, or khalifat Allah ("the successful result of the Abbasid revolution.

successor of God"), with the connotation of being appointed by and having a direct connection with God Himself, was also the early Abbasid era, in addition to being the golden age

a much-vexed and obscure issue of early Islamic political Baghdad caliphate, was also the period during which

discourse. The uneasiness of Sunni orthodoxy with the latter embryonic Sunni Islam defined its approach to legitimate

title and its accompanying conception of the caliph as possession—frequently in opposition to the vision of

sort of the type of divine charisma claimed for the Shi'ite caliph. The view favored by the caliphs is

imams is reflected by the widely circulated stories about the first caliph Abu Bakr's insistence on being called khalifat Rasul

Allah rather than khalifat Allah. The second caliph Umar which advises the caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775) to

something like the high priest of Islam and act as rejected both khalifat Allah as applying only to King David

arbiter on points of Islamic law. The view favored by and khalifat Rasul Allah as applying only to Abu Bakr and

"proto-Sunni" ulema was represented by the qadi (judge) decided that the correct title was "Caliph of the Caliph of the

Apostle of God." In view of the potential of this title for al-Rashid (r. 786–809) to subordinate his will to the

stricture of the book and the sunna like any other Muslim. cumbersome recursiveness, Umar opted for amir al-mu'minin

The issue was decided by the outcome of the mihna, or ("Commander of the Faithful"), a title that continued to have

"Islamic Inquisition" (833–847), during which Ahmad b. a rarified status even after the title khalifa became debased in

Hanbal's (d. 855) heroic opposition to the caliphal government the late Middle Ages through widespread usage by many

ment's efforts to enforce adherence to the Mu tazilite doctrine of different rulers of widely varying power and piety.

trine of the createdness of the Qur'an upheld the ascendancy of the Caliph. Caliphate Succession Under the Abbasids of the book and the sunna over the will of the caliph of the

As is attested to by the survival of hadith expressing some of day. This triumph of the emerging Sunni approach to caliphate

their views in the standard Sunni collections, aspects of the legitimacy resulted in the dispersal of religious authority

Khariji, Qadari, and Murjite approaches all fell within the away from a central governing body and toward multiple

boundaries of what later became the Sunni discourse on the schools of law and a decentralized clerical authority. In

legitimacy of caliphate succession. But it was slogans borrowed retrospect, this separation between Islam and the state from Alid groups later consigned by the heresiologists to the ensured that Islam would avoid the fate of Zoroastrianism, the

moderate but nonetheless heretical fringes of Shi'ism that official religion of Iraq-based, Middle East-wide, divineswept the Abbasids into office. The Abbasids borrowed three absolutist Sassanian Empire to which the Abbasid caliph was

planks from the Alid platform. First of all, they claimed the successor, and develop into a supranational world religion

right to caliphate succession as members of the house of that was able to survive the demise of the first Islamic state.

Muhammad (ahl al-bayt) by virtue of their eponymous ancestor's having been the uncle of the Prophet. Secondly, they

It is one of the oft-noted paradoxes of Islamic intellectual history that the theory of caliphate succession was explicitly of the father of the first Abbasid caliph's having had the imami formulated just at the time when the institution of the

charisma transferred to him by the son of Muhammad b. al-caliphate was declining into political insignificance. But it is

Hanafiyya, the reluctant figurehead of the revolt of al-Mukhtar precisely in weakness that political institutions are in need of which had first put both the mawali constituency and their theoretical bolstering. The fullest expression of the classical

Alid ideology on the Islamic political map. Thirdly, they

theory of the caliphate was articulated by al-Mawardi (d. claimed to be rightful caliphs by virtue of being the members

1058), whose Ahkam al-sultaniyya (Rules of sovereign power) of the family of Muhammad (Al Muhammad) most capable of

defines the relationship between the caliph's spiritual and achieving power. The first two of these claims were shaky to

temporal duties, noting that the "imamate is established for

say the least. While it is true that in terms of genealogy al- the
 succession of prophecy in the preservation of the religion
 Abbas was on the right side of the Abd Manaf family tree (din) and
 the administration of the world (dunya).”
 relative to Umayya, he had not even converted to Islam
 during Muhammad’s lifetime, and was certainly not the The
 necessity of the caliphate as a collective religious duty
 relative of the Prophet whom the Alids had in mind when (fard
 kifaya) upon the Islamic community is demonstrated
 they chanted the slogan “most pleasing of the house of through
 such shari’a evidence as hadiths enjoining obedience
 Muhammad.” The alleged transfer of imami charisma to the to the
 imams, the ijma’ (consensus) of the community about
 father of al-Saffah by the son of Ibn al-Hanafiyya had all the
 establishing an imam. Traces of the polemic against Shi’ism
 plausibility of the Donation of Constantine employed a half that
 conditioned the formulation of the embryonic theories
 century later to justify papal dominion in Western Europe. of caliphal
 succession of al-Mawardi’s predecessors—for ex-
 The third justification of the Abbasid succession—that the ample,
 the Ash’arite theologians al-Baqillani (d. 1013) and al-
 Abbasids were the members of the family of the Prophet most Baghdadi (d.
 1037)—surface only rarely in al-Mawardi’s

654

Islam and the Muslim World Succession

exposition. The awkward position into which Sunni theorists as a
 religious principle of legitimate political succession. For
 of the caliphate were squeezed by the need to defend the Ibn
 Taymiyya, good Islamic government is any state in which
 historical record of the caliphate, on the one hand, and the emirs and
 ulema collaborate in the interests of Islam.
 need to oppose Shi’ite theocratic conceptions of political
 succession, on the other is illustrated by al-Mawardi’s insis-
 Al-Taftazani is far less sanguine about the removal of the
 tence that, while the caliph should be selected by election, caliphate
 from the political legitimacy equation, and is far less
 rather than appointment, and this election can be accom- ready than
 Ibn Taymiyya to accept the political fragmentaplished by a single
 elector—this last provision justifying what tion of the Middle Period (c.
 1000–1500) as a permanent
 became the most common mode of succession, appointment feature of
 the Islamic world. Al-Taftazani’s views on the
 by a caliph of his son as heir. Al-Mawardi is careful to refer to caliphate
 were referred to frequently by proponents of the
 this mode of succession as *ahd* (“investiture”) rather than revival

of the caliphate in the late nineteenth and early
with the Shi'ite term *nass* ("designation"). Similarly, the
twentieth centuries. His *Sharh* was used as a textbook at the principle of *imamat*
al-mafdul ("the imamate of the less qualified") by Azhar, and both his Maturidi
rationalism and his frequent
qualified") does double duty for al-Mawardi. It serves as a
references to the *salaf al-salih* ("upright predecessors") a rejection of
the Kharijite stance that as soon as a better qualified candidate appeared he must replace a less qualified
Salafi movement of the nineteenth century
qualified candidate appeared he must replace a less qualified candidate
that touted original Islam as the true religion of
sitting caliph no matter how much civil disturbance this might cause; it also counters Shi'ite claims that the
enlightenment. By contrast, the favoritism toward Hanafism
might cause; it also counters Shi'ite claims that the successions of the first three caliphs were illegitimate because
and eventual revival of caliphal universalism by the Ali—Ottoman
sultans banished Ibn Taymiyya's Hanbali puritanism
who even by most Sunni accounts was a more qualified candidate than Uthman—was passed over. For all his will-
to the margins, where it became associated with groups on religious fringe, such as the Wahhabis. However, after the
candidate than Uthman—was passed over. For all his willingness to compromise on the person of the caliph, al-
the failure of
the caliphal revival efforts of the 1920s, Ibn Mawardi strives at every point to uphold the sanctity of the
Taymiyya's tactical retreat to "Islamism-in-one-country" got caliphal succession itself. Despite the many principles of
a second
look from groups like the Muslim Brotherhood caliphal succession that he draws by analogy with sharia (Ikhwan
al-Muslimin) that worked for Islamic renewal from contracts, al-Mawardi stresses that the caliphal bay'a is "a
the
ground up instead of from the top down. public interest whose consequences go beyond that of private
contracts" (al-Mawardi, *al-Akham al-sultaniyya*, p. 9). In
the meantime, in addition to eradicating the Baghdad caliphate, the Mongols also brought to the Islamic world a
As the caliphate progressively declined into powerlessness theory of
dynastic succession in which God chose the ruler of and caliphal succession eventually became the playing of
the world
directly, without the agency of the umma, and the sultan of the moment, al-Mawardi's successors were
demonstrated His choice not through the consensus of scholars but through the
progressively more realistic accommodation of the outcome of military struggles. This made
with historical actuality. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111), for example, the subject
of legitimate political succession less a matter for adds to election and investiture by the preceding caliph a
prescription by men of religion and more a matter for

third mode of succession: investiture by a man of power (rajul by historians. The most prominent of these was dhu shawka). As he reluctantly concedes: “Government in Khaldun, “the world’s first sociologist,” who viewed the these days is a consequence solely of military power, and of political sovereignty as driven by asabiyya—or whosoever he may be to whom the possessor of military dynasty’s group cohesion. Indeed, he interprets the power gives his allegiance, that person is the caliph. ” (Al-restriction by previous theorists of the caliphate to the house Ghazali, Ihya ulum al-din) of Quraysh not as deriving from hadith text but rather as from the fact that Quraysh was in possession of the asabiyya of the Succession after the Caliphate moment during the period of Islamic origins. Although Ibn After the Mongol conquests obliterated the Baghdad caliphate, more of a historian than a religious scholar, his Khaldun is the terms in which men of religion evaluated the legitimacy of views on the relationship of religion to political succession were political succession diverged still further from al-Mawardi’s often quoted by later ulema because of his general “classical” theory. Two different approaches to a world with-prestige. In particular, his portrayal of the Quraysh lineage out a caliph are represented by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) and al- requirement as a practical rather than doctrinal consideration Taftazani (d. 1389). Ibn Taymiyya’s theory of the caliphate was much cited by proponents of non-Quraysh candidates for the can best be characterized as a revival of Kharijite positions. the caliphate.

He abandons the Quraysh lineage requirement, the imamate of the less qualified, and even the necessity of the caliphate Dynastic succession displaced caliphal legitimacy as a itself. Ibn Taymiyya seems to regard excessive stress on the political principle in the Islamic world from the Mongols importance of even the Sunni imamate as a Shi ite-like heresy through the period of the early modern Timurid, Safavid, and Ottoman and is as antipathetic to Sunni consensus as to imami charisma empires. Toward the end of the nineteenth century

Islam and the Muslim World

655

Sufism

the Ottoman sultan Abd al-Hamid II tried to counter na- Watt, W.
 Montgomery. God’s Caliph: Qur anic Interpretations
 tional separatism among Muslim ethnic minorities in the and
 Umayyad Claims. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University
 empire by pushing the idea that the Ottoman sultans were Press,

1971.

legitimate successors to the caliphate on the basis of a dubious claim that the last descendant of the Abbasid caliphs in

Mark Wegner

Mamluk Cairo had transferred the caliphate to Selim III upon his conquest of Egypt in 1517. Immediately following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, several efforts to revive the caliphate as a governing body of the world Muslim community garnered support among Islamic liberals and pan-Islamists. By then it was too late, however, European hegemony having imposed on the Middle East principles of political succession that had neither religious roots nor cultural resonance in the Islamic world. By the end of the SUFISM See Tasawwuf

community garnered support among Islamic liberals and pan-Islamists. By then it was too late, however, European hegemony having imposed on the Middle East principles of political succession that had neither religious roots nor cultural resonance in the Islamic world. By the end of the SUHRAWARDI, AL- (C. 1154–1191)

twentieth century this had provoked an Islamist reaction whose vision of political legitimacy has far more in common Shihab al-Din Yahya b. Amirak Suhrawardi was a philosopher with historically marginal fringe Islamic political movements pher and mystic whose Neoplatonic “Illuminationist” school

than with traditional mainstream views of caliphal succession. was a major influence on later Islamic philosophy, especially in Iran and India. Suhrawardi was born and educated in

See also Abu Bakr; Caliphate; Empires: Abbasid; northwestern Iran and as a young man was an adherent of the Empires: Umayyad; Islam and Other Religions; Peripatetic philosophy of Avicenna. His mystical experiences Tasawwuf; Umar. and a

famous dream of Aristotle convinced him of the inadequacy of this philosophy and made him a Platonist. The

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elements in his new system were a reliance on intuition as Barthold, V. V. “Caliph and Sultan.” *Islamic Quarterly* 7 a basic tool of philosophy, the closely related theory of (1963): 117–138. knowledge

later called knowledge by presence, and an insistence Binder, Leonard. “al-Ghazali’s Theory of Islamic Government on the reality of the Platonic Forms conceived as immaterial ment.” *The Muslim World* 45 (1955): 229–241. immaterial

intelligences. The most important statement of Crone, Patricia, and Hinds, Martin. *God’s Caliph: Religious his mature doctrine was his book Hikmat al-Ishraq (The Authority in the First Five Centuries of Islam. Cambridge, philosophy of illumination), in which he attacked certain Peripa-*

U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986. tetic

doctrines and expounded his system in the form of a

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also wrote in Persian. His short philosophical allegories,
State.” In his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*.
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In 1183 he
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the governor of Aleppo, and for a time enjoyed an
du Calife. Edited and translated by Charles Pellat. Paris: ascendancy
over the prince that aroused the jealousy of

G. P. Maisonneuve, 1972. religious

scholars and alarmed the prince’s father, the great

Lambton, A. K. S. *State and Government in Medieval Islam: An* Saladin,
who was facing the threat of the Third Crusade. It

Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory. London: seems likely
that Saladin was alarmed by the political implica-

Oxford University Press, 1981. tions of

Suhrawardi’s philosophy, which called for a mystical

Margoliouth, D. S. “The Sense of the Title Khalifah.” *Orien-*
philosopher-king and which resembled the view of the Ismailis,

tal Studies Presented to Edward G. Brown. Edited by T. W. whom Saladin
had suppressed in Egypt and Syria. Suhrawardi

Arnold and R. A. Nicholson. Cambridge, U.K.: Cam- was put to
death at Saladin’s orders, probably in 1191.

bridge University Press, 1922.

Qadi, Wadad al-. “The Term ‘Khalifa’ in Early Exegetical

Though Suhrawardi’s philosophy has always been in-
Literature.” *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988): 392–411. fluent

in the Islamic East, it was almost unknown in

Qadi, Wadad al-. “Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad the West
until it was popularized by the French Orientalist

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Corbin, who interpreted Suhrawardi as an Iranian

Power. Edited by Manuela Martin et al. Madrid: Consejo
“theosopher” committed to the revival of ancient Iranian

Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1993. thought.

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John Walbridge	
SULTANATES SUKAYNA (671–737) AYYUBID Sukayna was the nickname (laqab) of the granddaughter of Hillenbrand Fatima (the daughter of the Prophet) and Ali bin Abi Talib. DELHI Her full name is variously given as Umayma (according to al-Iqtidar Alam Khan Kalbi) or Amina (according to al-Isbahani) bint Husayn. Her mother was al-Rabab bint Imri al-Qays al-Kalbiyya, a poet, whose father was the reputed military leader of the Kalb. Saleh	Carole
MAMLUK Having lost both her father and husband (Abdallah b. al-Schultz Hazan b. Abi Talib) at Karbala, Sukayna moved to Medina, where she acquired a taste for intellectual matters from her Hassan Mwakimako mother. In 686 C.E. she married Mus ab b. al-Zubayr (d. 691 C.E.), who was killed fighting for his brother, Abdallah, the acknowledged caliph in Medina and Iraq. Then, after a Amir Arjomand couple of marriages which ended in divorce, she finally wed	GHAZNAVID Walid A. Warren C. MODERN SELJUK Saïd

Zayd b. Umar, the grandson of Uthman b. Affan. She died as his widow at the age of sixty-seven. AYYUBID

The Ayyubids were the family dynasty of Saladin (Salah al-Din), the famous Kurdish Muslim hero of the Crusades. The Sukayna nevertheless had the reputation of a barza, a woman dynasty is normally dated from Saladin's career onward (c. 1169), but is who is never veiled, entertains men at home, and is recognized after Saladin's father, Ayyub. In their heyday, the Ayyubids ruled Egypt, Syria, Palestine, the Jazira (a region to the north of Baghdad and extending into Syria), Umayyads, and socially, in her marriage contracts, wherein and Yemen. Their rule may be divided into three major phases: she insisted on her freedom from marital control and de-Saladin's career, his prominent successors, and the mandated the monogamy of her intended husband. Though it dynasty's decline.

was to a hairstyle—al-turra al-Sukayniyya—that she gave her name, Sukayna was, importantly, a lover of the arts: Accord-Ayyub and his brother Shirkuh came from Dwina in Armenia and served ing to Abu Zinad (d. 757), Jarir (d. 728) and Farazdaq (d. 727) and served the Turkish warlords Zengi and his son, Nur al-Din, were two famous poets whose skills she encouraged, and Ibn al-Din, Saladin's two great predecessors in the Muslim "Counter-Crusade."

Saladin accompanied Shirkuh on three expeditions considered himself her protegee, and set many of her verses to Egypt in the 1160s. After Shirkuh's death in 1169, Saladin to music. took control in Egypt in the name of Nur al-Din and reestablished Sunni Islam there. However, a rift began to develop See also Ahl al-Bayt; Law. between Saladin and his master, Nur al-Din. This

Islam and the Muslim World

657

Sultanates

rift was prevented from developing into open warfare only by Ayyubid period the remaining Crusader states became fully integrated the death of the latter in 1174. That same year Saladin sent his integrated as local Levantine polities. The Ayyubids made brother Turanshah to conquer Yemen. treaties and truces with them and sometimes, as at al-Harbiyya (1244), fought alongside them against fellow Muslims. Trade Much of Saladin's first decade as an independent ruler, was important

for the Ayyubids. They were afraid of further from about 1174 to 1184, was devoted to subjugating his crusades being launched from Europe, which would disrupt Muslim opponents and creating a secure power base in Egypt their lucrative arrangements with the Italian maritime states. and Syria for himself and his family. In 1187 he achieved a decisive victory against the Crusaders at the battle of Hattin Despite their religious reverence for Jerusalem, the Ayyubid and reconquered Jerusalem for Islam. The Third Crusade, dynasty never chose it as a capital, preferring Cairo or launched in response to this loss, ended in 1192 in truce and Damascus. During the Fifth Crusade in 1219, al-Mu azzam, stalemate. Saladin died the following year. Despite his un- who, like other Ayyubids, had beautified the Holy City, doubted successes, he nonetheless failed to rid the Levant of dismantled its fortifications lest it should fall into Crusader the Crusaders. hands again. This action, justified as sorrowful necessity by al-Mu azzam, provoked widespread condemnation among Saladin did not envisage the development of a centralized the local Muslim population. Worse was to come when alstate. He bequeathed a divided empire among his relations, Kamil, plagued by inter-familial strife, and anxious to deflect giving his sons the three principalities centered on Damas- another crusade, ceded Jerusalem to Frederick II. The Holy City, Aleppo, and Cairo. In the ensuing power struggle, City remained a pawn on the Levantine chessboard, coming back under Saladin's brother, al- Adil, a seasoned politician, rather than the control of the Ayyubids in 1239 and then Saladin's sons, emerged triumphant by 1202 and reorganized handed back to the Crusaders five years later, then being Saladin's inheritance in favor of his own sons. This kind of sacked in 1244 by the Khwarazmians and returning to Musinter-klan struggle was deep-rooted. Yet, despite the frag- lim control. mented nature of the Ayyubid confederation, three rulers, al- Adil (1202–1218), al-Kamil (1218–1238), and al- Ali In other respects, the Ayyubids were keen to prove their Ayyub (1240–1249), managed to exercise overarching con- Sunni credentials, building religious monuments in Jerusatrol. The succession of rulers in Aleppo remained among lem, Damascus, Cairo, and elsewhere and choosing grandiose Saladin's direct descendants. Other principalities were set jihad titulature on their correspondence, coins, and monuup in Transjordan and Mesopotamia. Two of these, and mental inscriptions. They founded no less than sixty-three Mesopotamia, survived beyond the year 1250. religious colleges in Damascus alone (the Ayyubids were

Shafi is or Hanafis). They welcomed Sufis, for whom they founded cloisters (khanqahs). In 1218, the Fifth Crusade arrived in Egypt but made little impact. That year al-Adil died and was succeeded by his son, al-Kamil, who in the treaty of Jaffa (February 1229) gave the Ayyubids's relationship with the Baghdad caliphate Jerusalem back to Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and was complex. Like earlier military dynasties that had usurped power, the Ayyubids sought legitimization from the caliph in Baghdad. Caliphal ambassadors mediated in inter-Ayyubid disputes, of the Rock, and a corridor from Jerusalem to the coast. The and the caliph al-Nasir (d. 1225) created around himself a pious on both sides were horrified at this diplomatic maneuver. network of spiritual alliances with Muslim rulers, including the Ayyubids. Such symbolic links did not remove The death of al-Kamil in 1238 ushered in a turbulent mutual suspicion, however. Both sides feared each other's period. His son, al-Ali Ayyub, emerged as the new sultan expansionist aims and denied each other military support. with the help of the Khwarazmians, displaced troops from Central Asia who had fled the approaching the Mongols. In Saladin inherited eastern governmental traditions brought to Syria by 1244 the Khwarazmians sacked Jerusalem, to widespread condemnation. The Ayyubid dynasty was terminated in 1250 between Fatimid and Ayyubid practice, especially in taxation. in a coup instigated by the sultan's own slave troops, the This process is mirrored in the career of Qadi al-Fadil, a Sunni Muslim Mamluks, who raised one of their number to the rank of who had served the Fatimid government in Cairo but sultan. At the same time a new crusade, launched against Ayyubids later became Saladin's head of chancery. The Egypt under the French king Louis IX, was defeated by the expanded the existing system of iqta (land given to Mamluks. army officers in exchange for military and administrative duties) to the benefit of their kinsmen and commanders. The unique focus of jihad during Saladin's time was the Armed with the revenues of Egypt, Saladin built up a strong army which reconquest of Jerusalem. This goal had faded by the thirteenth century. With the Crusaders, the Ayyubids often iqta holders, vassals, and auxiliary forces. The Ayyubid practiced détente and they were criticized, even in their own mies were composed of Kurds and Turks, with the latter

time, for their lukewarm prosecution of jihad. During the predominating. The recruitment of slave soldiers (mamluks),

658

Islam and the Muslim World

Sultanates

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Crusader states, 1144
Saladin's advance, 1174-84
other Ayyubid campaigns,
Medina 1174-90
Yenbo
routes of the Third
Aswan

Crusade, 1188-92

Zangids, 1127-1222

City

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To Yemen

Saladin and the Ayyubid Sultanate 1169–1193. XNR PRODUCTIONS, INC./GALE

always a feature of Ayyubid military policy, intensified under

based on individual cities, such as Cairo and Damascus. Here

al- Ali Ayyub. This able ruler began to centralize his adminis-

the Ayyubid princes patronized the arts. Some, such as

altration in Cairo, thus foreshadowing the policies of the

Amjad Bahramshah and Abul-Fida of Hama, were themselves

Ayyubids's successors, the Mamluks.

men of letters; others (Saladin, al- Adil, and al-Kamil)

were

exceptionally able rulers.

Apart from Saladin's brief attempt to build a navy, the

Ayyubids were not interested in fighting the Crusaders at sea.

Two key characteristics of Ayyubid policy were already

They did not construct castles in the Crusader manner,

evident in Saladin's time: the promotion of Sunni Islam and

preferring instead to build or strengthen city fortifications

the need to rule a united Syro-Egyptian polity. Saladin had

and erect citadels, as in Cairo and Aleppo. The fragmented

acquired great prestige by abolishing the two

hundred-year nature of Ayyubid power led to a proliferation of small courts

old Ishma ili Shi ite caliphate of Cairo. The key

Ayyubid

Islam and the Muslim World

659

Sultanates

principalities were Cairo and Damascus; when these were incorporated

in the Ghorian state structure. These instituited under one ruler,

equilibrium and stability prevailed. tions combined with Ghaurian control

over the sources of horse supply, and their greater expertise in mounted archery. It is important to view the Ayyubids not only in relation to the use of crossbows but also within their wider Islamic context, and their conquests in India. The Delhi sultanate's success in where they had to contend with other neighboring states, checking the Mongols had much to do with the efficacy of its military organization identified with the iqta system. Ala-ud-din and the Zengids in the Jazira, and the Caucasian Christian Sultanate. Balban's measures of price control and assessment of a land-tax by measurement (wafa-e biswa) also greatly enlarged the opportunistic, self-serving politicians, but their survival depended on local Levantine solidarity. In times of crisis or external aggression the Ayyubids would ally with their close neighbors, whoever they were, to defend their territory. Structure of Delhi Sultanate During the thirteenth century, the sultans' nobility consisted of two main segments: the Persian-speaking Tajiks and the Turkish slaves. See also Cairo; Caliphate; Crusades; Education; Saladin; Turkish slaves. The latter were more influential; many of the Sultanates: Delhi; Sultanates: Ghaznavid; Sultanates: high military positions and assignments were held by Turkish nobles of Mamluk; Sultanates: Modern; Sultanates: Seljuk. nobles of slave origin known as the forty (chahalgani). Balban's reign witnessed the eclipse of the forty. There emerged a new set of nobles many of whom, like Khaljis, were not necessarily of Turkish origin. There was also a perceptible tendency toward accommodating within the ruling elite Indian and The Ghorian prince Shahab al-Din (who assumed the title of Mongol converts to Islam as well as some of the Hindu warrior elements (rawats) having a long tradition of military conquered extensive territories in North India up to Bengal service. Ziya Barani's perception of the rise of the "low born" during the years 1175 to 1206. His Turkish slave Qutb appears to be a reflection of this tendency, which became al-Din Aibek became an independent ruler following his quite strong during Muhammad Tughlaq's reign (1325–1351). death in 1206. Aibak was succeeded by his slave Iltutmish (1211–1236), who, after having established himself at Delhi, Once they received land tax at the rate of one-half of the

received diploma of investiture as the “Sultan of India” produce, the sultans did not disturb the rights of the nonfrom the Abbasid caliph. The Delhi sultanate thus formed Muslims on the lands they tilled. Down to Firoz Shah was ruled over by the Turkish slaves down to 1290; by Tughlaq’s accession (1351), no attempt was made to impose Iltutmish’s descendants until 1266, and by Ghiyas al-Din jizya—a tax on the person rather than on the land, usually on Balban (1266–1286) and his offspring subsequently. Later, non-Muslims—on any section of the non-Muslims, though during the period 1290 to 1412, it was ruled over successively the land tax itself was often called khiraj-o-jizya. Again, the by two non-Turkish dynasties, the Khaljis (1290–1320) and Hindu chiefs (rays and ranas) were left in possession of their Tughlaqs (1320–1412). The sultanate underwent great ex-principalities in lieu of annual tribute; some of them were pansion during the reign of Ala al-Din Khalji (1296–1316), even recruited as the officers of the sultan’s government. under whom Gujarat was annexed, and the southern states Similarly, the village headmen (khuts and muqaddams) were incorporated down to Tamil Nadu were subjugated. By the time of Muham- into the machinery of revenue collection. Ala mad Tughluq (1325–1351), all the major South Indian states al-Din Khalji is reported to have prevented them from shifting the had been annexed. However, before his death a large number of provinces had seceded, forming independent principalities peasants. such as the Bahmanis in the Deccan. Timur’s invasion in 1398 weakened the sultanate irretrievably; thenceforth it ceased to Economic and Cultural Impact

be a pan-Indian entity. The state patronage in the Delhi sultanate was distributed among deserving members of the Islamic elite by the head of Shahab al-Din’s original principality, Ghor, comprised the ecclesiastical affairs (sadr al-sudur), who also acted as chief the Afghan province of the same name located in the zone judge (qadi-e mumalik). He enforced the orthodox law through a network of more exposed to Iranian culture. It was organized on a clan network of local courts. and family basis; the royal office was confined to the Shansbani clan while the military commanders (pahalwanan) were of the The establishment of Delhi sultanate coincided with the Kharmil and Salar clans. The troopers were recruited from coming to India of new skills and crafts such as the manufacamong the inhabitants of Ghor and those of the lowlands ture of paper, the arcuate technique in buildings, and the (garmsir) in the Hilmand valley. After the occupation of spinning

wheel. The sultanate was marked by an urban
 Ghazni by the Ghorians in 1173 and 1174, the Ghaznavide revival and
 commercial expansion. Both Delhi and Daulatabad
 tradition of governance identified with a corps of Turkish (in the
 south) were exceptionally large cities by the standards
 slaves and a system of temporary land assignments (iqta) was of the time.

660

Islam and the Muslim World Sultanates

The sultanate gave rise not only to a large Muslim popula- plains.
 Meanwhile, the Samanid emirs, under severe pressure
 tion but also to the implantation of a culture revolving round from Turkish
 invaders from the inner Asian Steppes, had to
 the Persian language. As the noted poet Amir Khosrow turn to
 Sebuktigin and his son Mahmud, who was already the
 (d.1325) showed, the Muslim stream began to merge with the commander of
 the Samanid army. Having saved the Samanids,
 traditional Indian to create a genuinely composite culture. Mahmud came
 to inherit most of their domains, bringing
 This was reflected in the realm of architecture where the two their rule
 to an end.
 merged, to create not only the Qutb Minar at Delhi, but a
 number of other splendid monuments as well. The Sufic Through
 a life of continuous military campaigning,
 schools interacted with the Yogic, and played their part in Mahmud (r.
 998–1030) built a vast empire; by the time of his
 bringing about the later monotheistic movements of Kabir death he had
 united eastern Iran and the southern parts of the
 and Nanak. Oxus River,
 Khwarazm, northern Iran, Afghanistan, and
 northern India. The army that conquered this realm was
 See also Sultanates: Ghaznavid; Sultanates: Mamluk; made up of
 professional Turkish slave-soldiers who were
 Sultanates: Seljuk. bought and
 trained for the purpose of fighting. Its core was
 the ghulam-e saray, an elite palace guard. Alongside this core
 BIBLIOGRAPHY was a wider
 force of Turkish slave-soldiers. The Ghaznavids,
 Habib, Irfan. “Formation of the Sultanate Ruling Class of the in turn,
 employed other auxiliary soldiers, such as Iranians,
 13th Century.” In Vol. 1, Medieval India. Edited by Irfan Arabs, and
 Hindus. In its campaigns in India, the Ghaznavid
 Habib. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992 army was
 augmented by ghazis, or volunteer Muslim para-
 Jackson, Peter. The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Mili- military
 groups. In many respects, the story of the Ghaznavids

tary History. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999. prefigures the story of the Ottoman Empire: each at the periphery of the Muslim world, each made up of a Turkish core, and both staunchly orthodox in their ideology.

Iqtidar Alam Khan

This expanding military sultanate was, however, in the long run impossible to maintain. It would be dealt a crushing defeat soon after it reached its zenith. Mahmud, busy camor ghulam) who ruled a sultanate that rose to dominance in paingning in India, where looting Buddhist monasteries had become a very profitable enterprise, failed to realize the danger posed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries C.E. Though on the periphery of the Muslim world at the time, this sultanate was Mas ud (r. 1030–1041) was no match to the challenge when the moment arrived. The battle of Dandanqan (1040) in Khorasan was the opening of India for Muslim control. Motives aside, the Ghaznavids were great patrons of arts and literature, and been forced to abandon all of the northern parts of his empire, was their courts were magnets for a large number of poets, artists, even contemplating deserting Ghazna. This being a military empire, the soldiers soon killed their discredde dedicated by Firdawsi (940–1025) to Sultan Mahmud (r. 998–1030). Even more than the Samanid dynasty that preceded them, the Ghaznavids brought a huge realm under the The battle of Dandanqan signaled a turning point in the history of the Ghaznavids. Mawdud (r. 1041–1048), the new language of communication, both officially, as the language sultan, would work on consolidating what was left of the empire, which of the chancery, and artistically, as the preferred language of empire, which meant an expansion toward the Indian subconpanegyrics addressed to the sultans. Moreover, Iranians would tinent. First Ghazna and then Lahore would be made the capital cities of what was now the first important Indian mentous cultural significance. Arabic continued to enjoy the Muslim sultanate. Less is known about the remaining one hundred and fifty years of the dynasty than is known about

Persian now stood on its own and soon would come to replace the earlier phase, since far fewer sources are preserved, but Arabic in most fields. this should not skew a present-day assessment of the historical significance of the later Ghaznavids. By turning their The founder of the dynasty was Sebuktigin (r. 977–997), a energy to northern India, they made possible the Islamization Turkish commander in the semi-independent city of Ghazna. and conquest of large parts of India by later Muslim invaders. Though part of the Samanid state, Ghazna was governed by Their courts remained centers of literary and cultural activity. army generals who ten years earlier had rebelled against the ity, producing such important works as the Persian translation of the classic in statecraft, *Kalila va Dimna*, and the in Afghanistan and was able to defeat the Hindu Shahis princes, poetry of Mas'ud Sa'di Salman. In 1186 the Ghurids brought wrestling from them the Kabul river basin and the Panjab this dynasty to an end.

Islam and the Muslim World

661

Sultanates

The Ghaznavids were fortunate to be immortalized by the The Mamluks of al-Salih established a ruling system in adoration and admiration that was showered on Mahmud and which only Mamluks were supposed to participate. The later sultans by poets, ulema, and ideologues. Their rise to sultan was to be a *primus inter pares*, atop a hierarchy of power would become exemplary in the mirror-of-princes graduated ranks and responsibilities. As both the sultan and literature. Moreover, Mahmud and his page Ayaz would leading Mamluk emirs would purchase Mamluks of their own, the become the ideal lovers for the Sufis, who sang of their love in own, the jockeying for power and influence among the their poetry. Some modern Indian Muslims would revive the resulting factions was often quite intense and complex. A memory of Mahmud as a Muslim Indian hero. typical Mamluk career might begin in the ranks, and then progress through the grades of Emir of ten (number of See also *Persian Language and Literature*; Sultanates: Mamluks in his retinue), Emir of forty, and Emir of one Seljuk. hundred. In addition to these promotions, a Mamluk might receive positions in the military-political administration, from BIBLIOGRAPHY posts as governors of small towns or larger cities to com-Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in* mander of

the army or even vice sultan. Salaries for the lower ranks would consist of cash payments. As his rank increased, a Mamluk would count on receiving an iqta, or right of revenue, from agricultural districts of varying size and wealth. Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay, The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India* Cadastral surveys were carried out early in the Mamluk sultanate to aid in the process of revenue inventory and iqta distribution.

Walid A. Saleh

As freeborn Muslims, the sons of Mamluks were excluded from the MAMLUK system. This was the ideal. In actuality, upon reaching The Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517) had the sultanate many Mamluks attempted to pass the office on to their sons. While we thus see apparent “dynasties” of sultans from the same lineage—the most famous being that al-Salih (d. 1249). By this time, military slavery was a well-descended from al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun established institution in the Islamic world. Young males were in fact puppets, controlled by the senior Mamluk emirs who were transported to the city of the purchaser, converted to Islam, maneuvering to take the throne themselves. Many of the sons and trained in the techniques of war. Upon reaching adulthood of Mamluks, known collectively as awlad al-nas (“sons of the people,” that is, of those who matter), pursued careers hoped—a loyal military force, without ties to the local population. In the turbulent period after al-Salih’s death (during a Crusader invasion of Egypt), al-Salih’s Mamluks murdered Fueled by the agricultural richness of Egypt and sitting astride the his son and heir Turanshah. Over the ensuing decade they took steps to rule in their own name. By the time these region to the Indian Ocean and points east, the cities of the Mamluks defeated the invading Mongols at Ayn Jalut in Mamluk sultanate were centers of commerce, art, and learning. The Mamluk sultans recognized and supported all four

the Syro-Palestinian littoral. Under the early sultans, most Sunni schools of law, and appointed (and demoted) chief qadis notably Baybars (1260–1277) and Qalawun (1279–1290), the (judges) at their discretion. The patronage of leading Mamluks Mamluks eventually eliminated the last of the Crusader states resulted in the construction of many mosques, madrasas, Sufi and kept the Mongol Il-Khans at bay. The Mamluk regime khanqas (hospice), and other structures. Mamluk financial support for remained a major regional power until it was conquered by the building and upkeep of these institutions was the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in 1517. often codified in endowment deeds (waqfs). These would typically provide for the salaries of the clerics who taught The Mamluk Sultanate is commonly divided into two there and the religious functionaries who staffed the buildperiods. The contemporary sources base this division on ings, underwrite the living expenses of students, and support the ethnicity of the leading Mamluks. During the first pe- other charitable activities. One repercussion of this active riod, which ended in 1382, the majority of the sultans were religio-educational environment was the production of a large number of written works in many genres. Today those same (1382–1517), most of the sultans were ethnic Circassians. same texts provide a wealth of primary source material for The utility of this division is limited. Moreover, the labels scholars interested in Mamluk history, culture, and society. Bahri and Burji, frequently applied to the same twofold periodization, are of later invention and should be avoided as See also Sultanates: Delhi; Sultanates: Ghaznavid; they do not hold up to scrutiny. Sultanates: Seljuk.

662

Islam and the Muslim World

Sultanates

Battle of Cairo, 1798. Murad Bey's Mamluk army lost control of Egypt to the French, led by Napoleon Bonaparte. © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

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Muslim societies. Sultanate implies a Muslim polity preclud- ing the Ayalon, David. Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517). caliphal states. The Islamic political doctrine lays emphasis on London: Variorum Reprints, 1977. the umma, whose internal organization was secured and Ayalon, David. The Mamluk Military Society. London: Varior-

defined by a common acceptance of and submission to the shari'a and the temporary head of the community,

the caliph or the sultan, who are religious leaders, representatives of the faithful (amir al-mu'minin), but subordinate to the law.

Ayalon, David. *Islam and the Abode of War: Military Slaves and Islamic Adversaries*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1994.

communities, and sometimes referred to as the successors of the Prophet, (khalifat rasul Allah), or commanders of the faithful (amir al-mu'minin), but subordinate to the law.

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believe in the divine origins of government.

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emanates from God and the shari'a established the principles or roots of religion (usul al-din). Islamic law is

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immutability. Islamic law is immutable.

The Islamic political theory assumes absence of legislative powers by humans and the state, but the state and rulers are

expected to carry out the law. To disobey a law is to infringe on

Raymond, André. *Cairo*. Translated by Willard Wood. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

a rule of the social order. As such, it is an act of religious disobedience, a sin (fisq), involving a religious penalty. Consequently, the Islamic theory of government views

Warren C. Schultz. *Man as khalifat rasul Allah and produced idealistic forms of*

government based on lineage illustrative of Max Weber's MODERN sultanism,

which refers to Middle Eastern Muslim rulers who

Sultan is a Near-Eastern term that connotes a variant form of

their society through the establishment and development of

Muslim governors emerging out of the Ottoman, Umayyad, administrations and military forces as purely

and Abbasid practices of rule, power, and authority over personal instruments of the sultans. Sultanates are, therefore,

Islam and the Muslim World

663

Sultanates

geographical and political units that characterize Muslim trading

interests, which eventually escalated into open conflict embodied in patronage,

nepotism and cronyism. Reforms followed thereafter,

including preparations to

ertheless, not all regimes headed by a sultan were in fact terminate the British protectorate when the sultanate became "sultanism" in Weber's definition. Other scholarship refutes an independent constitutional monarchy. In 1964, the Afrithis view especially in the case of the Ottoman Empire, which can populations revolted against Sultan Jamshid b. Abdullah had a political system that was much more bureaucratic, (b. 1929) and led Zanzibar to join mainland Tanganyika to form the Republic of Tanzania, thus ending one of Africa's despotic. Ottoman historian Halil Inalcik applied sultanism Muslim sultanates. While Sultan Jamshid was deposed the to the Ottoman Empire without ascribing negative connota- Oman branch has continued with Sultan Qaboos b. Sa'id (b. tions, thus minimizing its anti-Islamic tinge. 1940) as the head. Other petty sultanates in the eastern coast of Africa include the Pate sultanate founded by Nabhani Nineteenth to twenty-first century sultanates in Islamic Arabs around 1205. Around 1858 former rulers of Pate communities are construed as polities based on personal founded the sultanate of Witu, which became a German protectorate rulership, where loyalty to the ruler is motivated not by protectorate in 1885 and a British protectorate in 1890. embodying an ideology, or charismatic qualities, but by a mixture of fear and rewards to collaborators. Sultans exercise The Sokoto sultanate is a West African Islamic empire established by power at their own discretion and are unencumbered by established by a Fulani cleric named Uthman dan Fodio rules, usually subverting bureaucratic administration by arbi- (1754–1817). By 1812 his jihads had conquered most Hausa trary personal decrees. Those who administer sultanates are states of northern Nigeria. As the territory of the sultanate chosen by the ruler, and may include family members, friends, extended, it was divided in 1817 into the emirate of Gwandu or individuals who submit themselves to the ruler. Some and the sultanate of Sokoto, each being overlord to a number of tributary sultanates are modern, but are nevertheless characterized by of tributary emirates. The sultan of Sokoto remained over the weakness of their legal legitimacy. lord of the empire. Dan Fodio was succeeded by his son Muhammad Bello (1781–1837). In 1885 the empire was Twentieth-century examples of Muslim sultanates unconquered by the British but the sultans survived through clude the sultanate of Oman located on the southeastern indirect rule. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries sub-Arabian Peninsula. Ruled on Ibadhi principles by the Al-Ja'fari of the sultanate held important portfolios in Nigeria

Busaidi dynasty, the Ibadhis initially believed that the umma including the first premier of Northern Nigeria, Ahmadu had priority over the ruler and could function without the Bello, and Shehu Shagari (b. 1925), the first executive presisuperior authority because people could themselves apply the dent of Nigeria (1979–1983). In 2002, the sultan of Sokoto shari a. The Yarubi dynasty changed this with succession was Muhammad Maccibo ibn Abubakar (b. 1948). based on preference for members of current ruling families over claims of outsiders. The sultanate emerged in 1791 The sultanate of Brunei is located on the northern coast of the island of when Ahmad b. Sa id al-Busa idi seized control of Muscat the island of Borneo, in eastern Asia. Its people are Malay with Chinese from his brother Imam Said b. Ahmad and informally recog- and Indian minorities and a variety of indigenized a single ruling family, assuming the title of sayyid nous communities such as the Dayaks, Iban, and Kelabit. or sultan. Chinese annals of the sixth and seventh centuries indicate early Islamic influences, as evidenced by Jawi, a script derived In 1840, Sayyid Sa id b. Sultan b. Sa id al-Busa idi from Arabic that had been in use as the written language (1791–1856) acceded to the throne after the death of his before 1370. The late fourteenth century saw a widespread father, Sayyid Sultan b. Ahmad. He moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar and established the sultanate of Zanzibar, conversion to Islam in Brunei as Sultan Muhammad Shah, which ruled the towns and settlements along the eastern coast formerly Awang Alak Betatar, embraced Islam and became of Africa through the nineteenth century. From the close of the first Muslim ruler around 1371. Islam spread rapidly the seventeenth century, Zanzibar and its territories formed when Sharif Ali from Ta if, a descendant of the Prophet's grandson part of the Oman sultanate, then a powerful maritime regime. Husayn, became sultan (Seri Sultan Berkat) suc- Sayyid Sa id's death in 1856 led to a succession dispute ceeding his father-in-law, Sultan Ahmad. From the sixteenth between his sons and division of the sultanate between the through nineteenth centuries Brunei was a powerful state Muscat branch and the African dominions. European influ- ruling over the northern part of Borneo and the adjacent ences weakened the sultanate of Zanzibar, which became a chain of islands. Its power declined when it became a British British protectorate in 1890. In 1898 the minor Sayyid Ali II protectorate in 1888 and a British dependency in 1905. In ruled under a British regent. 1959, Sultan Umar Ali Saifuddin III, who had nominal

authority, promulgated the first constitution. In 1963 Brunei
 During the late nineteenth century, the sultanate of Zanzibar declined to join
 the Federation of Malaysia. In October 1967,
 zibar experienced severe racial tensions between the pre-Sultan Umar
 Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddien and the predominantly African population, Arab
 landowners, and Indian Muslims. He succeeded in favor of his eldest son, Sultan Haji
 Hassanatull

664

Islam and the Muslim World

Sultanates

Bolkiah Mu'izzidin Waddaulah (b. 1946), who was coronated, his armies had
 been recruited among the Turks, large land in August 1968. In 1979, a treaty was
 signed with the British, and grants were made to the members of the Seljuk
 family as

and Brunei became an independent sovereign state in January 1984. appanages,
 which, before long, were also referred to as *iqta*.

1984. In 1991 Sultan Bolkiah introduced an ideology called
 Malay Muslim Monarchy that represented the monarchy as a Nizam
 al-Mulk also built an extensive network of colleges
 defender of Islam. (madrasas)

throughout the empire. These became known as
 the Nizamiyyas after him, and were devoted to the teaching

See also Caliphate; Monarchy; Succession. of orthodox
 traditions, law, and theology. He appointed

many of the professors himself, including the great Muslim

BIBLIOGRAPHY thinker, Abu

Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who

taught at the Nizamiyya college of Baghdad for a number of

Binder, Leonard. "Al-Ghazali's Theory of Islamic Government." *The Seljuk*
 sultans and the women of the ruling

ments." *The Muslim World* 45, no. 3 (1955): 209–325.

household endowed similar colleges throughout the empire.

Chehabi, H. E., and Linz, Juan J. *Sultanistic Regimes*. Baltimore: The aim of
 Nizam al-Mulk's educational reform, which was

timore and London: The John Hopkins University somewhat
 controversially referred to as "the Sunni restora-

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tion," was to curb the influence of revolutionary Islam

Guenther, Roth, and Wittich, Claus, eds., Max Weber, *Economic and Social*
 which emanated from the Fatimid Empire in Egypt,

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ley: University of California Press, 1978. clandestine
 cells in the cities.

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however, be no doubt about the long-term
 York Press, 1994. impact of the
 colleges on the pattern of learning and subse-
 Huntington, Samuel P. The Third Wave: Democratization in quent
 development of Sunni Islam. Isma ili militants assassithe Later Twentieth
 Century. Norman: University of Okla- nated both Nizam al-Mulk and
 Malekshah in the same year,
 homa Press, 1991. 1092, which
 marked the end the unified empire. The Seljuks
 Inalcik, Halil. "Comments on 'Sultanism': Max Weber
 remained in power, and the sons and grandsons of Nizam al-
 Typification of the Ottoman Polity." Princeton Papers in Mulk remained
 prominent among their wazirs.
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 The disintegration of the Seljuk Empire did not result
 from revolutionary Isma ili Shi ism, but rather from the
 Hassan Mwakimako Turkish tribal practice of dividing the kingdom as the
 patrimony of the ruler among his male heirs. In other words, the
 SELJUK Seljuks, like
 the Timurids and a number of other Turko-
 The Seljuk Sultanate was the first empire built by a Turkish Mongolian
 dynasties, failed to solve the problem of succesnomadic tribe from Central
 Asia. In 1040, the Seljuks, who sion without the division of the empire,
 and in the twelfth
 belonged to the Oghuz Turks, decisively defeated the century the
 territory had become fragmented into a large
 Ghaznavid Sultan Mas ud under the leadership of two broth- number of
 principalities. Malekshah's sons fought among
 ers, Tughril Beg and Chagri Beg. They went on to establish themselves.
 One of them, Sultan Sanjar (1097–1157), became
 an empire in Iran that soon extended to Mesopotamia, where a powerful
 ruler in the East, but the disintegration of the
 Tughril captured Baghdad in 1055 and assumed the titles of empire
 elsewhere set in irreversibly. This fragmentation was
 sultan and shahanshah (shah of shahs). His nephew and facilitated
 by the practice of granting large iqta s, which
 successor, Alp Arslan (1063–1072), defeated and captured the alienated
 provinces from central control, and even more by
 Byzantine emperor in the battle of Manzikert (Malazgird) another
 Turkish institution: rule by the atabeg, who was the
 and opened Anatolia to Turkish migration. His son, Malekshah tutor of a
 minor prince, but who would often marry his
 (1072–1092), completed the conquest of Syria in 1084. The ward's
 mother.
 empire thus extended from the Oxus to the Mediterranean. It
 is known as the empire of the Great Seljuks, and remained Important
 Atabeg dynasties came into being in Azerbaijan,

unified for some half a century. Syria, northern Mesopotamia, and Fars, while different branches of the Seljuks ruled in Kerman and in Anatolia. The architect of this unity was Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), Many of the Atabeg dynasties survived the death of the last mainline the great wazir of Alp Arslan and Malekshah. Nizam al-Seljuk sultan, Tughril III, in 1194. The courts of these local Mulk unified the centralized administrative systems of the ued to dynasties became centers of culture, and continued support new institutions of Islamic learning, the madrasas, and Iraq. In the western regions, he took over the system of of Rum through endowments. The kingdom of the Seljuk land assignments in exchange for military and administrative of Rum (Anatolia) flourished in the thirteenth century, after the Mongol service known as iqta . In the east, where the conquering the Mongol invasion, when their court received a large

Islam and the Muslim World

665

Sunna

Sultan Hani Caravanserai Portal in Aksaray, Turkey, of the Anatolian Seljuk style. The Seljuks' empire arose in the eleventh century, and ultimately included Iran, Mesopotamia, Turkey, and Syria. © VANNI ARCHIVE/CORBIS

number of learned refugees, such as the great poet and mystic, Jalaludin Rumi (d. 1273), and his father, who fled SUNNA

from Iran to escape the advance of the Mongols.

Sunna refers, in common usage, to the normative example of The women of the Seljuk ruling house were very powerful, the prophet Muhammad, as recorded in traditions (hadith) about full, owing to the continuation of the Turkish nomadic custom. They were active in courtly politics, and acted as patrons and actions of others, and his personal characteristics. This close of religion and learning. Many of them had their own wazirs identification of sunna with Muhammad, and with even under the Great Seljuk sultans. Their power increased authentic hadith reports originating with the Companions of further as queen mothers under the atabeg system after the the Prophet, has prevailed since the ninth century. Earlier sources, fragmentation of the Seljuk territories, and a few of them however, reflect a more flexible use of the term. ruled in their own right after the death of their husbands, as The did Zahida Khatun, who ruled Fars in southern Iran for over

noun “sunna” (pl. sunan) is related to the Arabic verb
 twenty years in the mid-twelfth century. sanna
 and refers to a normative practice ordained or instituted
 by a specific person. The argument that sunna refers more
 See also Sultanates: Ghaznavid; Nizam al-Mulk.
 generally to group norms or tribal customs is based on a false
 etymology, which takes sunna to refer to a smooth or well-
 BIBLIOGRAPHY worn
 track, implying in a social context the established or
 Boyle, J. A., ed. The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 5: The
 “well-trodden” custom of a tribe or group. In fact the ancient
 Saljuq and Mongol Periods. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Arab idea
 of sunna is necessarily associated with a particular
 University Press, 1968. person
 responsible for establishing that sunna. “Every people
 has a sunna,” according to a celebrated Arab poet, “and a
 Saïd Amir Arjomand progenitor of that sunna.” Such sunna can be
 good or bad.

666

Islam and the Muslim World

Sunna

The same poet boasts that his ancestors left nothing bad in distrusted
 hadith reports and argued that to follow the prothe way of sunna, and early
 Muslim traditions warn against phetic sunna simply meant to follow the
 Qur an; scholars of
 following the bad sunna of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Islamic
 law, the ahl al-ra y, who acknowledged the authority
 of prophetic sunna in theory, but resisted its exclusive identi-
 Bad sunna is also a concern of the Qur an, where the word fication with
 hadith and relied on other sources as well; and
 appears in two contrasting expressions: sunnat al-awalin, the
 traditionists, the ashab al-hadith, represented by al-Shafi i,
 sunna of the ancients, which incurs the judgment of God; and who argued
 that sunna could only be known from reliable
 sunnat Allah, the sunna of God, according to which He metes hadith
 reports traced back to the Companions of the Prophet.
 out judgment. The Qur an thus contrasts ancestral norms to
 the norms of God, according to which the ancestral sunna Sunna as
 Revelation
 will be judged. The Qur an never explicitly associates sunna The
 traditionist argument championed by al-Shafi i uliwith Muhammad, although the
 notion may be considered mately won the day, a triumph reflected
 in the elevation of
 implicit in the repeated Qur anic command to obey God and sunna to
 the status of revelation (wahy). According to one
 His Prophet. hadith

report that reflects the traditionist point of view,
 “Gabriel used to descend to the Prophet with sunna just as he
 Early Muslim Uses of the Term descended
 with the Qur’an.” This and many similar tradi-
 tions
 It was natural, given Muhammad’s prominence and the
 reflect the early, pre-dogmatic form of a doctrine that
 Qur’anic command to obey him, that early Muslims began to would later
 be spelled out explicitly: that the Qur’an reconsider the Prophet a source
 of sunna. Ideas about prophetic sents recited revelation (wahy matlu)
 whereas sunna is unrecited
 sunna among the earliest Muslims differed significantly from revelation
 (wahy ghayr matlu). The two manifestations of
 later usage, however. First, the association of sunna with revelation
 differ in form and function—the words of the
 Muhammad was not exclusive. The first four caliphs in Qur’an are
 themselves of divine provenance and the Qur’an is
 particular, and the Companions of the Prophet in general, recited in
 ritual worship—but the Qur’an and sunna do not
 were also sources for sunna. The caliph Umar, for instance, differ in
 substance. Both are revealed by God and are equally
 asserted his freedom with regard to the appointment of a
 authoritative sources of guidance. This doctrine bears a
 successor on the basis of conflicting precedents: Muhammad striking
 similarity to the doctrine in rabbinic Judaism of a
 did not appoint a successor, whereas Abu Bakr did. Hence, for dual Torah,
 one part written, one part orally transmitted by
 Umar, either course of action was sunna. Similarly, Ali the rabbis,
 but both originating with Moses at Mount Sinai.
 reports that Muhammad and Abu Bakr both applied forty The
 authority of sunna was further reinforced by the doctrine
 lashes as a penalty for drinking wine, while Umar applied of
 isma—the assertion that, as Prophet, Muhammad was
 eighty. In the words of the tradition, “All this is sunna.”
 protected by God from error.

For those who circulated such traditions, Muhammad’s In
 practice the relation of the Qur’an to sunna came to be
 sunna was one sunna among many, and in principle held no expressed
 in the maxim, “the Qur’an has more need of the
 higher status than the sunna of Abu Bakr or Umar. This sunna than
 the sunna has of the Qur’an.” As al-Shafi’i argued,
 association of sunna with prominent leaders other than the the Qur’an
 gives general commands, whereas the sunna
 Prophet continued among Shi’ite Muslims, for whom the specifies
 the exact intent and application of those commands.
 Shi’ite imams became sources of sunna. The second differ- Without
 sunna, Muslims would know, for example, that they

ence between early understandings of sunna and those that should
 perform ritual worship, salat, but they would be in the
 came later was that, in early Muslim usage, sunna was not yet dark about
 precisely when, how, or how often to do so.
 closely identified with hadith. Early theological treatises and Moreover,
 the sunna provides the historical context essential
 historical reports show a clear dissociation of the two ideas. for
 interpretation of the Qur'an by means of the "occasions of
 Sunna was often invoked as a general principle of justice or
 revelation," or asbab al-nuzul.
 right conduct, without any reference to specific hadith reports. Even more
 significantly, some of the earliest Muslim The dependence of
 Qur'an on sunna, and the primacy of
 legal writings are virtually hadith free. Malik b. Anas (d. 795), the latter,
 is further illustrated in discussions of abrogation
 author of the Muwatta', the earliest extant manual of Islamic (naskh).
 Most legal scholars agreed that prophetic sunna had
 law, appeals to sunna but treats the existing practice of the in certain
 cases abrogated, that is, replaced, earlier revela-
 Muslims of Medina as a more reliable source of that sunna tions,
 whether in the Qur'an or in a prior sunna. "There is no
 than hadith. dispute,"
 writes the great medieval theologian al-Ghazali (d.
 1111), "that the Prophet did not abrogate the Qur'an on his
 During the lifetime of the great jurist Muhammad b. Idris own
 initiative. He did it in response to inspiration. God does
 al-Shafi'i (d. 820) these early, flexible ideas of sunna still the
 actual abrogating, operating through the medium of his
 persisted, but they were under challenge. In his polemical Prophet."
 Information about which commands abrogate and
 writings Shafi'i records a contest to define sunna involving which are
 abrogated can only be known, of course, by means
 three parties: speculative theologians, the ahl al-kalam, who of sunna.

Islam and the Muslim World

667

Sunna

Sunna and Hadith From the
 perspective of Muslim piety, however, the sunna
 The primacy and authority of sunna as a form of revelation, as of the
 Prophet as reflected in authenticated hadith reports
 the authoritative commentary on the Qur'an and as an was to be
 imitated in all its particulars. Thus al-Ghazali
 independent source of guidance, was thus established in instructs
 Muslims that "the key to joy is following the sunna
 principle. In practice, however, knowledge of sunna required and
 imitating the Prophet in all his comings and goings,

sifting authentic traditions from the voluminous, diverse, and words and deeds, extending to his manner of eating, rising, sleeping, and speaking.” The term sunna also came to be used more generally in any claim to represent the authentic and original practice of the Muslim community. The opposite of sunna in this sense is *bidʿa*, or innovation. Thus Sunni Muslims distinguished themselves from Shiʿites and claimed to represent the authentic legacy of the Prophet by adopting the label *ahl al-sunna wa l-jamaʿa*, people of the sunna and of the community. It is also in this sense that reformist Muslims have from time to time called for a revival of the sunna as a remedy for the ills of their time. Such appeals have been especially associated with scholars of the Hanbali school of law, most notably the school’s founder, Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855), and its most celebrated medieval jurist, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), whose intellectual legacy has continued to modern times.

dictionaries, collections of hadith, and manuals of hadith

Modern Controversies

criticism. The process of sifting hadith culminated in the A call to revive the sunna (*ihyaʾ al-sunna*) became a particular focus of eighteenth-century reformers like Shah Wali Allāh ṣahih hadith, especially the six “canonical” collections, the of India and Muhammad al-Shawkani of Yemen, who apmost celebrated of which are those of Muhammad b. Ismaʿil al-Bukhari (d. 870) and Muslim b. al-Hajjaj (d. 874). From the received legal doctrine. This pattern of sunna-based reform tenth century onward, the canonical collections of hadith, continued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, espeespecially the collections of Bukhari and Muslim, became cially among certain Indian Muslims who called themselves

virtually synonymous with sunna, exerting a profound and the Ahl-e Hadith (people of the hadith) as well as among the pervasive impact on Islamic culture.

salafi reformers of Egypt and Syria. At the same time that these reformers were emphasizing the centrality of sunna as a

The Influence of Sunna on Islamic Law and Piety

means of reviving Islam, however, others began to challenge

The triumph of hadith had an especially deep impact on the its authority for the same purpose.

theory and method of Islamic law. The traditionist thesis

exerted extraordinary pressure to document every legal opin-

Modern

challenges to the authority of sunna have had two

ion with generous citations of hadith, hence the tendency for points of

focus. First, a number of Muslims have argued that

hadith reports to proliferate and for chains of transmission to the hadith

reports from which sunna is derived are unreliable.

grow backwards. The impact of hadith on the actual content

Nineteenth-century modernists Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898)

of the law was mitigated, however, in a variety of ways.

of India and

Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) of Egypt were

Acceptance of a hadith report as embodying authentic sunna

among the

first to openly express doubts about the reliability

did not necessarily assure its legal application. Jurists com-

of hadith,

partly under the influence of European hadith

monly distinguished, for example, between the personal hab-

criticism.

Beginning in the twentieth century some Muslims,

its and preferences of the Prophet (al-sunna al- adiyya) and

most notably

Mahmud Abu Rayya and Ghulam Ahmad

actions related to his Prophetic mission (sunnat al-huda). The

Parwez (d.

1985), came to reject hadith altogether, arguing

former gave rise, at best, to recommended actions, while the

that oral

transmission, rampant forgery, and the late recordlatter were legally binding.

This distinction is reflected in a ing of hadith reports in writing make it

impossible to sort

tradition that recounts an occasion on which Muhammad

authentic

hadith from the mass of forgeries. Second, some

gave bad advice to some date farmers. When confronted with

Muslims have

argued that even if the details of Muhammad's

the unfortunate results he replied, "I am only human. If I

life could

be known with certainty, not all of his words and

command something related to religion, then obey, but if I

deeds are

meant to be followed. Secularists, like Chiragh Ali

order you to do something on the basis of my own opinion,

(1844–1895) and Ali Abd al-Raziq (1888–1966), argued that

then I am only a human being." Among the schools of Islamic

Muhammad's authority was limited to spiritual matters only.

law, only the Zahiris, who were extreme literalists, insisted

A small

number of Qur'an-only Muslims, the so-called Ahl-e
that the sunna in its entirety was legally applicable. Qur'an
(people of the Qur'an) of Pakistan as well as individual

668

Islam and the Muslim World

Suyuti, al-

scholars like Parwez, contend that Muhammad's only legacy Yusuf, S.
M. An Essay on Sunnah. Lahore: Institute of Islamic
is the Qur'an. Even some revivalist Muslims, notably Abu l- Culture,
1966.

Al-Maududi (1903–1979), a fierce defender of sunna in
theory, limit the scope of sunna by distinguishing between

Daniel W. Brown

Muhammad's actions as an ordinary man and his actions as a
Prophet.

These challenges to sunna have provoked vigorous polemics in defense of its
authority from conservative scholars. SUNNI See Shi'a; Succession; Sunna
Consequently sunna has become the single most important
focus of controversy in modern Muslim discussions of religious authority.

See also Bid'a; Hadith; Law; Modern Thought; Muhammad; Qur'an; Religious
Institutions.

SUYUTI, AL- (1445–1505)

Al-Suyuti was an Egyptian scholar best known for his prolific
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writings on prophetic tradition (hadith), Islamic jurispru- dence
Adams, Charles J. "The Authority of Prophetic Hadith in the
(fiqh), Qur'anic studies, Arabic language, and related
Eyes of Some Modern Muslims." In Essays on Islamic
subjects. The son of a minor religious scholar, he was trained
Civilization Presented to Niyazi Berkes. Edited by Donald P.
in the Sunni religious disciplines, and held several endowed
Little. Leiden: Brill, 1976.

academic positions in Cairo. Convinced that he alone was
Bravmann, M. M. The Spiritual Background of Early Islam:
truly learned in an age of scholarly decline, he compiled a
Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts. Leiden: Brill, 1972.

series of works intended to preserve the fundamentals of
Brown, Daniel. Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought. classical
Sunni scholarship for posterity. His sense of his own
Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

superiority and his quickness to denigrate others' abilities
Burton, John. "Notes toward a Fresh Perspective on the provoked
his colleagues, and he was embroiled in numerous
Islamic Sunna." British Society of Middle Eastern Studies scholarly

disputes. His claims to be qualified to give independent legal opinions (ijtihad) and to be the reviver of Islamic knowledge at the beginning of the sixteenth century were highly controversial. Al-Suyuti's relationship with the Mamluk sultans who ruled Egypt was also an uneasy one, since he firmly believed that the religious scholars (ulema), as guardians of God's law, should be the supreme authorities in the state. Dutton, Yasin. *The Origins of Islamic Law*. Richmond, U.K.: Curzon Press, 1999. al-Suyuti relinquished his public posts and sought consolation in mysticism (tasawwuf). He continued to write, leaving over 550 books and treatises on a wide range of subjects. Several works are still in use as valuable references. Graham, William. *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam: A Reconsideration of the Sources with Special Reference to the Divine Saying or Hadith Qudsi*. The Hague: Mouton, 1977. Some modern scholars have dismissed him as a mere compiler, a judgment that underrates his scholarly contributions, especially in the fields of jurisprudence, prophetic tradition, and Arabic language.

Juynboll, G. H. A. *The Authenticity of Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, 1969. See also Arabic Language; Hadith; Ijtihad; Tasawwuf.

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E. M. Sartain

Islam and the Muslim World

669

T

TABARI, AL- (839–923)

Rosenthal, Franz. The History of al-Tabari, Vol. 1: General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood. Albany: Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari was an important jurist, State University of New York Press, 1989.

Qur'an commentator, and historian (in descending order among tenth-century Muslims; in ascending order among

Christopher Melchert

modern scholars). Born in Amul, Tabaristan (by the Caspian Sea), Tabari memorized the Qur'an at eight and left home to study under more distant masters at twelve. He finally settled in Baghdad, always mainly supported by remittances from his TABLIGHI JAMA AT

landowning family in Tabaristan.

The Tablighi Jama'at ("the society for inviting or convey-

In theology, he advocated the moderate Sunni tendency, ing")

may be the most widespread movement of Islamic da'wa accepting such tenets as the uncreatedness of the Qur'an

("call," "proselytism") in the world today. Annual congrega- (against the Mu'tazila, among others) and recognition of Ali tions

held in Tablighi centers in Raiwind (Pakistan) and as fourth caliph and fourth-best Companion (against the Tungi

(Bangladesh) are said to include perhaps two million

Shi'a) but arguing rationally in their defense. Likewise, he

participants each. Dewsbury (U.K.) serves as a center for

inferred the law chiefly from the prophetic sunna but gave

Islamic education and tabligh activity in Europe. Its annual

reason considerable freedom to manipulate the revealed

meeting attracts several thousand participants, as do annual

texts. Extremist Sunnis were sufficiently offended to block-

meetings held in North America. Overall leadership is based

ade his house near the end of his life. at the

Banglewali Masjid at Nizam al-Din in New Delhi,

India, where the movement began.

Tabari's jurisprudential works were massive, and during

the tenth century, a Jariri school of law vied with the Shafi'i,

The 1920s were a period of violent religious competition

Hanafi, and other schools for the attention of Sunni Muslims; in

northern India, spurred by the beginnings of mass politics.

however, the Jariri school then died out, and most of the Muslims in Mewat, southwest of Delhi, were a particular target works are now lost. His massive Qur'an commentary was the first to deal systematically with every verse in succession. mad Ilyas (1885–1944), the movement's founder, first encountered humble Mewati laborers in Delhi. He quickly authorities but he normally gives his own preference at the realized the limitations of mere schooling in influencing them, end, often appealing to grammar to establish the meaning, and instead initiated a method of practical learning, The author's voice is most faintly heard in his world history, encouraging even the uneducated to remove themselves from likewise a succession of quotations; however, the grand scheme their environment and preach to others. Tabligh, he argued, that emerges agrees with what else is known of Tabari's was incumbent not only on the learned but on every Muslim. theology.

The movement requires no bureaucracy and no paid staff. See also Historical Writing; Qur'an. It depends on small groups or cells (jama'ats) of perhaps ten men, financing themselves, going out door-to-door and speaking in BIBLIOGRAPHY ing in mosques. Participants ideally volunteer one day a week, Gilliot, Claude. *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam—L'Exégèse* one three-day period a month, one forty-day period a year, de Tabari. Paris: J. Vrin, 1990. and one four-month tour at least once in a lifetime. Women

Tafsir

do tabligh within their own circles and gather regularly for current social, moral, legal, doctrinal, and political instruction with other women; they accompany a traveling tions. Through their interpretive strategies, exegetes have jama'at only if it includes one of their male relatives. Tablighis struggled to make the Qur'anic text more accessible to follow and teach "Six Points:" the attestation of faith (kalima), believers, and more applicable to changing environments. canonical prayer (salat), knowledge and ritual remembrance of Allah (ilm o zikr), respect toward all Muslims (ikram-e Origins Muslim), sincerity (ikhlas-e niyyat), and volunteering time for The emergence of the word tafsir as both a process and a literary tabligh (tafrigh-e waqt). Writings by Maulana Muhammad genre is unclear. The word tafsir appears only once in Zakariyya Kandhlawi (1897–1982), based on hadith and known the Qur'an (25:33), suggesting that no formal science of

as the Tablighi nisab (The tabligh curriculum) or Faza il-e interpretation was established early in the Islamic tradition. a mal (The merits of practice), serve as the movement's vade Traditionality, tafsir can be traced back to Muhammad. Howmecom. Mutual consultation (mashwara) is a fundamental ever, within hadith collections, only a small amount of tafsir is principle in allocating responsibilities and making decisions. ascribed to the Prophet; much of the early exegesis is attributed to one of his companions, Abdallah ibn Abbas. During Partition spurred new centers in Pakistan and served as a the first three centuries of Islam, the words ta wil and tafsir fillip to the movement in places like Mewat, which saw were used interchangeably to mean "interpretation of the virulent anti-Muslim devastation. Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Qur an," and many authors employed either one of these (1917–1965), who succeeded his father as emir of the move- terms (or none at all) to describe their exegetical enterprises. ment in 1944, toured actively throughout the subcontinent. For example, Ibn Ishaq (d. 768), in his biography of the The Jama at's activities increasingly spread to Southeast Asia, Prophet (Sirat rasul Allah), surrounds his citings of scripture Africa, Europe, and North America. with contextual detail, which serves to explain many vague, ahistorical Qur anic passages; however, his activity was never During Maulana In amu l Hasan's leadership (1965–1995) formalized or labeled as tafsir. Other early exegetical works worldwide activity increased dramatically, dependent in part focus on explicating legal issues or theological rhetoric, such on the growth of an Indo-Pakistani diaspora. This continued as Muqatil ibn Sulayman's (d. 804) Tafsir khams mi a aya min under the leadership of the council, which succeeded him. al-Qur an, and Ibn Qutayba's (d. 889) Ta wil mushkil al- The movement more recently has taken root among North African immigrants to France and Belgium, as well as among Qur an (respectively), but again, each author uses a different Southeast Asian Muslims. Followers of the "Barelwi" school, term to describe his activities. After the tenth century, a who see Tablighis as Deobandis, as well as modernists, and gradual distinction was drawn between ta wil, which came to state-oriented Islamist parties like the Jama at-e Islami, who refer to exegesis based upon reason or personal opinion, and tafsir, reject Tablighi withdrawal from social and political activism, which relied on hadith reports going back to Muhamare their primary opponents. These latter critics deplore the mad and his early companions. Throughout history, individnarrowness of Tabligh teachings. The Tablighi Jama at's ual tafsir works emphasize either opinion or tradition, but

stance has, however, allowed it to operate without government suspicion across many countries. sometimes rely on both.

ment suspicion across many countries.

With the rapid expansion of Islam, problems arose in non-

See also South Asia, Islam in; Traditionalism. Arabic

speaking communities with regard to the Qur'an and

its translation and interpretation, which called for more

BIBLIOGRAPHY formalized

exegetical commentary that extended beyond the

Haq, M. Anwarul. *The Faith Movement of Mawlana Muhammad* words of

Muhammad or his companions. During the time of

mad Ilyas. London: George Allen, 1972. the

successors, schools of tafsir evolved within distinct geographical regions:

Mecca, Medina, and Iraq, along with their

Masud, Muhammad Khalid, ed. *Travellers in Faith: Studies of*

the Tablighi Jamaat as a Transnational Islamic Movement for

corresponding exegetical "specialists" (mufasssirin). The jus-

Faith Renewal. Leiden: Brill, 2000. tification

for the development of tafsir schools rests on Qur'an

3:5–6, which lays out two categories of Qur'anic verses: clear

Metcalf, Barbara D. "Living Hadith in the Tablighi Jama'at."

Journal of Asian Studies 52, no. 3: 584–608. (muhkamat)

and unclear (mutashabihat). The role of the

exegete (mufasssirin) is to reiterate what is already "clear" and to

Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhlawi, Maulana. *Teachings of*

Islam. New Delhi: Isha at-e-Islam, 1960. clarify what

is "unclear." Much debate arose concerning what

passages fell into either of these categories, as well as to what

Barbara D. Metcalf extent finite human reason could be relied upon to

make such

determinations. The resolution of this debate served to shape

tafsir works (and continues to do so) on into the twenty-first

century.

TAFSIR

Typology

Tafsir refers to Qur'anic exegesis. Tafsir claims to "clarify"

Generally, tafsir works emphasized four types of issues that

the divine word, which serves to make the text "speak" to

required systematized interpretive efforts: linguistic, juristic,

672

Islam and the Muslim World

Tafsir

historical, and theological. Linguistic efforts focus on the intellect

(grammatical, rhetorical, legal, and discursive intermeaning of a word, where

to put in punctuation and pauses, pretation). Sufi exegesis privileges

seemingly random verses

the case endings of words, or the rhetorical presentation of information: Why are entire sentences or phrases repeated again and again? A juristic accent stresses what is to be taken sentence from the Qur'an, give it an allegorical reading as the general or specific application of a command, or what is, and then use that reading to decipher a whole pattern of verses were to be abrogated by others. Questions of abrogation (naskh) rely heavily on those tafsir that deal specifically with the occasions of the revelation (asbab al-nuzul), that is, always apparent to the non-Sufi reader, who may expect those tafsir that embed ahistoric Qur'anic passages within a systematized set of interpretative strategies. For progressive timeline. Without the exegetical efforts that Qur'anic references to Muhammad's "night journey" (al-isra' ;17:1), a journey that is taken quite literally by in particular the theory of abrogation, would have no firm exegetes, is treated metaphorically by Sufis, who cast basis from which to operate. Theologically oriented tafsir model for one's ascent along the Sufi path that requires engage such problems as predestination versus free will, the away of the self so only the divine remains. Sufis nature of God, or the infallibility of the prophets. Many tafsir the anthropomorphic statement in the Qur'an works revolve around a single issue; others are composite seating himself upon his throne (7:54) to mean in nature. God metaphorically setting himself over the heart of Muhammad. Some of the well-known collections of Sufi tafsir include Sahl ibn Abdallah al-Tustari's (d. 986) *Tafsir al-Tustari* on discrete literary and methodological features: classical, (Exegesis of al-Tustari) and Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Arabi's (d. mystical, sensual, Shiite, modern, and fundamentalist. Classical (Exegesis of Ibn al-Arabi) 1240) *Tafsir* Ibn al-Arabi (Exegesis of Ibn al-Arabi). Sufis further interpret the Qur'an through their emphasis on the recitation of certain Qur'anic passages (dhikr), and their calligraphic art. Generally, Qur'anic recitation makes a written text of the Qur'an) presents a seemingly objective collection

a living text (for Sufis and non-Sufis). The words of hadith reports that originated with the Prophet and his themselves do not lie static on the page, but rather resound in Companions. Other classical exegetes include Mahmud ibn everyday existence, collapsing ordinary time into sacred time: Umar al-Zamakhshari (d. 1144), who looked to Arabic po- the moment when God first uttered his revelation to the etry as a valuable source for his linguistic and literary inter- Prophet; when mystics directly encounter their God. And, pretation of the Qur'an. His work engages both the rhetorical just as the mystic finds hidden meanings within the written and theological aspects of Qur'anic exegesis. Fakhr al-Din word, so too does he see the calligraphic form of particular Razi (d. 1210) surveys a whole range of debates in his words allowing for deeper reflection upon the dual meanings commentary, in particular the differences between the Ash'ari of their shapes and sounds. The calligraphic form of "Muhammad and the Mu'tazili theologians. The Mu'tazalis, for example, "Muhammad" or "Husayn" allows one to reflect not just on the argued that irrational passages could be interpreted to make word that signifies the person, but on the person's true sense through metaphorical (ta'wil) interpretation. Other qualities and intimate relationship with the divine. These oral exegetes defend the legal views of one school of law or and visual forms of tafsir serve to extend the written document in their works, such as Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200), who entered into the realm of direct sensual experience.

supports the Hanbali tradition, or Abu 'Abdallah al-Qurtubi (d. 1273), who backs the Malikis. In these examples, commentaries further a variety of theological, legal, or political Shi'ite tafsir rose in parallel with its Sunni counterparts. Shi'ites are primarily concerned with establishing a line of agendas through formal explication of Qur'anic passages. divinely ordained, infallible leaders (imams) who stem from the Prophet's family, starting with 'Ali, who was the first in a series of Mystical (Sufi) tafsir favors allegorical interpretation of series of twelve. Shi'ites, like Sufis, rely heavily on the distinction between literal and allegorical readings of the Qur'an to support their understanding that the concept of the Qur'an to (batin). They are most interested in allegorical readings, imam (along with the necessity of blood descent for true leaders of which often counter growing orthodox interpretations. Generally, Sufis are concerned with establishing an intimate by the Qur'an. For example, the cryptic Qur'anic statement

relationship with the divine, and look to those Qur'anic verses that reveal his hidden nature in gnostic fashion. These inner meanings of scripture are accessible only to those who grasp it through intuitive knowledge (gnosis), rather than the immoral Umayyads, whom Shi'ites view as

that likens
by Shi'ites
Contrarily,
points to

Islam and the Muslim World

673

Tafsir

usurpers of their rightful leadership. As is the case with Sufis, as promiscuity or usury. Like many modernists, the connection between the sign and the signified is not readily apparent to those who do not accept Shi'ite theology. In their interpretive efforts, the Shi'a move beyond symbolic intent to specific political and religious crises. interpretations to favor textual variants of the Qur'an that bin Ladin bypasses traditional theories of abrovalidate their imamate doctrine, including one reference gation of an earlier by a later verse to select and privilege where Sunnis read "umma" (community), and Shi'a read those Qur'anic verses that most closely support his military "a'imma" (imami leaders). Some of the major Shi'ite tafsir in particular verses that urge believers to slay idolaters include Abu Jafar al-Tusi's (d. 1067) *al-Tibyan fi tafsir al-Qur'an* (The explanation in interpretation of the Qur'an), and al-Qa'ida describe the hijackings of the planes Abu al-Tabarsi's (d. 1153) *Majma' al-bayan li-ulum al-Qur'an* that destroyed the World Trade Center in New York City on (The collection of the explanation of the sciences of the 2001 as a kind of sacrificial ritual sanctioned by the Qur'an).

lands, such
bin Ladin
opposed to
that general
For example,
that general
members of
11 September
the Qur'an.

In each of these examples, the fundamentalist exegete discards tradition in favor of his own personal charisma, which ultimately gives him the authority to "interpret the Qur'an in light of reason, rather than tradition; to strip the Qur'an of any traces of superstition or legend; and to use the Qur'an as a type of tafsir, the Qur'an is made eternally pliable source to justify its own claims. Generally, modern exegetes

that general
members of
11 September
the Qur'an
In each
to offer

numerous interpretative solutions to Muslims as they
 try to make the text more readily accessible to the common confront
 changing political, economic, doctrinal, moral, and
 person who faces the challenges of modernity in a post- scientific
 conditions.
 colonial environment where past tradition no longer seems
 applicable to current concerns. Modern tafsir works differ See also
 Calligraphy; Law; Muhammad; Qur an.
 from classical works in that they no longer focus on issues of
 grammar, rhetoric, law, or theology, but privilege more BIBLIOGRAPHY
 immediate social, political, moral, and economic concerns of Ayoub,
 Mahmoud M. *The Qur an and Its Interpreters*. Albany:
 the day. However, they are similar in that they strive to make State
 University of New York Press, 1992.
 the divine word more accessible to those who believe. A
 Baljon, J. M. S. *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation*,
 major modern work is Muhammad Abduh's (d. 1905) "Tafsir
 1180–1960. Leiden: Brill, 1961.
 al-manar" (The beacon of interpretation), which calls for a
 Brown, Daniel. "The Triumph of Scripturalism: The Docrational approach to
 applying the Qur an to modern dilemtrine of Naskh and its Modern Critics." In
 The Shaping of
 mas. Abduh elaborates on the Qur anic passage that suggests
 an American Islamic Discourse: A Memorial to Fazlur Rahman.
 the taking of four wives is really an impossibility, due to the Edited by
 Earle H. Waugh and Frederick M. Denny.
 fact that a man could never treat them all equally (4:129), and Atlanta:
 Scholars Press, 1998.
 argues that such polygamous relationships cause harm to
 Gatje, Helmut. *The Qur an and Its Exegesis: Selected Texts with*
 spouses and children. Modernists like Abdu locate the moral
 Classical and Modern Muslim Interpretations. Translated
 core of the text, and then use their rational capabilities to and Edited
 by Alford T. Welch. Berkeley: University of
 extend that general moral injunction to a variety of mod- California
 Press, 1976.
 ern issues.
 Madigan, Daniel A. *The Qur an's Self-Image: Writing and*
 Aauthority in Islam's Scripture. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton
 Future Trends
 University Press, 2001.
 The study of fundamentalist tafsir is still in its early stages.
 Many fundamentalists interpret the Qur an according to Rahman,
 Fazlur. *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an*
 Intellectual Tradition. Chicago: The University of Chicago
 their own political and theological agendas, with little regard
 Press, 1982.

for traditional modes of systematic exegesis. For example, in *Fi zilal al-Qur an* (In the shadow of the Qur an), Sayyid Qutb Rippin, Andrew. "Literary Analysis of the Qur an, Tafsir, and (d. 1960), spokesperson for the Egyptian Muslim Brother- Sira: The Methodologies of John Wansbrough." In *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*. Edited by Richard C. hood, denies the established Islamic tradition that jihad is a Martin. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985. defensive act of war, and determines that jihad is incumbent upon all Muslims as they abolish corrupt political and relig- Rippin, Andrew. *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of ious regimes*. In the early twenty-first century, Usama bin the Qur an. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1988. Ladin also bypasses the traditional understanding of jihad by Rippin, Andrew. "Present Status of Tafsir Studies." Muslim World 72 reinterpreting the definition of a defensive attack to include (1982): 224–238. the mere occupancy of sacred Muslim lands by foreign powers, or the sheer presence of anti-Islamic values in those Kathryn Kueny

674

Islam and the Muslim World

Tajdid

Muslim community] at the head of each century those who will renew
TAHA HUSAYN (HUSSEIN) See its faith for it." Persons engaged in this activity of
Husayn, Taha renewal are called mujaddids.

Although there have been disagreements over the details, and over which Muslim leaders were deserving of the title of mujaddid, the basic understanding of the importance of re- newal has
TAHMASP I, SHAH (1514–1576) been remarkably constant throughout Islamic history. In the course of the history of the human community of Muslims, Tahmasp I, born on 22 February 1514, was the eldest son of Muslims recognize that the actual faith and practice of
Shah Isma il. He succeeded his father to the throne in 1524 the people sometimes departed from the ideal defined by
and ruled Iran until his death on 14 May 1576. His fifty-two- the Qur an and the model of the Prophet. Muslims believe that
year reign was marked by religious consolidation and battles the prophet Muhammad is the final Messenger of
with rival Uzbeks and Ottomans. God so that
in those times when Muslims have not lived up to the Islamic ideal, the community does not need a new prophet,

Tahmasp came to power at age ten, at which time Qizilbash it needs renewal. This mode of response to historical change (Turkoman tribesmen) forces took control of Iran for the first is most important among Sunni Muslims. Within the Shi'ite decade of his rule. The Qizilbash were not united, however, traditions, there is greater emphasis on messianic styles of and the situation deteriorated into civil war in 1526. By 1533, religious resurgence, with an important theme being the Tahmasp reasserted his sovereignty, having executed the coming of the anticipated Mahdi, or rightly-guided leader whose main Qizilbash chief who was effectively ruling the country. whose appearance will be part of the events leading to the final By this time, rival Ottomans and Uzbeks had taken advantage final establishment of God's rule of justice. of Iran's weak position, gaining territory from the Safavids. Nevertheless, the Safavids held on, fighting numerous defenses. The approaches of leaders of renewal have usually emphasized wars on two fronts. As a result of the Ottoman threat to sized certain common themes. The first was the call for the the capital city of Tabriz, Tahmasp moved the capital to the return to the Qur'an and the sunna (traditions of the Prophet). city of Qazvin in 1555. This often involved condemnation of practices that were identified as illegitimate innovations and departures from the Tahmasp's reign witnessed a flowering of the arts, in Islamic ideal. This was not a simple conservative perspective particular the arts of the book, best exemplified by a magnificent since it involved a rejection of at least some aspects of existing cent Shah-nameh (Book of kings), commissioned in 1522 conditions. As a result, a common second element in movement and containing some 250 outstanding miniature paintings. movements of renewal is the call for exercising informed independent Tahmasp was a man of great piety, and his long reign was of independent judgment (ijtihad) and a rejection of the practice of great importance for the spread and consolidation of Twelver simply following the judgments and interpretations of previous Shi'ism in Iran. ous teachers (taqlid). The debates between the advocates of the two positions, ijtihad and taqlid, form a major part of the See also Empires: Safavid and Qajar. intellectual history of movements of renewal in Islamic history.

A number of major figures in Islamic history are usually

BIBLIOGRAPHY

identified as having been mujaddids in their era. Among the Savory, Roger. Iran under the Safavids. Cambridge, U.K.: most important of these are Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111

Cambridge University Press, 1980.

C.E.), a teacher

who brought together mystical and legal

dimensions of Islamic faith, Ahmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 1327), a
Sholeh A. Quinn scholar whose ideas inspired later puritanical movements
of

renewal, and Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (d. 1763), whose
teachings on socio-moral reconstruction provide foundations
for most major modern Islamic movements in South Asia. A

TAJDID special

figure in the line of renewers is Ahmad Sirhindi (d.
1624), who was called the “Mujaddid of the Second Millen-
Tajdid is the Arabic term for “renewal.” In formal Muslim nium”

because he lived at the end of the first thousand years
discussions, this term refers to conscious efforts to bring of the

Islamic era. Sirhindi was a leader of a reform-oriented
about the renewal of religious faith and practice, emphasizing Sufi

brotherhood, the Naqshbandiyya, in India. His branch
strict adherence to the prescriptions of the Qur an and the of that order

became known as the Mujaddidi. It later played
precedents of the prophet Muhammad. The foundation for important

roles in activist reform in Central Asia and the
this usage is a widely accepted tradition in which Muhammad Middle East

and organized resistance to European expansion
is reported to have said, “God will send to this umma [the in areas
like the Caucasus.

Islam and the Muslim World

675

Taliban

In the modern period, concepts and movements of tajdid
take many different forms. Many movements have their
Daniel. Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought.
intellectual origins in the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd
Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

al-Wahhab (d. 1792), who joined with a chieftain in central Voll, John
O. “Renewal and Reform in Islamic History:

Arabia, Muhammad ibn Saud (d. 1765), to create a political Tajdid and
Islah.” In Voices of Resurgent Islam. Edited by

system and movement of puritanical renewal. In its strictness John L.
Esposito. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

and uncompromising approach to what it defined as innovations, the Wahhabi
movement came to be seen as the proto-

John O. Voll

typical militant style of Islamic renewal. By the late twentieth
century, even militant movements that had no direct connections with the actual
Wahhabi tradition came to be called

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown,

Voll, John

Tajdid and

John L.

“Wahhabi.”

TALIBAN

Modern movements that emphasized the importance of The word taliban derives from the Persian plural form of the

the intellectual dimensions of renewal through ijihad became Arabic word talib, meaning “seeker” or “student.” As a genimportant by the late nineteenth century. A leading personal- eral term, taliban, or its Arabic equivalents tullab or talaba,

ity in this was the Egyptian scholar Muhammad Abduh (d. alludes to students from madrasas (religious schools) dedi-

1905), who served as Grand Mufti of Egypt. Abduh empha- cated to theological studies of Islam. After 1994, however, Da

sized the compatibility of reason and revelation in Islam. Al- Afghanistan da Talibano Islami Tahrik (The Afghan Islamic

Manar, the journal reflecting his teachings, was read by Movement of Taliban), or “Taliban,” was known internaintellectuals throughout the

Muslim world at the beginning tionally as the name chosen by a mujahidin splinter group that

of the twentieth century. Other conscious movements of eventually dominated the civil war in Afghanistan.

intellectual renewal developed in the Russian Empire under

Isma il Gasprinskii, in India with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, The rise of the Taliban as a military force is debated.

and elsewhere. Their

supporters maintained that the movement surfaced in

Kandahar to enforce public safety and order in reaction to the

Throughout the twentieth century, the movements of looting and harassment of the local population by other

rationalist renewal continued. However, they were overshad- mujahidin groups. Their opponents viewed the Taliban as a

owed by Muslim movements advocating broader programs of creation of Pakistan’s Interservices Intelligence (ISI) in order

social and political Islamization. The Muslim Brotherhood, to gain indirect control of Afghanistan and unhindered access

established in Egypt by Hasan al-Banna in 1928, and the to Central Asia.

Jama at-e Islami, established in South Asia by Abu l-A la

Maududi (d. 1979) in 1941, became the most visible examples In any case, the Taliban, with direct Pakistani military and

of modern-style renewal movements. These movements pre- diplomatic support and financial backing from Saudi Arabia

sented programs for creating Islamic states and societies in and the

United Arab Emirates (UAE), emerged as the domithe modern world. Although for a time they were overshad- nant military force that gradually came to

rule about 85

owed by secular nationalist and radical leftist movements, by percent of

Afghanistan by 1999 (the remainder of the country

the 1980s the movements of Islamic resurgence were the was

controlled by an anti-Taliban alliance under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud). Comprised of former mujahidin often they set the agenda for the Islamization of political life, belonging mostly to the Pashtun ethnic majority, the group discourse throughout the Muslim world. Intellectuals within the first emerged in Kandahar in 1994. The original leaders and members these movements, like Hasan al-Turabi, who led the Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan for most of the final third of the twentieth century, by Pakistan's Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e Islam (JUI). The Taliban gained international notice on 3 November 1994, when legal structures in the Muslim world. The group freed a convoy of Pakistani trucks commandeered by a local Afghan mujahidin group. Two days later, the By the late twentieth century, many of the more visible Taliban captured Kandahar, and in September 1995, the militant Muslim groups, like al-Qa'ida, were concentrating in the western city of Herat. The Taliban seized the capital, on issues of power and jihad rather than ijtihad. The broad capital, Kabul, on 27 September 1996, ousting the ruling mujahidin tradition of renewal in Islam continued in new forms, among government of President Burhan al-Din Rabbani. the militants and also among scholars who continued the process of reexamining the sources in order to present ways of Initially, the Taliban claimed that its goal was to rid the country from having renewed Islamic life in the contemporary world. factionalism and the rule of warlords. However, on 3 April 1996, Mulla Muhammad Omar Mujahid proclaimed himself Emir al-Mu'minin (Commander of the Faithful), thus See also Ijtihad; Reform: Arab Middle East and North Africa; Reform: South Asia; Taqlid. becoming the Emir (ruler) of Afghanistan. Taking

676

Islam and the Muslim World Taliban

food supplies (to the Bamiyan region). What triggered international condemnation of the Taliban, though, was their maltreatment of women, who were banned from attending schools, holding jobs, venturing outside of their homes unless accompanied by a male relative, and being treated by male physicians. The Taliban also placed restrictions on foreign female aid workers helping Afghan women.

Signs of the Taliban's eventual international isolation began to show in 1998. With pressure from women's rights groups, the absence of international investment, and the Taliban's double-dealings with rival pipeline projects, the U.S. oil company Unocal pulled out of a major business deal that would have facilitated the construction of a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan, a project planned by Unocal and a Saudi company, Delta Oil.

In August 1998, in retaliation for the bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa by affiliates of Usama bin Ladin and the Taliban's refusal to surrender him, the United States launched cruise missile attacks on suspected terrorist camps in Afghanistan and spearheaded an international effort to isolate the Taliban through unilateral and U.N. sanctions.

A young girl peers out among a group of Afghan women wearing the Burqa covering at a Red Cross distribution center in Kabul in 1996, when the ruling Taliban forced women to cover themselves. In addition, the Taliban's drug production and trafficking completely in public, and banned women from schools and activities brought international scorn. In 2001 the United workplaces. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS Nations acknowledged Taliban efforts to reduce the production of narcotics, the first such recognition since their assumption of power in 1994. However, these efforts did not

advantage of inter-Uzbek rivalries in northern Afghanistan, gain the movement much international sympathy, as its in May 1997, the Taliban captured Mazar-i-Sharif, the last radicalization intensified. In March 2001, Mulla Omar or significant Afghan city not under its control. This victory dered the destruction of all idols in the country, including two

brought the Taliban recognition from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE as the legitimate rulers of Afghanistan. months later, in a decree that brought international outrage,

Although defeated in a subsequent battle, with heavy losses to the Taliban ordered all non-Muslim Afghans to wear distinct their ranks (including some 250 Pakistani casualties), the tive yellow patches.

Taliban recaptured Mazar-i-Sharif and then seized the Hazarah stronghold of Bamiyan in 1998 and 1999. This consolidation The policies of the Taliban affecting women and religious of power changed the internal structure of the Taliban minorities, its destruction of ancient Buddha statues, and the movement from loose pockets of fighters led by a consultative banning of music, television, photography, and traditional council in which Mulla Omar was primus inter pares, into an Afghan games such as kite flying were carried out under an

theocratic regime increasingly ruled with secrecy and terror innovative form of the shari'a, combining Pashtun tribal codes and a radical form of Islamic teaching propagated by some of the As rulers, the Taliban sought the creation of what the move- graduates of the Dar al- Ulum (House of Sciment believed to be pure Islamic rule according to the shari'a ences) madrasa in Deoband, India, who later became mem- bers of JIU and other radical Islamic movements in Pakistan. The presence of radical Arabs encamped in Afghanistan led From its appearance on the Afghan political scene until its by Usama bin Ladin also galvanized this development. While capture of Kabul, the Taliban were viewed by some sectors of some Taliban members genuinely believed their rule was based in the Afghan population as a means of restoring order. This Islam, others appeared to use Islam as a justification for view was also shared by certain foreign powers, including the absolute "divine" power. The policies of the Taliban have United States, which tacitly welcomed the Taliban capture of given birth to the term "Talibanization," referring to this new form of radical Islam. control, the Taliban proved to be yet another destabilizing group of warriors whose methods included ethnically targeted The 11 September 2001 suicide bombings of the World Trade mass murder of unarmed civilians (in the northern and Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washcentral parts of Afghanistan) as well as the total blockade of ington, D.C., were immediately attributed to Usama bin

Islam and the Muslim World

677

Tanzimat

Ladin. Because the group of Arab and other Muslim fighters State, Justice, Education, and Reform were established at he headed, known as al-Qa'ida, had operated in Afghanistan various points in time, charged with the task of overseeing the process. with the knowledge and protection of the Taliban govern- Provincial councils were also established, including ment, a U.S.-led war of retaliation led to the destruction of representatives of different religious and social groups. the Taliban government and the routing of al-Qa'ida forces from Afghanistan. In early December 2001, the leaders of Tax reforms were insufficient to prevent bankruptcy (1876), but both the Taliban and al-Qa'ida escaped and fled into the communications and education gradually improved, and

mountains of eastern Afghanistan or into Pakistan. a new lawcode (Mecelle) was prepared, which codified Islamic law in the Western style. Reforms were stringently applied, As of early Spring 2003, the Taliban had begun regroup- leading to complaints of tyranny. The Young Ottomans ing and instigating frequent, low-level attacks against Afghan proposed a constitutional government, but were suppressed and U.S.-led anti-terror coalition forces in the south and by the absolute monarchy of Abd al-Hamid II. Technical southeastern regions of Afghanistan, along the border with modernization continued, but political liberalization was post-Pakistan. Many Taliban members were believed to be shel- poned until the twentieth century.

tered in the southwestern region of Pakistan and assisted by sympathetic individuals and groups there. The whereabouts See also Empires: Ottoman; Modernization, Political: of top Taliban leaders, including Mulla Omar, remained Administrative, Military, and Judicial Reform; Young unknown. However propaganda distributed by the group in Turks. Afghanistan claimed that he continued to lead the Taliban.

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Amin Tarzi

Kimberly McCloud

TAQIYYA

Often translated as “dissimulation,” the word taqiyya is etymologically linked to piety and devotion. In Twelver

TANZIMAT Shi ite

thought it has come to refer to the tactic employed by the imams (and recommended to the Shi ites) of hiding one’s

The Tanzimat (meaning reorganization, reordering) was a beliefs when faced with oppression. Normally, a Muslim is

reform period in the Ottoman Empire lasting from 1839 to 1871. Its aims were modernization, centralization, increasing revenue, and forestalling fragmentation and conquest. Its main agents were the influential grand wazirs Mustafa Resit Pasa (1800–1858) and his protégés, Fuat (1815–1869) and Ali (1815–1871). Sultan Mahmud II’s 1826 destruction of the old janissary military corps, which resisted change and Shi ite. When the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur deposed those who advocated change, and the introduction of Western-language education paved the way for these reforms. The 1839 Imperial Rescript (Hatt-i Serif) of Gülhane guaranteed security and equal justice to all subjects, regardless of religion. He also proposed reforms in taxation and military conscription and created a lawmaking body. A new class of modern-educated men staffed a reorganized bureaucracy referring to “those who are forced to practice taqiyya and taxes. The Crimean War (1853–1856) interrupted progress, but at its end a new reform rescript (Hatt-i Hümayun, 1856) reiterated and expanded earlier reforms. Councils of shahada—the willingness to expose oneself to

expected to

(kabira).

were faced

order to

form to

remain

those who advocated

arked on a campaign against the

imam, Ja far,

the imam is said to have encouraged the Shi a to

dissimulate in order to save themselves. The doctrine was

based upon a

certain interpretation of the Qur anic verse

16:106, where

the wrath of God is said to await the apostate

“except

those who are compelled while their hearts are firm in

faith.” This

exceptive clause is interpreted in Shi ite Qur anic

commentaries

as referring to “those who are forced to practice

and military, and

standardized provincial government

taqiyya.”

and taxes. The Crimean War (1853–1856) interrupted progress, but at its end a

Taqiyya, within the Shi ite

tradition, can be seen as a

balance to

678

Islam and the Muslim World

Taqlid

danger in the cause of truth. While Imam Ja far reinterpreted the law put forward by the mujtahid. Taqlid mended taqiyya, the example of Imam Husayn seems to in the Sunni tradition was, however, not always used with encourage self-sacrifice in the face of oppression. Shi ite negative connotations. The theory of ijti had developed within theologians and jurists have debated long and hard about the Sunni tradition, with grades of ijti had from absolute

when one should be willing to face martyrdom, and when one (ijtihad mutlaq) to ijtihad within the school (al-ijtihad fi'l-madhab) to partial ijtihad. A more sophisticated theory of orthodox position or teaching on this point, though the factors to be considered include the magnitude of the evil perpetrated by the oppressor and the estimated risk to one- self, one's family, and the community of believers. The different tactics have been employed at different times in of lesser rank within the school. Taqlid was, there- Shi'ite history. The Shi'ites in the Ottoman empire, living recognition of the importance of the madhab tradition under Sunni rule, were encouraged by some Shi'ite ulema to legal identity and as setting the broad parameters perform taqiyya. At the beginning of the revolutionary move- a jurist might operate.

ment in modern Iran, on the other hand, martyrdom was seen as a virtue, and taqiyya was discouraged by some ulema. the Imami Shi'ite tradition, such a nuanced definition of taqlid did not, on the whole, emerge. The Imamis had

In Shi'ite law, taqiyya was employed as an explanation of whose ijtihad had to be viewed as superior, why at times the reports from the imams contradict each imams in Twelver Shi'ism were sinless (ma'sum). other. The occurrence of contradictions was explained by did not need to perform ijtihad to find a ruling, designating one of the reports (hadiths or khabars) as being were granted a complete knowledge of the law by generated by "taqiyya." While for most jurists and hadith Taqlid to anyone other than the imam does not form a scholars, reports were evaluated on the basis of the chain of early Shi'ite jurisprudence. However, as Shi'ite authorities, taqiyya served as an alternative means of rejecting realized that the ghayba was to be a prolonged absence a report as inauthentic (or rather, as an inauthentic source of a theory of ijtihad did emerge in embryonic form law). This, in turn, gave rise to extensive debates about how to of al-Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d. 1277), and was fully recognize a taqiyya report, and whether one receives punish- the writings of his pupil, al-Allama al-Hilli (d. ment in the hereafter if one follows one, and thereby trans- result was an acceptance that an ordinary Shi'ite gresses the law. Among the means of recognizing a taqiyya

ijtihad
taqlid
viewed as
(since a
superior
to jurists
fore, a
as both a
within which
Within
no founding imam
because the
The imams
since they
God.
feature of
jurists
of the imam,
in the work
developed in
1325). The
Muslim was

forced to perform taqlid to a mujtahid. For the report was a direct comparison with Sunni doctrine. If one of believer, with no access to the imam himself, the rulings of the contradictory reports agreed with Sunni doctrine, then it the mujtahid were all that was necessary to obey the law. In was clearly a taqiyya report. The imam was obviously agreeing effect, taqlid of the mujtahid, even when the mujtahid's rulings with the Sunnis to avoid persecution of himself or his were mistaken, was sufficient to guarantee full obedience to community. the law of God.

See also Shi a: Imami (Twelver). This theory was one of the ideological foundations of the authority of the scholarly class in Shi ism, and led, in part, to a BIBLIOGRAPHY heightened respect for the ulema in Shi ite communities in

Gleave, Robert. "Silence, Obscurity and Contradiction in comparison with that found in the Sunni world. Mujtahids Revelation." In *Inevitable Doubt*. Edited by Robert Gleave. gained authority and prestige by the number of muqallids they Leiden: E. J.Brill, 2000. attracted.

Since the ulema were, for much of Shi ite history, Kohlberg, Etan. "Some Imami-Shi a Views on Taqiyya." unaligned with any governmental structure, the mujtahids *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975): 395–402. were, in effect, building up an independent power base. This power base of muqallids could be (and was) used to mobilize Robert Gleave opposition to government measures in the largely Shi ite country of Iran. Indeed, the theory of taqlid enabled a number of mujtahids to call for the opposition to the shah, which eventually led to the Iranian revolution of 1979.

TAQLID

See also Ijtihad; Madhhab; Marja al-Taqlid; Muhtasib; The term taqlid refers to the "following" or "imitation" of a Shi a: Imami (Twelver).

legal expert by a nonexpert. In Sunni Muslim law, in both its classical and modern manifestations, taqlid is generally viewed BIBLIOGRAPHY negatively. Taqlid is the activity that the legally unaccom- Arjomand, S. A. "The Muqaddas al-Ardalili on Taqlid." In plished (called muqallid or ammi) are forced to perform. As Authority and Political Culture in Shi ism. Albany: State they have no legal qualifications, they must merely obey the University of New York Press, 1988.

Islam and the Muslim World

Clarke, L. "The Shi'i Construction of Taqlid." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 12, no. 1 (2001): 40–64. tax income.

Thus by 1281, the Mongol rulers of Iran set up an endowment for the previously independent hospice established by Hallaq, W. "Was the Gate of Ijtihad Closed?" *IJMES* 16 (1984): 3–41. lished by Ruzbihan, in this way linking its fortunes with the state. In India, the residences of Sufi masters of the Chishti Robert Gleave order were typically one large room where everyone lived and pursued their discipline, unlike the multiple private cells of hospices in Syria and Iran. These "meeting houses" (jama at khana) tended to be supported, at least initially, by voluntary TARIQA donations rather than fixed land income. In Turkey the hospices were known as tekkes. Because of hospitality regulations that Tariqa is an Arabic term for the spiritual path, especially in tions that required feeding and lodging guests for a limited time, the sense of a method of spiritual practice, often embodied in time, the Sufi hospices became centers where members of a social organization and tradition known as a Sufi order. different levels of society interacted with the Sufi master.

Tariqa has the etymological sense of way or path, and It was only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that a significant number of outstanding Sufi masters lent their names to the way or path to God in the mystical writings of the Sufis. names to groups constituting individual spiritual methods or "ways" Despite the existence of numerous different traditions of Sufi Tariqa (tariqas). It was also common to characterize each way as a practice and organization, it is common for Sufi teachers to as a "chain" (silsila), with masters and disciples constituting the links. point out that there is only one spiritual path that encompasses all of these different variations. At the same time, it is form Names of Sufi orders ending in the Arabic feminine (-iyya), such as Naqshbandiyya, are short hand for "the frequently asserted that there are as many paths to God as Naqshbandi way or chain" (al-tariqa al-Naqshbandiyya, al-thare are human souls. It is difficult to translate this kind of silsila al-Naqshbandiyya). These chains were plotted backward spiritual ideal into any definitive enumeration of Sufi orders in time to end ultimately with the prophet Muhammad as the final human as sociological entities. figure; some chains are duly depicted as continuing with the angel Gabriel and God as the ultimate

Early History

sources. Nearly all of these chains reach Muhammad via his son-in-law and cousin Ali. A notable exception is the Naqshbandi order, which reaches the Prophet via Abu Bakr of like-minded individuals. But as Sufi communities gradually coalesced, Sufi leaders increasingly were associated with early Shi'ite imams). A complication in the notion of the residential hospices (Ar., *ribat* or *zawiya*; Pers., *khanqa*), an chain as a historical lineage results from the phenomenon of institution first developed in Iran by a puritanical religious movement known as the *Karramiyya*. The followers of Abu transhistorical or Uwaysi initiation (named after Uways al-Ishaq al-Kazaruni (d. 1033) established their own hospices in contemporary disciple of the prophet Muhammad southern Persia and in coastal trading towns of the Indian Ocean. Abu Sa'id ibn Abu l-Khayr (d. 1049) established a center for Sufis in eastern Iran, with codes of conduct for the prophet al-Khidr (Per., *Khizr*), and this transcending of novices. Newly arrived Muslim rulers such as the Seljuk Turks found it attractive to sponsor the construction and upkeep of such hospices, along with academies (*madrāsas*) for the teaching of the Islamic religious sciences. These hospices typically were places dedicated to prayer, study of the Qur'an, meditation, and communal meals, where travelers and the needy were welcome. Sufi masters would impart instruction and advice to their students and to visitors. "orders," with an implicit analogy to the monastic orders of Christianity (Franciscans, Dominicans, etc.), the comparison Some hospices like the Sa'id al-Su'ada in Cairo (founded by Saladin in 1173) depended entirely on royal patronage. Other hospices had a broad clientele among the artisan hierarchical structure, which is formulated in terms of differclasses, from which many of the Sufi masters came. The hospice of Ruzbihan Baqli (d. 1209) was built in Shiraz in

Qarani, a
in spite of
have been
immortal
dental relationship also falls into
Another
the
Qalandars,
they
is inexact.
their
phenomenon

of multiple initiation, observable at least since 1165 by stonemasons among his followers. Yet the need of the fourteenth century, through which individual Sufis could political leaders for religious legitimation put pressure on the new Sufi institutions to become part of the state patronage maintaining a primary allegiance to only one. Sufi orders are

680

Islam and the Muslim World

Tariqa

Early tariqas (Sufi brotherhoods) and their founders

al-Junayd, d. 910

Ahmad al-Ghazali (d. 1126)

Abdallah al-Ansari Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani

Abd al-Qahir al-Suhrawardi

(d. 1089), Herat (d. 1166), Baghdad;

(d. 1168)

Qadiriyya

Abu-Hafs Umar

al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234)

Suhrawardiyya

Yusuf al-Hamadani Ahmad b. al-Rifa'i

Najm al-Din

(d. 1140), "khwajagan," (d. 1182), Iraq;

Kubra (d. 1221)

Transoxania

Rifa'iyya

Kubrawiyya

Abu 'l-Hasan

Abd al-Khaliq

al-Shadhili

Ghujdawani (d.

1258); Jalal al-Din

(d. 1220)

Shadiliyya Rumi (d. 1273);

Mevleviyya

Ahmad al-Yasavi (d. 1166) Ahmad al-Badawi

Yasaviyya; infl. on (d. 1276), Egypt;

Turkish Sufism Badawiyya

Mu'in al-Din Chishti

(d. 1236), Ajmer; Chishtiyya

Bahauddin

Naqshband

(d. 1389); Hajji Bektash (d. c. 1338);

SOURCE: Hodgson, M. G. S. *Venture of Islam*. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. Quoted in Lapidus, Ira M. *A History of Islamic Societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Genealogy and origins from 600 until 1200.

not inherently driven by competing and exclusive ideologies, signify the disciple's entrance into the order; special procedures competition in the sociopolitical arena is certainly governed the initiation of women disciples, though not unknown. The majority of Sufi orders have a Sunni masters were typically male. A frequent feature of initiation orientation, although Shi'ite orders exist as well, particularly was the requirement that the disciple copy out by hand the in Iran, but Sufis have been associated with all of the major genealogical "tree" of the order, which would link the disciple Islamic legal schools. Although it is commonly asserted that to the entire chain of masters going back to the Prophet. the Sufi orders played an important role in spreading Islam on a popular level, there is little historical evidence that

The tombs of many Sufi saints were usually erected at or premodern Sufi leaders took any interest in seeking the near their homes. Under Islamic law, the ownership and conversion of non-Muslims. maintenance of these tombs fell to family members, who may or may not have had spiritual qualifications. In subsequent The major social impact of the Sufi orders in terms of generations, the devotion of many pilgrims thus created a religion was to popularize the spiritual practices of the Sufis class of hereditary custodians who were in charge of the on a mass scale. The interior orientation of the informal finances and operations of the tomb-shrines, which could be movement of early Sufism became available to a much wider combined with a functioning hospice where the teachings of a public through participation in shrine rituals, the circulation Sufi order took place, or with other institutions such as of hagiographies, and the dispensing of various degrees of mosques or madrasas. Increasingly, however, the Sufi tomb instruction in dhikr recitation and meditation. Elaborate came to be an independent institution, in some cases functions initiation rituals developed, in which the master's presentation as the center of massive pilgrimage at the annual tion of articles such as a dervish cloak, hat, or staff would festival of the saint; these festivals were variously termed the

Islam and the Muslim World

Tariqa

saint's birthday (mawlid) in the Mediterranean region, or endowment. Some Sufi masters would demonstrate their "wedding" (urs) in Iran and India, in the latter case symbolically celebrating the death anniversary as the "wedding" of them at court.

the saint's soul with God. The tombs of especially popular saints eventually were surrounded with royal burial grounds, On the other hand, certain orders have a history of close where kings and members of the nobility would erect their association with political power; the Suhrawardiyya and the own tombs, to acquire a borrowed holiness or to benefit in the Naqshbandiyya in India and Iran felt it was important to afterlife from the pious exercises of pilgrims to the nearby influence rulers in the proper religious direction, and the

saints. Examples of this kind of necropolis include the Sufi Bektashiyya had strong links to the elite Ottoman troops shrines of Khuldabad and Gulbarga in the Indian Deccan, known as the janissaries. The Safawiyya, once a moderate Tatta in Pakistan, and the various graveyards of Cairo. Since Sunni

order based at Ardebil, became widespread among many founders and important figures of the Sufi orders are Turkish tribes on the Persian-Ottoman frontier, and it emerged buried in such shrines, the history of the orders cannot be with a strongly Shi'ite and messianic character to become the separated from the phenomenon of pilgrimage to these tombs. basis for the Safavid empire that ruled Iran from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. During the period of Periodization of Pre-Modern Sufi Orders

nineteenth-century colonialism, when much of the Islamic The standard view of the history of Sufi orders advanced by world fell under European domination, Sufi institutions Trimingham suggests that the Sufi tariqa orders enjoyed played varied roles. Hereditary custodians of Sufi shrines in their "golden age" in the thirteenth century. Trimingham places

like the Indian Punjab were treated as important local viewed the institutionalization of Sufi orders in the fifteenth landlords by colonial officials, and they became further entrenched, in the form of organizations (ta'ifas), as a "decline" entrenched as political leaders due to British patronage; ironically, the cooperation of these Sufi leaders ritual and vulgarization. cally, the cooperation of these Sufi leaders became essential in

This Orientalist perspective on the Sufi orders, with its later independence movements directed against British control in the Protestant rejection of Catholic tradition control. Similarly, the Senegalese order

known as the Muridiyya and ritual, unfortunately does not adequately represent the heavily involved in peanut farming as a result of being later history of Sufism. While the existing scholarly literature by French colonial authorities, and they have emerged on Sufism largely focuses on what is often called its “classical” the postcolonial order as a prominent social and religious phase, the ramification of Sufi orders in Muslim countries in institution. With the overthrow of traditional elites by Eurothe later so-called period of decline was extensive, and the pean conquest, Sufi orders in some regions remained the only literary and social impact of these more recent developments Islamic social structures, and they furnished the remains largely unexplored. The “golden age” view of Sufism principal leadership for anticolonial struggles in places such is also shared by modern Muslim reformists and fundamen- as Algeria (Abd al-Qadir), Libya (the Sanusiyya), the Caucatalists, who are extremely critical of modern and contempo- sus (Shaykh Shamil), and China. French administrators in rary Sufism, although they may concede that long-dead Sufi North Africa viewed Sufi orders with suspicion, and colonial masters of the past were pious Muslims. As Carl Ernst and scholars produced studies of the Sufi orders designed to Bruce Lawrence have argued, however, neither of these predict their possible resistance to or cooperation with offi- cial ideological views of Sufi history does justice to the self- policies.

conscious efforts of later Sufi teachers to give life to Sufi teachings in their own time.

Post-Colonial Era

In the postcolonial period, Sufi orders and institutions have Some of the Sufi orders, such as the Qadiriyya (named an ambiguous political position, which is inevitably deterafter Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, d. 1166), are spread throughout mined in relation to the nation-state.

Governments in many

Islamic lands from North Africa to Southeast Asia. Others are Muslim countries have inherited the centralized bureaucratic more regional in scope, like the Shadhiliyya in North Africa organization of their colonial predecessors, which sometimes (named after Abu l-Hasan al-Shadhili, d. 1258), or the themselves go back to precolonial bureaucracies. In countries Chishtiyya in South Asia (named after Mu in al-Din Chishti, like Egypt and Pakistan, efforts have been made to subject the d. 1236). Particular orders are known for distinctive practices, orders and shrines to governmental control. Nonetheless, such as the loud dhikr recitation of the Rifa iyya, in contrast to many of the largest and liveliest Sufi organizations, such as

the silent dhikr favored by the Naqshbandiyya. Some orders, the Burhaniyya in Egypt, flourish without official recognition including the Chishtiyya and the Mevleviyya (the latter being a Sema ceremony). Officials frequently appear at Sufi festivals and attempt to control the known to Europeans as the “whirling dervishes”), have integrated music and even dance into their practice, while other regimes, and governments also attempt to control the orders resolutely shun these activities as distractions to spiritual training. Sometimes Sufi leaders, such as the early sponsorship of Sufi festivals also aims to enroll support Chishti masters, tried to keep political power at arm’s length, against fundamentalist groups critical of the government, and they advised their followers to refuse offers of land to redirect reverence for saints in a nationalist direction.

682

Islam and the Muslim World

Tariqa

Contemporary fundamentalist movements attack Sufism many Muslim countries; although it derives from a branch of with a virulence sometimes even more intense than that the Chishtiyya and still respects the early Sufi saints, this which is reserved for anti-Western diatribes. Reformers fre- movement considers contemporary Sufi practice to be illegitimate and denounce pilgrimage to Sufi tombs as an idolatry that illegitimate and attempts to dissuade people from pursuing it.

treats humans on the level of God, and they reject the notion that saints are able to intercede with God on behalf of Contemporary Orders

ordinary believers. Sufi orders have been illegal in Turkey In recent years, Sufi orders have extended their reach into since the 1920s, when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk secularized the Europe and the Americas, and today branches of orders from India, Turkish state. The public performance of the Sufi rituals such as the “whirling dervish” dance of the Mevleviyya, and the Sema ceremony in major urban centers in many Western countries.

dhikr of the Istanbul Qadiriyya, is tolerated only as a cultural Some orders have also expanded into other Asian and African activity, which is exported abroad through touring companies countries where they were never previously found. Certain groups and sound recordings; the tomb of the great Sufi poet Jalaluddin derived from Sufi orders, such as the International Rumi (1207–1273), which many visitors treat as a shrine, is Association of Sufism derived from the teachings of Hazrat

officially regarded as a museum. This reformist critique of Inayat Khan (1882–1927), have only tenuous associations with Sufi practice has been internalized in some Sufi circles, such as Islam; they present Sufism as a mystical universal religion the Sabiri Chishti tradition associated with the Deoband movement that may be pursued through dancing and chanting, academy in India; leaders of this group, such as Ashraf Ali Nadwi without requiring the practice of ritual prayer or other duties Thanvi (1863–1943), have been highly critical of traditional Islamic law. Other groups have more explicit relations with Islamic Sufi practices such as listening to music and visiting the Islamic tradition, including even insistence on the clothing and customs of tombs of saints. Certain Ottoman thinkers from Sufi backgrounds of the order's country of origin. Sufism is taking grounds (Bediuzzaman Sa'id Nursi [1876–1960], Kenan Rifai on some aspects of modern American and European culture, [1867–1950]) rejected life in the hospice and insisted on such as joint participation of men and women in contexts living in the world, and they interpreted Sufi theorists like Ibn where gender separation was the norm in many premodern al-Arabi (1165–1240) and Rumi in terms of modern thought Muslim societies; several American Sufi groups even have and science. Modernist secular thinkers and Muslim coun- female leaders, something quite rare in the traditional societies have also been critical of Sufism, but for different ties where Sufism has flourished. At the same time, Sufism in reasons. To authors like Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1933) in Europe and America strives to preserve some of the distinct- South Asia and Ahmad Kasravi (1890–1946) in Iran, institu- tive rituals and institutions of traditional Sufism—the tomb tional Sufism was the source of fatalism, passivity, and civili- of Sri Lankan Sufi master Bawa Muhaiyuddin near Philadelphia national decline. Sufi advocates such as the Barelwi school in Philadelphia has already become a place of pilgrimage.

South Asia, and the Naqshbandis led by Shaykh Hisham Kabbani (b. 1945), have responded to these reformist cri- Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Sufism in the tiques with polemics and apologetics of their own, defending nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been the publicizing Sufi practices as authentic and even necessary according to of a previously esoteric system of teaching through modern Islamic principles. In response to the modernist critique, Sufi communications media. Today, Sufi orders and shrines protheorists have asserted that science ultimately seeks what to produce a continual stream of publications aimed at a variety of Sufism alone can offer, and they have adopted the language of followers from the ordinary devotee to the scholar. Evidence

psychology and modern technology. suggests
that Sufi orders, along with governments, were
among the first users of print in Muslim countries in the
Sufi activities are not publicly tolerated in Saudi Arabia nineteenth
century. Not only traditional treatises on Sufi
and Iran, since Sufi leaders and tomb cults would constitute metaphysics
and practice, but also new genres like periodicals
an unacceptable alternative spiritual authority to the regnant and novels,
became vehicles for the expression of Sufi thought
religious orthodoxy in either case. Still, it is remarkable that in multiple
languages. Other technologies, such as the audio
the founders of certain fundamentalist movements, such as cassette
(especially for music), and now the Internet, have
Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949) of the Muslim Brotherhood in been
extremely effective in disseminating Sufi ideas and
Egypt, and Abu l- Ala Maududi (1903–1979) of the Jama at-e culture to
broad audiences. In short, the Sufi orders have
Islami in India, were exposed to Sufi orders in their youth, employed
the technologies and ideologies of modernity even
and they seem to have adapted certain organizational tech- as they have
been forced to respond to them.
niques and leadership styles from Sufism; the main difference
is that these movements substitute political ideology for Sufi See also
Dhikr; Khirqah; Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Tasawwuf.
spirituality, in order to become mass parties in the modern
political arena. Another movement that has branched off BIBLIOGRAPHY
from Sufism in a hostile fashion is the pietistic Tablighi De Jong,
Fred, and Radtke, Berndt, eds. *Islamic Mysticism*
Jama at, founded in India and with immense followings in Contested:
Thirteen Centuries of Controversies & Polemics.

Islam and the Muslim World

683

Tasawwuf

Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, 29. poverty. The
ideal qualities evoked by these derivations are
Leiden: Brill, 1999. the key to the
concept of tasawwuf as formulated by authors of
Ernst, Carl W. *Guide to Sufism*. Boston: Shambhala Publica- the tenth
century, such as Sulami (d. 1021). While acknowltions, 1997.
edging that that the term Sufi was not current
at the time of
Ernst, Carl W., and Lawrence, Bruce. *Sufi Martyrs of Love: the Prophet,*
Sufi theorists maintained that this specialization
Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond. New York: Palgrave in spirituality
arose in parallel with other disciplines such as
Press, 2002. Islamic law and

Qur'anic exegesis. But the heart of Sufism, Friedlander, Shems. *The Whirling Dervishes: Being an Account* they maintained, lay in the ideal qualities of the prophet of the Sufi Order Known as the Mevlevi and its Founder the Muhammad and his association with his followers. *Definitive Poet and Mystic Mevlana Jalalu 'ddin Rumi*. Albany: State Editions of Sufism described ethical and spiritual goals and University of New York Press, 1992. functioned as teaching tools to open up the possibilities of the Gramlich, Richard. *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*. soul. In practice, the term Sufi was often reserved for ideal Wiesbaden, Germany: Steiner, 1965–1981. usage, and many other terms described particular spiritual Hoffman, Valerie J. *Sufism, Mystics, and Saints in Modern* qualities and functions, such as poverty (faqir, darvish), knowledge (alim, Egypt. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995. edge (alim, arif), mastery (shaykh, pir), and so on.

Karamustafa, Ahmet T. *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups* Orientalist scholarship introduced the term Sufism to in the Islamic Middle Period 1200–1550. Salt Lake City: European languages at the end of the eighteenth century. University of Utah Press, 1999.

Prior to that time, European travelers had brought back Lifchez, R. *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism* accounts of exotic religious behavior by Oriental dervishes in Ottoman Turkey. Berkeley: University of California and the miscellaneous Indian ascetics called fakirs, who were Press, 1992.

considered important only when their social organization O'Fahey, R. S. *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad ibn Idris and the Idrisi* posed a problem for European colonialism. The discovery of Tradition. London: Hurst & Co., 1990. Persian Sufi poetry, filled with references to love and wine, Popovic, Alexandre, and Veinstein, Gilles, eds. *Les voies* allowed Europeans to imagine Sufis as freethinking mystics d'Allah: *Les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des* who had little to do with Islam. The “-ism” formation of the origines à aujourd'hui. Paris : Fayard, 1996. word (originally “Sufi-ism”) reveals that “Sufism” was a part Schimmel, Annemarie. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel of the Enlightenment catalog of ideologies and belief systems, and Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975. terms, and frequently it was equated with private mysticism, Trimmingham, J. Spencer. *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. London: pantheism, and the doctrine that humanity can become Oxford University Press, 1971. divine. Scholars

such as Sir William Jones (d. 1794) and Sir
 Zarcone, Thierry; Isin, Ekrem; and Buehler, Arthur, eds. John Malcolm
 (d. 1833) advanced the thesis that Sufism
 Journal of the History of Sufism. Vols. 1–2: The Qâdiriyya derived from
 Hindu yoga, Greek philosophy, or Buddhism.
 Order. Istanbul: Simurg Press, 2000. This concept of
 the non-Islamic character of Sufism has been
 widely accepted in Euro-American scholarship ever since,
 Carl W. Ernst despite (or perhaps because of) its disconnection with the
 Islamic tradition, in which tasawwuf and its social implementations have played
 a central role. Thus, in terms of its origin,
 the introduction of the term Sufism into European languages
 TASAWWUF may be
 regarded as a classic example of Orientalist misinformation, insofar as Sufism
 was regarded primarily as a radical
 Tasawwuf is an Arabic term for the process of realizing intellectual
 doctrine at variance with what was thought of as
 ethical and spiritual ideals; meaning literally “becoming a the sterile
 monotheism of Islam. Nevertheless, as a word
 Sufi,” tasawwuf is generally translated as Sufism. firmly
 ingrained in the vocabulary of modernity, Sufism can
 usefully serve as an outsider’s term for a wide range of social,
 The etymologies for the term Sufi are various. The cultural,
 political, and religious phenomena associated with
 primary obvious meaning of the term comes from suf, “wool,” Sufis,
 including popular practices and movements that might
 the traditional ascetic garment of prophets and saints in the be in tension
 with normative definitions of Sufism.
 Near East. The term has also been connected to safa ,
 “purity,” or safwa, “the chosen ones,” emphasizing the psy-
 Origins and Early History
 chological dimension of purifying the heart and the role of The Qur an
 itself may be taken as a major source of Sufism.
 divine grace in choosing the saintly. Another etymology links The experience
 of revelation that descended upon the prophet
 Sufi with suffa or bench, referring to a group of poor Muslims Muhammad left
 its mark in numerous passages testifying to
 contemporaneous with the prophet Muhammad, known as the creative
 power of God and to the cosmic horizons of
 the People of the Bench, signifying a community of shared spiritual
 experience. God in the Qur an is described both in

684

Islam and the Muslim World

Tasawwuf

terms of overwhelming transcendence and immanent pres- with God is
 associated particularly with the outstanding early

ence. In particular, the ascension (mi raj) of the prophet woman Sufi,
 Rabi a of Basra (d. 801). Other early Sufis contributed
 Muhammad to Paradise, as elaborated upon from brief refer- analysis
 to the development of an extensive psychological
 ences in the Qur an (17:1–2, 53:1–18), provided a template meditative
 of spiritual states, as a natural result of prolonged
 for the movement of the soul toward an encounter with the Creator. While it was commonly accepted that the Prophet's came from
 retreats. Socially speaking, many of the early Sufis lower-class artisan and craftsman origins. Their piety often
 ascension was accomplished in the body, for Sufis this opened wealth and
 included deliberate critique of the excesses of power generated by the rapid conquests of the
 up the possibility of an internal spiritual ascension. The notion of special knowledge available to particularly favored early Arab
 power generated by the rapid conquests of the empire. Major early figures in the Sufi movement included Dhu
 servants of God, particularly as illustrated in the story of al-Nun of Egypt (d. 859), the ecstatic Abu
 al-Nun of Egypt (d. 859), the ecstatic Abu Moses and al-Khidr (18:60–82), provided a model for the Yazid
 al-Bistami in Iran (d. 874), the early metaphysician alrelationship between
 inner knowledge of the soul and out- Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. 910) in
 Nishapur, and the sober
 ward knowledge of the law. Another major theme adopted by psychologist
 and legal scholar Junayd of Baghdad (d. 910).
 Sufis was the primordial covenant (7:172) between God and humanity, which established the relationship with God that Although
 religious criticism of Sufi practices and doctrine the Sufi disciplines sought to
 preserve and restore. A broad trines started to occur as early as the
 late ninth century, it is
 range of Qur anic terms for the different faculties of the soul particularly
 in the case of al-Hallaj (executed in 922) that
 and the emotions furnished a basis for a highly complex tensions
 between Sufism and the legal establishment became
 mystical psychology. apparent.
 Although the trial of al-Hallaj was a confusing mix
 of politics and crypto-Shi ism, in hagiographical sources it
 The earliest figures claimed by the Sufi movement include became
 mythologized as a confrontation between radical
 the prophet Muhammad and his chief companions; their mysticism
 and conservative Islamic law. Sufi writers adapted
 oaths of allegiance to Muhammad became the model for the to this
 crisis by insisting upon adherence to the norms and
 master-disciple relationship in Sufism. Muhammad's medita-
 disciplines of Islamic religious scholarship, while at the same
 tion in a cave on Mount Hira outside Mecca was seen as the time
 cultivating an esoteric language and style appropriate to
 basis for Sufi practices of seclusion and retreat. In an exten- the

discussion of subtle interior experiences. Early Sufi writings of the authority of the Prophet as enshrined in hadith writers such as Sarraj (d. 988), Ansari (d. 1089), and Qushayri (d. 1072) accounts, Sufis regarded the model of the Prophet as the basis emphasized Sufism as the “knowledge of realities,” for spiritual experience as well as legal and ethical norms. inseparable from yet far beyond the knowledge of Islamic law

While there is debate about the authenticity of much of the and scripture. Many of these writers also declared their classical hadith corpus, many hadith sayings favored by Sufis loyalties to established legal schools or the Ash'ari school of describe the cosmic authority of Muhammad as the first being theology. created by God, and in many other ways these sayings establish the possibility of imitating divine qualities. Veneration The institutional spread of Sufism was accomplished tion of the prophet Muhammad, both for his own qualities through the “ways” or Sufi orders, which increasingly from and in his role as intercessor for all humanity, became the the eleventh century offered the prospect of spiritual communion keynote of Sufi piety as it diffused through Muslim society on unity organized around charismatic teachers whose authority a popular basis. derived from a lineage going back to the prophet Muhammad himself. Under the patronage of dynasties like the Seljuks, Among the early successors to the Prophet, the later Sufi who also supported religious academies in their quest for movement singled out as forerunners ascetics like al-Hasan legitimacy, Sufi lodges eventually spread throughout the al-Basri (d. 728), who was renowned for preaching the vanity Middle East, South and Central Asia, North Africa and Spain, of this world and warning of punishment in the next. By the and southeastern Europe. While dedicated membership in end of the eighth century, small groups of like-minded Sufi orders remained confined to an elite, mass participation individuals, particularly in northeastern Iran and in Iraq, had in the reverence for saints at their tombs has been a typical begun to formulate a vocabulary of interior spiritual experience feature in Muslim societies until today. ence, based in good part on the Qur'an and the emerging Islamic religious sciences. Intensive and protracted prayer Major Figures and Doctrines (including not only the five obligatory ritual prayers daily, but The central role of Sufism in premodern Muslim societies is also five supererogatory or “extra credit” prayers) and meditation perhaps best typified by the intellectual career of Abu Hamid tation on the meanings of the Qur'an were notable features of al-Ghazali (d. 1111). Having become the foremost theologian early Sufi practice. The sometimes

stark asceticism of early Sufism. He was educated in Baghdad at a very youthful

Sufis, with its rejection of the corrupt world, came to be regarded as a stage, he underwent a spiritual crisis chronicled in his autobiography, *Deliverance from Error*. This was a quest to find God through love. This was a quest to find God through love.

Systematically questioning the emphasis on an intimate and even passionate relationship with God, he interrogated the four chief intellectual options available in his day: dialectical theology, Greco-Arabic philosophy as interpreted by Ibn Sina, Ismaili esotericism, and Sufism. He regarded theology as a severely limited discipline, expressed, sometimes in enigmatic code, his own role as a philosopher and philosophy as tainted by metaphysical arrogance, while he interrogated the four chief intellectual options.

Islam and the Muslim World

685

Tasawwuf

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the Ismailis were dismissed as authoritarians with a fallacious understanding of religion and morality. This left the Sufis as the only custodians of knowledge that transcends the limits of Islamic law, works of recent scholars like

understood, was the surest guide to the spiritual ideals deriving from the Qur'an and the Prophet. While Ghazali's programmatic separation of Sufism from theology, philosophy, and engagement with the sharia. The phrase most commonly used to describe the teachings of Ibn al-Arabi, "oneness of existence" (wahdat al-wujud), never occurs in his

assumed that Sufis would be based in an authentic tradition of Islamic law, and it was in fact normal for Sufis to profess whichever school of law was current in their region (Hanafi in South and Central Asia and the Ottoman lands, Shafi'i in Persia and the eastern Mediterranean, Maliki in North Africa). Nevertheless, there have been many critiques directed at Ibn al-Arabi over the centuries, accusing him of

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and Spain, and Hanbali sporadically in Khurasan and Egypt). flagrant heresy. Ironically, the best-known of his critics, the Ghazali's massive synthesis, *Giving Life to the Sciences of* Hanbali legal scholar and controversialist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), was himself a Sufi and a member of the Qadiri order. practices with the interiorization of Sufi piety in a way that was accessible to Muslim intellectuals trained in the madrasa Another major Sufi figure was the great Persian poet legal tradition. The intellectual integration of Sufism with Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273). Trained as a theologian with a Sufi the Islamic religious sciences typified many Muslim societies background, Rumi unleashed his spiritual talent after enup to the age of European colonialism. In other writings, countering the enigmatic dervish Shams-i Tabriz. His collec- tion of Ghazali was also critical of antinomian tendencies and un- lyrical poems, named after Shams, is the largest body of such conventional practices found in Sufi circles. These deliber- poetry by any Persian poet of the last millennium. His ately nonconformist trends were also inevitably a part of the great poetic epic, *Masnavi-ye ma navi* (Spiritual couplets), is a Sufi ambience. vast repository of Sufi teaching through stories and images. The Sufi order established by his descendants in Anatolia, The pervasive role of Sufism is demonstrated by countless known as the Mevleviyya, have become famous to foreign observers biographical works in Arabic, Persian, and other languages, as the "whirling dervishes," due to their characterrecounting the virtues and exemplary religious lives of the istic turning meditative dance. Rumi's writings, which have been Sufi saints. Many of these biographical traditions about Sufis immensely popular from Southeast Europe to India, portrayed are also enmeshed in the history of Islamic religious scholar- ship and dynastic political history. Although it is difficult to and vivid imagery, easily memorized and popularized in musical select a handful of representative figures out of the innumer- performance. Today Rumi's poetry enjoys a new able possibilities, it would be impossible to leave out the great vogue in English translation by American poets Robert Bly and Andalusian Sufi, Ibn al- Arabi (d. 1240). Perhaps more than any other, Ibn al- Arabi illustrated the fusion of ethical and psychological mysticism with powerful metaphysical analysis, Despite Ghazali's earlier objections to philosophy, Sufi all in the context of Islamic law and the Qur an. His teachings teachings in their metaphysical form overlapped with both

on human perfection, the manifestation of divine attributes in the terminology and the doctrines of Aristotelian and creation, the divine names, imagination, and the nature of Neoplatonic philosophy as interpreted in the Arabic tradition were expressed through a series of difficult but tion. Although Sufis aimed at a knowledge that transcended extremely popular Arabic writings, including the voluminous intellect, it was inevitable that philosophical categories would encyclopedia The Meccan Openings, and the succinct treatise be used to put Sufism into cosmological and metaphysical on prophecy and mysticism, Bezels of Wisdom. The latter work perspective. Figures such as Shihab al-Din Yahya al-Suhrawardi has attracted over one hundred commentaries, in Arabic, (executed in 1191) combined a critical revision of the meta-Persian, and Turkish, in countries ranging from the Balkans physics, logic, and psychology of Ibn Sina (Avicenna, d. 1037) to South Asia. Ibn al-Arabi also elaborated upon the doctrine with an identification of being as light. His "Illuminationist" of sainthood, which in Islamic contexts derives from author- (ishraqi) philosophy, expressed both in logical treatises and in ity and intimacy conferred by God rather than from sanctity Platonic fables in Arabic and Persian, drew upon Sufi mystics recognized in official Christian doctrines of sainthood. In cal experience as an important source of knowledge. Although

686

Islam and the Muslim World

Tasawwuf

Men in Oman participate in a Sufi dhikr performance where they repeat the name of God and his attributes or engage in a call and response in praise of God and the prophet Muhammad. The beating of the drums, the swaying body movements, and the repetition of the chants can lead to trances or states of ecstasy among Sufis. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Ibn al-Arabi was not a philosopher, and Suhrawardi was not are deeply revered in Sufi circles. While the majority of Sufi really a Sufi, the shared quest for understanding the relationship between God and the world allowed Sufism and philosophy both to play roles in the intellectual tradition of later Shi'ite orientation. Certainly there have been Shi'ite theologians Muslim societies. who have rejected the claims of Sunni saints, and the Safavid dynasty suppressed organized Sufism in Iran after Likewise, although Ghazali had made clear his objections seizing power in the early sixteenth century and making

to Shi'ism in its Ismaili form, it is also apparent that Sufism cannot be separated from Shi'ism either. The recognition of the state religion. As a result, formal Sufi orders in the Shi'ite imams as spiritual leaders possessing authority and have had a precarious existence or even gone under intimacy with God (walaya) is closely related to the rise of the ground under threat from militant Shi'ism. Nevertheless, spiritual master and the concept of sainthood in early Sufism. philosophical Sufism (irfan) has remained an important aspect of the advanced curriculum in Iran. Philosophers of their spiritual genealogies, and the imams of Twelver Shi'ism period, such as Mulla Sadra (d. 1640), drew upon

Shi'ism

Iran

pect

Safavid

Islam and the Muslim World

687

Tasawwuf

Ibn Sina, Ibn al-Arabi, Suhrawardi, as well as Sufi and reinforced the Islamic cosmology of Sufism. The mystical Shi'ite themes. psychology that accompanied these practices articulated different levels of the heart and soul, which are further Ranging further afield, Sufi theorists in India and China to differentiated in terms of multiple spiritual states (ahwal) and some extent adopted aspects of those cultures. Sufis in India stations (maqamat) that have been charted out in varying degrees of detail. were aware of yogic practices, including breath control and

thus

differentiated

stations

degrees of

other psychophysical techniques. Knowledge of hatha yoga was disseminated through a single text known as The Pearl of dhikr recitation may originally have been restricted While Nectar (Amrtakunda), which was translated into Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu with a heavy dose of Islamizing to adepts chanting this practice can also be accessible to people group tendencies. Sufi masters of the Chishti and Shattari orders on a broad popular scale. Simple chanting of phrases like adopted certain yogic meditations into their repertoire through "there is no god but God" (la ilaha illa Allah) did not only this channel. Similarly, when the Chinese Sufi Wang Daiyu express the fundamental negation and affirmation of Islamic theology, (d. 1658) translated Persian Sufi works by Jami and others the practices but also made it possible for a wider public to adopt into classical Chinese, he employed a neo-Confucian vocabulary and cosmology that made the works virtually indistinguishable that it could be practiced by anyone, regardless of age, sex, or

guishable from the productions of Chinese literati. ritual
 purity, at any time. Under the direction of a master,
 Sufi disciples typically are instructed to recite dhikr formulas
 Alongside these main currents of Sufi thought, one can selected in
 accordance with the needs of the individual, based
 also distinguish a kind of anti-structure in a series of move- on the
 different qualities of particular divine names.
 ments that were deliberately unconventional. Psychologically
 the mood was set in the concept of self-blame (malama), The tombs
 of Sufi leaders, especially those associated with
 which called for incurring shame before the public as a major orders,
 played an important role in the public developdiscipline for the ego. While the
 early self-blammers among ment of Sufism. On a popular level, these tombs
 were comthe Sufis were not supposed to infringe on religiously forbid-
 monly connected to lodges or hospices maintaining open
 den territory, the dropout dervishes of the Qalandar move- kitchens
 where all visitors were welcome. Major festivals
 ments (including Abdals, Haydaris, Malangs, and Madaris) were held not
 only for standard Islamic holidays but also in
 rejected institutional Sufism as a betrayal of independent particular
 for dates honoring the prophet Muhammad and
 spirituality. Shunning respectability, maintaining a bizarre the Sufi
 saints. While the birthday of the Prophet was a
 appearance, and indulging in intoxicants, these eccentrics led popular
 observance in many places, the death-anniversary of
 civil disturbances in Delhi and even organized peasant rebel- the saint was
 also a focus of attention. The practice of
 lions against Ottoman rulers. They still may be seen on the pilgrimage
 (ziyara) to the tombs of saints was generally
 fringes of Muslim societies as a kind of spiritual underground. considered to
 be beneficial, but was especially valued at the
 anniversary of the moment when the saint was joined with
 Practices God; all this
 assumes the saint's ability to intercede with God
 Aside from the obligatory daily prayers and supererogatory on behalf of
 pilgrims. At major shrines like Tanta in Egypt, or
 ones, the most important Sufi practice is undoubtedly the Ajmer in
 India, hundreds of thousands of pilgrims may
 recollection of God (dhikr) by recitation of Arabic names of congregate
 for days at the annual festival, with many distinc-
 God as found in the Qur an. This recitation, which could be tive local
 rituals and performances. Over the past two centueither silent or spoken aloud,
 typically drew from lists of ries, with the rise of the Wahhabis in
 Arabia and kindred
 ninety-nine names of God (it being understood that the one- Salafi reform
 movements elsewhere, there has been extensive
 hundredth name was "the greatest name" of God, known criticism

of pilgrimage to tombs and the notion of saintly only to the elect). As with the supererogatory prayers, dhikr intercession, all of which is considered to be sheer idolatry. Although in Saudi Arabia the tomb of practically every Sufi saint and family member of the Prophet has been destroyed, elsewhere pilgrimage to saints' tombs continues to be popular. establish the qualities of the divine in the human being. Treatises like The Key to Salvation by Ibn Ata Allah of Other widely encountered forms of Sufi practice are music and poetry, Alexandria (d. 1309) described in detail the psychological and and poetry, which take on different regional forms in accordance with local traditions. Although conservative Islamic particular names of God. The parallelism between repetition legal tradition has been wary of musical instruments as innovations of the divine names and Islamic theology is significant; in rich and not present during the time of the Prophet, the sophisticated musical traditions of Iran, India, Andalusia, and are the faculties through which the divine essence inter- developed and Turkey have furnished irresistible and highly acts with the created world. Recitation of the divine names developed forms for the communication of Sufi teachings,

688

Islam and the Muslim World

Tasawwuf

particularly when combined with poetry. Sufis in fact speak the expansion of literacy by colonial regimes, not only facilitated the "listening" (sama), emphasizing the spiritual role of the workings of administration for the government, but the listener far more than that of the musical performer, and also permitted the dissemination of formal religious knowledge the focus is upon the words of poems that may or may not be edge among Muslims on a scale never before attempted. On accompanied by musical instruments. Early Sufi poetry in one hand, the replacement of manuscript culture with identical printed Arabic and Persian is frequently indistinguishable in form cal printed books doubtless encouraged the scriptural and content from secular love and wine poetry emanating authoritarianism that arose with Salafi reform movements. On from the courts. The difference is that Sufi listeners would the other hand, Sufi orders, with their large guaranteed refer libertine images and daring expressions to the passion- markets,

were major patrons of printing. The spread of
ate relationship with God or the Sufi master. Leading Sufi previously
esoteric Sufi texts to a broad reading public
poets like the Egyptian Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) made mystical amounted to
a publication of the secret. Postcolonial govverse into an art form of great
density and subtlety; for ernments, modern universities, and academic
societies also
centuries, pilgrims to his shrine recited his poems at his sponsored
the printing of books related to Sufism. Parallel
annual festival. In Persian, multiple genres ranging from the with the
printing phenomenon is the rise of audio recordquatrain (ruba i) to the lyric
(ghazal) and the ode (qasida), ings of Sufi music distributed on global
scale, initially for
along with the epic couplet (masnavi), were cultivated by
ethnomusicological audiences, but more recently for popular
poets in Sufi lodges as well as by court poets with Sufi world
music and fusion recordings. Major recording artists
leanings. Particularly famous poets in Persian include Rumi, with Sufi
connections include Pakistani singer Nusrat Fateh
Attar (d. 1220), Hafiz (d. 1389), and Jami (d. 1492). Ali Khan
(1948–1997) and Senegalese musician Youssou
N’Dour (b. 1959).
Poetic literature developed in many regional languages,
sometimes using language and themes derived from Arabic As Sufism
became publicized on global scale, likewise
and Persian models, but frequently employing rhyme, meter, major
ideological shifts occurred in Muslim countries, through
and subject matter of local origin. The Indian subcontinent which the
term Islam increasingly became a symbol of
offered many local languages to Sufi poets, who freely ex-
anticolonial identity. Salafi reform movements, often deplored the resources of
Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, and scribed as fundamentalist, opposed
Sufism as a non-Islamic
Kashmiri. Writers like the Chishti poet Muhammad Jayasi (d. innovation
based on idolatrous worship of saints. Just as
1542) used Hindu figures from Rajput epics to convey Sufi European
Orientalists detached Sufism from Islam, now
themes. Turkish became a vehicle both in the simple verse of Muslim
fundamentalists came to the same conclusion. Sufism
Yunus Emre (d. 1321) and in the sophisticated Ottoman has now
become a position to be defended or criticized in
poetry of figures like Shaykh Ghalib (d. 1799). Other major terms of
ideological constructions of Islam. In the most
languages employed by Sufi include Malay, Swahili, Berber, recent
forms of representation of Sufism, Internet advertising
and Hausa. paradigms
and polemics have become the norm. Transnational

Sufi movements, with the help of technically educated members in Contemporary Manifestations and Situation Europe, North America, or South Africa, maintain The changes wrought by European colonial expansion in websites both for informing the public and for maintaining Asia and Africa, and by globalization in the postcolonial connections for a virtual community. Some Sufi websites also period, have had major effects on Muslim societies. The engage in extensive polemics against fundamentalists, who are often overthrow of local elites by foreign invaders removed traditional sources of patronage for Sufi orders and shrines. Under the suspicious eyes of European colonial administrators, Through encounters with colonial missionaries and through hereditary administrators of Sufi shrines in India became migration to Europe and America, Sufis have become enintegrated into landholding classes, while the extended net- gaged with non-Islamic religious traditions in various ways.

works of Sufi orders furnished some of the only centers of Some Sufi teachers, such as Hazrat Inayat Khan (d. 1927), decided to resistance against European military aggression, as in the present Sufism to Europeans and Americans as a universal Caucasus, North Africa, and Central Asia. Sufi responses to mystical teaching with no essential connection to Islam. The colonialism thus ranged from accommodation to confrontation. As with traditional religious scholars, so too for Sufis it a membership conceptual basis for this ecumenism, although non-Muslim was necessary to come to terms with new roles dictated by the in Sufi orders had been decidedly rare prior to the technological and ideological transformations of modernity. the twentieth century. Now there are significant numbers of self-professed Sufis in Europe and America who do not consider One of the first notable features of modern capitalism and themselves Muslims. At the same time, other Sufi movements technology introduced into Muslim countries by colonial movements from Iran, Turkey, and West Africa include regimes in the nineteenth century was Arabic script printing, varying degrees of emphasis on Islamic identity and tradiwhether in movable type or lithography. Printing, along with tional custom. The relationship between Sufism and Islam is

Islam and the Muslim World

689

Tasawwuf

thus debated and contested both in its traditional homelands and in its new locations.

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changes in the roles of women are bringing women to the fore Chodkiewicz, Michel. An Ocean Without Shore: Ibn Arabi, the Book and Press, in Sufi organizations to a remarkable extent, in countries like the Law. Albany: State University of New York Press, Turkey and Pakistan as well as in America and Europe. 1993.

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dervish" performance was permitted only on condition that it Ernst, Carl W. Guide to Sufism. Boston: Shambhala Publications, a nonreligious activity, destined especially for foreign tions, 1997.

tourists. Sufi groups in Iran keep a very low profile under the watchful eyes of the Islamic regime. Sufism in the former Ernst, Carl W. Teachings of Sufism. Boston: Shambhala Publications, Soviet republics, like most other religious activities, was cations, 1999.

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 Poetry.

Carl W. Ernst

690

Islam and the Muslim World

Terrorism

Qajar Patronage

TA ZIYA (TA ZIYEH)

The heyday

of ta ziya was the Qajar era (1796–1925). The
 most elaborate example of Qajar patronage of ta ziya was the
 Ta ziya is an Islamic Shi ite ritual performed mainly in Iran. Takiya
 Dawlat, which was built in Tehran in 1873 by the
 The Arabic term ta ziya (Per., Ta ziyeh) means to mourn or order of
 the Iranian monarch Naser al-Din Shah. This takiya
 to offer one’s condolences for a death. It is also sometimes was
 built on a very grand scale. Nevertheless, it was in most
 called ta ziya khani, or shabih khani. The term ta ziya has been ways a
 typical takiya. It consisted of a large circular amphitheatrum primarily in Iran to
 refer to a Shi ite religious ritual theater with several entrances
 surrounding a large open area;
 consisting of a theatrical re-enactment of the tragic seventh- a tent was
 used as a roof. Its primary purpose was to provide a
 century Battle of Karbala. This historic battle was fought staging
 area for the most elaborate ta ziya performances.
 between the followers of prophet Muhammad’s grandson Lady
 Sheil, a European traveler, resident in Tehran in 1856,
 Husayn and the troops of the second Umayyad caliph Yazid. gives a
 brief account of the ta ziya performance in the Takiya
 While ta ziya performance rituals have been mostly restricted Dawlat in
 1856, concluding, “It is a sight in no small degree
 to Iran, the Shi a of South Asia and Iraq use the term ta ziya to curious to
 witness an assemblage of several thousand persons
 refer to a model or replica of Husayn’s tomb, which they use plunged
 in deep sorrow, giving vent to their sorrow” (p. 127).
 in their ritual processions, after which they are ritually
 discarded. Modern

Trends

Following the fall of the Qajar dynasty in the early twentieth
 The Battle of Karbala century,
 the ta ziya slowly declined until it was mostly aban-

Accounts of the Battle of Karbala can be summarized as done in the large cities in the 1930s and 1940s. However, ta ziyas follows. In the year 680 C.E., Husayn, who was also the third imam of the Shi'a, was killed in the desert of southern Iraq throughout the twentieth century, especially in traditional sectors. along with over seventy of his family and close friends by There were two reasons for this relative decline. The first troops loyal to the caliph Yazid. The women and children Pahlavi king, Reza Shah, outlawed the ta ziya. More were taken prisoner and paraded in various cities, adding to importantly, as Iranian society changed modernized elites the humiliation, but also providing opportunities for these became less interested in sponsoring such traditional ritual events. women, particularly Husayn's sister Zaynab, to speak out publicly against Yazid. Scholars of literature and drama as well as government agencies attempted to preserve this theatrical tradition is portrayed by the Shi'a as notably corrupt, immoral, and oppressive. Hence, Husayn's in the 1970s, and again in the 1980s and 1990s. However, rebellion and subsequent martyrdom is understood by the unlike the Qajar period, which was the heyday of the ta ziya Shi'a as an epic struggle between good and evil. For the Shi'a ritual, the dominant public rituals since the 1930s have this event has served as a vindication of the Shi'ite cause in the been the Muharram processions, and various forms of the face of Sunni criticism, as well as constituting the central rawza khani. event in their understanding of human history. See also Hosayniyya; Rawza-Khani; Taqiyya.

Historical Development

Following the battle itself, popular elegies of the martyrs

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were composed. However, the earliest reliable account of the Chelkowski, Peter, ed. *Ta ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*. performance of public mourning rituals was recorded in 963 New York: New York University Press, 1979. C.E. during the reign of Mu'izz al-Dawla, the Buyid ruler of Hegland, Mary Elaine. "The Majales-Shi'a Women's Rituals of southern Iran and Iraq. When the Safavid dynasty came to Mourning in Northwest Pakistan." In *A Mixed Blessing: Gender and Religious Fundamentalism Cross Culturally*. Edited power in Iran a new type of ritual called rawza-khani emerged, by Judy Brink and Joan Mencher. New York and London: consisting mainly of a ritual sermon recounting and mourn-Routledge, 1997. ing the tragedy of Karbala. This ritual was based on texts like

Pelly, Sir Lewis. "The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husayn." Husayn Va ez Kashfi's 1502 composition entitled *Rawzat al-Collected from Oral Traditions*. London: Wm. H. Allen and shuhada (The garden of martyrs). Kashfi's text was a synthesis Co., 1879.

of a long line of historical accounts of Karbala by religious scholars.

Kamran Aghaie

By the time the Qajar dynasty took power in Iran in 1796, the rawza-khani ritual had evolved into the much more elaborate ritual called shabih-khani or ta ziya. The ta ziya, an elaborate theatrical performance of the Karbala story based on the same narratives used in the rawza-khani, involved a is one of today's most contested terms. It is widely large cast of professional and amateur actors, a director, a polemically to delegitimize both state-sponsored violence staging area, costumes, and props. lence as well as counter-state insurgencies. Although there is

TERRORISM

Terrorism

used

Islam and the Muslim World

691

Terrorism

as yet no scholarly consensus in defining and theorizing about resistance differed within and among the many groups at the subject, there is some agreement that terrorism involves work, regardless of whether or not this resistance was articulated the threat and actual use of violence against civilians to bring related in terms of national struggle and liberation, as with about political, social, and economic change. During the late many early resistance movements, or in religious terms through twentieth century, political elites, state intelligence agencies, the concept of jihad, a concept that acquired greater salience the establishment media, and an array of experts (qualified in the 1970s. At that time, revisionist formulations of classical and unqualified) began to use the term to describe the Islamic jihad doctrine by Islamist ideologues such as Abu Imilitant tactics of various movements and organizations, A la al-Maududi (1903–1979) and Sayyid Qutb (1903–1966) none more than those connected with Islam. The subject is were adapted by radical Islamic groups to legitimate the use considerably more complicated, however. of violence, first against agents of secular, pro-Western nation-states, and subsequently against civilian populations.

Origins and Meanings of the Term

The origin of the word "terror" in Latin-derived languages is Groups as diverse as the European anarchists, Viet Cong, the French *terreur*, which assumed its modern meaning in the Irish

Republican Army, Nicaraguan Sandinistas, and Nelson Mandela's context of the French Revolution. Following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1789, the new government established its laws and its authority through a "reign of terror," which has been used generically to characterize incidents of violence inspired in the population a constant fear of arrest and attacks by Jewish guerillas against the British such as the execution. In this context, terrorism was understood as fear during the Mandate Period; the 1972 killings of Israeli Olympic athletes in Munich at the hands of Palestinian Liberation of violence. This definition also applies to the totalitarian Organization gunmen; violence committed by agents of states of the twentieth century. More contemporarily, however, the Islamic Republic of Iran at home and abroad since 1979; the assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat by the Jihad group in 1981; the 1983 bombing of a United States Marine barracks in Beirut and the kidnappings of westerners In Arabic, the term irhab is commonly used today as the equivalent for "terrorism," its meanings largely affected by Algerian government since the mid-1990s; and attacks against Israeli forces and civilians. While anti-Soviet Muslim combatants English and French. Irhab, derived from arhaba ("to frighten," "to strike with fear," or "to terrify"), never appears in the tary support from the United States from 1979 to 1988 as "freedom Qur an, though its imperfect verbal form occurs once. The fighters" (a loose translation of mujahidin), spin-off organizations such as al-Qa ida and the Taliban have come to epitomize utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to terrify what many now call terrorism.

(yurhibuna) thereby the enemies of God, your enemies, and others whom you do not know, but God knows" (8:60). The In the wake of the 11 September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the administration of George W. Bush placed the war against terrorism, known officially as Operation Enduring Freedom, at the top of its

discourses on jihad. Other variations of the same root appear- foreign and domestic political agendas. This new anti-terrorism policy ing in the Qur'an refer to humanity's awe of God, particularly led to large-scale military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as an appellation for Christian monks (ruhban). Since the 1980s, irhab has been widely used in Arabic political rhetoric in the United States, including mass deportations, detentions, and condemnation of Israel's use of military force. Egyptian political tions, and curtailment of the civil rights of immigrants and elites and government-controlled media usually use the term visitors to the country—especially those coming from the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia and who may be Muslims.

More Recent Usages

After the Second World War, movements countering colonialism and imperialism grew in strength and influence in Western and Arab states—interpreted these events has The way Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the Middle East (for had a profound effect on how terrorism is identified today. example, Israel/Palestine, Egypt, Algeria, and Iran), national- The incidents described above reflect many different nationalist and Islamic movements engaged in active and, at times, texts and many different kinds of violence. What links them violent opposition to Western powers and the emergent analytically is that various actors have described each as client regimes they supported. Then, as now, the means of terrorist activity. When attempting to identify terrorism,

692

Islam and the Muslim World

Thaqafi, Mukhtar al-

however, the term's broad use offers little guidance in de- Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust War*. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Defining Terrorism Today

Juan Eduardo Campo

How we define "terrorism" creates the intellectual frame-

Caleb Elfenbein

work that delimits the explanations available to us in working to understand an event or series of events. Most states, and much of the international community, now define terrorism as the use of force by non-state actors, a definition that THAQAFI,

MUKHTAR AL-

focuses analytic attention on the violence of resistance at the (C. 622–687) expense of attention to violence perpetrated by the state. The analytic and conceptual shift in the meaning of terrorism in Mukhtar b. Abi Ubayd al-Thaqafi took over Kufa (in Iraq) for a year the last decades of the twentieth century has had important and a half during the Second Civil War (fitna, set off by the consequences. Rather than focusing on the causes that lead to murder of Husayn in 680), as the Zubayrids and violent resistance, discussions of terrorism are often limited Marwanids struggled for control of the empire in succession to questions about the legitimate use of force to eliminate it. to the Sufyanid branch of the Umayyad caliphs. Mukhtar initially supported the Zubayrids but later, in 685, he deposed Brought into greater relief, the modern meaning of terrorism comes out of the use of violence to justify and preserve Hanafiyya (d. 700), son of Ali by a concubine of the Hanafi a regime of law, relations of power, or, more broadly, a way of tribe. When Mukhtar sent an armed force to Medina, the life. While all states use violence to protect the authority of Zubayrids released Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, who, how the law and the state itself, those using violence to resist state ever, declined to join Mukhtar in Kufa. In 686, he defeated a authority do so in order to undermine that authority. Both Marwanid army from Syria, but soon after, the Zubayrids of Basra kinds of violence aim at a similar end: creating and maintaining a system that orders the world. In fact, when seen in a Kufa. After perhaps six months, Mukhtar was killed in battle. Four years broader context, state terror and non-state terror legitimize later, the Zubayrids themselves were driven out of each other, marginalizing alternatives to that violence. Iraq by the Marwanids, who refounded the Umayyad dynasty on the principle of vigorous direction from Syria. Defining terrorism in terms of “essential meanings” of Islam—or of any religious tradition—provides little help in Mukhtar’s history is difficult to make out because of the understanding how violence functions. Violence is not par-vagaries of transmission between his time and that of our ticular to a specific religion, or to religion in general, or to a sources in the ninth century. The difficulty is further aggravated because numerous socio-political organization, though it is vated because numerous politico-religious factions have had indelibly part of both. The term “terrorism” used to describe an interest in dissociating themselves from him. It does seem,

any and all violent activity unsanctioned by a sovereign state however,
that non-Arab converts were prominent among his
or by international authority is insufficient to arrive at a soldiers
and that some elements of his program were taken up
nuanced understanding of events. As a result, the term “ter- by later
radical Shi ites, including the early Abbasids, while
rorism” should be limited to a heuristic role, and should not other
elements, such as the concept of a mahdi, or a reformer who
be used as an explanatory tool in analyzing specific incidents
appears at the end of time, attracted later Sunnis. The
of violence or patterns of violence.
distinctive religious tinge of Mukhtar’s reign, although now
difficult to identify with certainty, helped provoke the
See also bin Ladin, Usama; Conflict and Violence; Marwanids
to Islamize their administration.
HAMAS; Intifada; Qa ida, al-; Taliban.
See also Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya; Shi a: Early;
Succession.

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Christopher Melchert

Islam and the Muslim World

693

Theology

THEOLOGY See Disputation; Kalam; Law TITLES, ISLAMIC
See Sayyid; Sharif;
Shaykh al-Islam

TOUBA

TIMBUKTU

The city of Touba is located in the region of Diourbel in

Senegal, West Africa. It is the second largest city in Senegal. During the early medieval period, Timbuktu was a seasonal camp of Berber nomadic tribes as they took their livestock to inhabitants. The city was established in 1887 by Ahmad Bamba, the founder of the Muridiyya (Mouride) brotherhood permanent settlement in the twelfth century. By the fifteenth century, the settlement had become one of the most famous. According to tradition, the location was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel while he was seated praying. The French, fearful of Salt and gold were among the precious products sought after an uprising against their regime, did not permit Ahmad Bamba to live in Timbuktu. Merchants and scholars from North Africa Bamba to live in Touba but he continued to see it as a holy site and the center visited or settled in there during the second half of the and the center of his brotherhood. Succeeding caliphs would either live in Touba or have a principal home there. lished in Timbuktu from the fifteenth century onwards. Before his death in 1927 Ahmad Bamba began the construction of the great mosque in Touba, which is today the established by Sanhaja Berbers; Djingerey Bey; and the Oralargest mosque in Senegal. The founder's mausoleum is in Touba as are several religious and Arabic schools, libraries, of the Qur'an, the hadith, law, theology, rhetoric, logic, historical sites, and tombs of other Muridiyya leaders. The prosody, and Arabic grammar. The universities of Timbuktu city is home to the annual Muridiyya festival, the Magal. The date of the Magal marks the exile of Ahmad Bamba to Gabon, Africa and Egypt. They offered the same topics and recognizing his suffering and resistance to the French colonized each other's degrees. nial authorities. Hundreds of thousands of disciples make the pilgrimage every year to pray at the founder's tomb and to celebrate their religion. Especially during the immediate premedieval Western Sudan are the Ta rikh al-Sudan (History of and post-independence periods, when Muriddiyya caliphs played a large role in the political process of Senegal, Touba researcher) were written by Timbuktu scholars: Abd al- was a major

seat of political as well as religious power.

Rahman al-Sa di and Mahmud Ka ti, respectively. During See also
Africa, Islam in; Bamba, Ahmad; Tariqa.

the 1990s, the al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation published catalogues of
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See also Africa, Islam in; Kunti, Mukhtar al-. (1995):
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Lucy Creevey

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TRADITIONALISM

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Tarikh al-Sudan down to 1613 and Other Contemporary The term
traditionalism is commonly used to describe the

Documents. Leiden : Brill, 1999. early Islamic

movement that coalesced around the ideas of

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) during the mihna (inquisition, c.

833–847). Traditionalism indicates the loose configuration of

Ousmane Kane scholars who rejected the rationalist interpretation of
Islamic

694

Islam and the Muslim World

Translation

theology proposed by the Mu tazili school of thought. Tradi- originals
were lost. Arabic translations preserved the works of

tionalists were also known as the Hashwiyya (promoters of other Greek
writers, such as Euclid, Rufus of Ephesus,

farce) by their rationalist opponents who argued that there Nicolaus of
Damascus, Porphyry, and Proclus. Hunayn bewas little scholarly depth to

traditionalist ideas. Central to queathed his translation legacy to his
son, Ishaq ibn Hunayn

traditionalism was the rejection of the doctrine of the created (d. 910).

Hunayn and his school created a genuine home in

Qur an, which held, contrary to traditionalist views, that the the Arabic
language for a rich repertoire of new ideas and

Qur an was not eternal and was revealed ad hoc in response to concepts.

Most of the major translators were Christian, with specific crises in the life of the prophet Muhammad. Traditionalism, however, should not be confused with the term translated from the Syriac, and Thabit b. Qurrah (c. 834–901), a Sabian from Harran. gaged in the development and promotion of hadith literature as a major component of Islamic theology and law (the Translation was almost entirely devoted to scientific, medical, and philosophical works. Philosophical texts were paraphrased and included commentaries for Arabic students. traditionists (i.e., proponents of hadith), not all muhaddithun Simplified adaptations of the works of Plato and Aristotle agreed with the anti-rationalist tendency of the group that were known in Arabic. Another area of great intellectual came to embrace Ibn Hanbal. In contemporary discussions of interest was Neo-Platonism, particularly the works of the Islam, the term traditionalism has come to refer to Islamic Egyptian Plotinus (c. 200–269 C.E.), and of his disciple Porrevivalists (so-called fundamentalists) due to their links to Ibn phyry (233–301).

Hanbal through the writings of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328). However, modern traditionalism has little similarity to the would be wrong to overemphasize the impact of ideas that gave rise to anti-rationalist groups in early Islam. on Islam’s religious life and culture. Only a small Contemporary traditionalism is loosely based on the idea that educated elites was shaped by the influence of Greek all individuals have the faculties of reason necessary, when intellectual ideas. The Qur’an survived the critical Greek combined with piety and a reading knowledge of Arabic, to to endure as the great devotional and missionary discern on their own the will of God, an idea that would have religion, conveying the sounds and tones of the been anathema to Ibn Hanbal and early traditionalist thought. sacred Arabic of Scripture to multitudes of adherents down the centuries and scattered well beyond the Arab See also Hadith; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn Taymiyya; Mihna. heartlands.

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Islam has maintained a remarkable consistency in promoting the nontranslatable status of the Qur'an. That may account in part for the relative unity of faith and practice Lawrence, Bruce. *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt Against the Modern Age*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989. among Muslims who are otherwise characterized by an extraordinary diversity of race, language, culture, and social status. Without an institutional central authority to enforce Makdisi, George. "Ash'ari and Ash'arites in Islamic Religious doctrine and to adjudicate the affairs of believers, Islam has History." *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 37–80; 18 (1963): 19–39. nevertheless continued to enjoy a degree of solidarity that is belied by its organizational decentralization. It happens that R. Kevin Jaques only a minority of the world's one billion Muslims is Arab in language and culture, yet for all Muslims the Holy Qur'an in the original Arabic is divine oracle. Rather than impede the spread of Islam, this fact has been the basis of the appeal of the TRANSLATION religion in societies even beyond the Arab heartland. The language of scripture has been a major force in establishing boundaries Scholars working under the sponsorship of Muslim patrons and shaping identity for new communities in Islam. undertook the translation of works on Greek philosophy and scientific learning and transmitted them to the West. The Qur'an bears witness to its own unique and manifest status as early and particularly fertile center for translation was Jundi- Arabic speech (12: 1–3; 16: 105; 41: 41–42), a celestial Shapur in Khuzistan, southeast of Baghdad. There the discourse designed for repeated recitation "whereat shiver the Bukhtishu, a family of physicians at the court of the caliph, skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and their became energetic translators of Greek works on medical hearts soften to the remembrance of God" (39: 23). matters. Hunayn ibn Ishaq (808–873), based in Baghdad, The Qur'an as the "essence of divine speech" is sublime and wise translated the medical as well as ethical and philosophical guidance for the faithful, and is preserved in its Arabicness with God as works of Galen, which were preserved in Arabic long after the such (43: 3).

Islam and the Muslim World

695

Translation

The transmission of Islam has been accompanied by little

understood, they possessed still great beauty and music, adaptations in local practice and understanding, and, accordingly, the Qur'an has been appropriated to reflect new situations, whether as divine oracle, rule book, breviary, vademecum, peritext, or as universal template. There being no rival versions of the Qur'an, Muslims possess in their scriptural tradition a single and unvarying standard of faith and devotion, a tradition of orthopraxy that a uniform Qur'an provided a tangible symbol of the oneness of the umma (community of believers). Through Islam's worldwide expansion the unknown, was difficult to maintain among acephalous Arabic of scripture became, according to H. A. R. Gibb, "a populations such as existed in North Africa. For more than three centuries after the introduction of Islam, the world language and the common literary medium of all Berbers there remained poorly instructed in the faith and Muslim peoples" (1974, p. 37). remained, therefore, susceptible to splintering and heresy. Although proficiency in the language of Scripture is the such defects, the Almoravid movement, launched preserve of a small circle of specialists, nevertheless the task of sought to assemble the dispersed Berber tribes under learning the holy book by rote memorization is the sacred rule in forms that were frankly outlandish: the Qur'an duty of all Muslims, scholar and sundry alike, because only sunna, for example, were discounted as too demanding that way may Muslims observe the obligatory five daily their place now taken by a periods of worship known as salat. Even though there are of strict discipline on the masses and unquestioning translations of the Qur'an, they are invalid for salat for which to the leader. Religious illiteracy became even the sacred Arabic has been instituted as a prerequisite, a rule conspicuous from the high expectations raised by that gives translations no canonical merit in the central power. religious rites.

The illiteracy aggravated the moral delinquency belonging with the fictitious nature of power, and that finally A potent connection exists between the Arabic script and provoked a reaction. An idea had been growing steadily that it Islam's sacrosanct view of language. One tradition speaks of

a subtle not The weak or Muslim To remedy in 1056, Islamic and the more Almoravid

was necessary to extend to the Berber tribesmen the unifying the human face as God's image, of language as the mark of dividends that the Ash'arite revolution had achieved in the humanity, and the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic script as eastern provinces of the caliphate. By making use of reason to containing the essence of that contained in language: the defend revelation, Ash'arism repositioned Muslim intellectual mysteries of God, humanity, and eternity. Echoes of such

tual life after its encounter with Greek ideas by stressing reverence for the sacred Arabic can be found in mosque God's omnipotence (qadar) and by rejecting the naturalist calligraphy composed of Qur'anic verses and the names of inferences of anthropomorphism (tajsim).

God, the Prophet, the shahada (profession of faith), and the early caliphs. Calligraphic art has spread widely, and with it Transferred to North Africa, these Ash'arite ideas would an iconographic reverence for the sacred script. Muslim have a major impact on religion, state, and society. In the devotions involve rhythmic chanting (tartil) of the Qur'an. circumstances of political fragmentation and religious syncretism that characterized North Africa in the eleventh The widespread iconographic reverence for the language century, a movement of reaction and revolution erupted to and script of the Qur'an led travelers in the far regions of the channel pent up forces through a political outlet under a Islamic world to comment on the prominence given to study charismatic leader. This leader was Ibn Tumart (d. 1130), of the Qur'an and to its use in canonical worship. Thus did founder of the militant Almohad (al-muwahhidun) counter-

Ibn Battuta recount how Muslim Africans were punctilious in revolution against the lackadaisical Almoravids.

mosque attendance and zealous in learning the Qur'an, testifying that parents "put their children in chains if they show Ibn Tumart assumed power and had the Qur'an translated

any backwardness in memorizing it, and they are not set free into his native Berber; he ordered the call to prayers (adhan) until they have it by heart." Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden to be

given in Berber; the Friday sermon (khutba) likewise was (1832–1912), a pan-African visionary of West Indian origin, delivered in his mother tongue; and he required the clerics, made a close study of Islam and Muslim life, noting that even the ulema, to know and function in that language. He arat the margins of the Muslim world the untranslated Qur'an ranged for his own theological writings to be circulated in

held a particularly high position. He said he saw evidence of Berber as well as Arabic. Such translation activity stimulated the Holy Book exerting a powerful influence on nonliterate

sentiments of local nationalism, though it conflicted with Ibn populations, providing a ground of unity for the disparate Tumart's own aims of integrating Berber Islam into the tribes and a sentiment of loyalty that promoted a sense of unified Ash arite and Ghazalian tradition that he so much admired. Undertaking his ambitious translation enterprise as a facet were held in the greatest reverence and esteem. Although for many Muslim Africans the words of the Arabic Qur an were North Africa, Ibn Tumart ended by producing a variation so

696

Islam and the Muslim World

Translation

colorful and so rare as to amount to a serious rupture with in West Africa. Swahili verse and prose literature have func- tioned to impress on the fabric of popular life images of Islam drawn from the Arabic classics: accounts of the Prophet in The nationalist impulse of language reform and religious popular praise songs; studies of the origins of the Islamic state; renewal converged again much later, during the Ottoman stories of the caliphs and the Prophet's companions; Empire. By the late nineteenth century this linguistic nation- devotional literature tied to the religious calendar; exegetical works alism was gaining a foothold within and without. Students exchange from the empire returned from their studies in European and study in shops, markets, and private homes. Swahili universities with a heightened sense of national identity. has thus worked in favor of Islam's penetration into Works on Turkish language and grammar, some the result of coastal and transient populations of East Africa. European Orientalist scholarship, were coming into general Hausa circulation. Works in European languages, particularly French, verse and prose have had a comparable effect on the Hausa were translated into Turkish. Hungarian and Polish refugees, century an people of Nigeria and beyond. Early in the nineteenth era of revolution and reform produced an environ- ment Turkish. Russian Turks brought a strong sense of national conducive to the large-scale use of written Hausa in identity, infusing the Turkish language with a sense of his- Arabic script. That in turn inspired a corresponding pantorical destiny. These impulses coalesced into the Turkish Islamic sensibility among scholars. Writers in Hausa ap-

Society, founded in Istanbul in 1908. The society was dedicated to the Arabic classics, including the literature produced during the Abbasid caliphate, to reform local practice including the advancement of language and literature. As part and to implement the religious canon. The reformers drew upon the Qur'an, the hadith, the history, and the legal and of its aggressive program of secularization, the new political biographical traditions to create structures and institutions in authorities set about reforming religious life and practice. In their part of the Muslim world, and the gains they made 1929 Arabic and Persian were abolished as subjects of instruction in schools to facilitate the teaching and spread of Turkish. A reorganization of religious schools and mosques was undertaken. For its part, Fulfulde enjoyed a long and distinguished role undertaken, with the requirement that the language of worship be Turkish, and that all prayers and sermons be in the Qur'an school and beyond. The educational syllabus was national language, and not Arabic. Measures were adopted to based on a four-stage process: introducing the Arabic alphabet, translating the Qur'an and the hadith into Turkish, with money (janguol), writing (windugol), Scriptural exegesis in Fulfulde voted for the scheme in 1932. In that year for the first time the (firugol), and higher studies (fennu; Arabic, ilm awfaq). Religious adhan resounded from minarets in Turkish. catechism was conducted in Fulfulde. All this linguistic activity laced Fulbe national feeling with a heightened sense of Beginning in 1928 with the adoption of a new Latin Islamic exceptionalism. Beginning with the reforms of alphabet to replace Arabic, a vigorous, if at times overenthusiastic, language reform program was undertaken. The Turk-Fodio of northern Nigeria in 1804, the Fulbe became energetic sponsors of reform in West African Islam and the self-proclaimed defenders of Sunni orthodoxy. Under Fulbe hegemony, the Although some of the excesses of this linguistic purge were later reversed, the language reforms achieved the goal of accommodationists among the local Muslim clerics were closing a crucial gap between written and spoken Turkish, decried as ulama al-su, the "venal clerics," and charged with giving birth to a new sense of national identity. The attempts allowing scriptural standards to slip and political corruption to carry the translation efforts into the mosque failed because to spread.

Literacy in Arabic, however limited, became a criterion of clerical opposition. A similar fate befell attempts in India to reform and renewal. Such limited literacy retranslate the Islamic canonical rites into Hindi, in that case sented precious intellectual capital in marginal Muslim sociealso for reasons of trying to bring Islam into line with the ties, and the Fulbe reformers deployed it to great effect.

national sentiment. Literate clerics, accordingly, became the vanguard of change in state and society.

Translation and Cross-Cultural Consolidation

These large-scale national reforms aimed at shifting people's It is not the case, however, that all literate clerics adopted devotion to the sacred script and language are testimony to the path of militancy from their privileged position as masters of the enduring influence of the Qur an on the habits and of Arabic. An outstanding example are the Jakhanke Muslim customs of Muslim peoples. Yet a different impulse has clerics of Senegambia who, as a matter of principle, have, worked in translation to fashion in people a sense of identity from medieval times, rejected jihad as well as political coand to provide boundary markers. This is the case, for option, and have instead adopted the methods of peaceful persuasion example, with Swahili in East Africa and Hausa and Fulfulde in their role as educational specialists. They have

Islam and the Muslim World

697

Travel and Travelers

introduced the Arabic of scripture and tradition in their The expansion of Islam beyond its early borders meant that such a schools by means of local languages, adapting the grammati- pilgrimage invariably required long-distance cal concepts and special vocabulary of the Qur an to local travel. The conversion of the local population to Islam travel. The usage. They created in West Africa a culture of religious and necessitated travel for both new converts and for those political moderation in spite of a bruising era of confronta- proselytizing. This expansion resulted not only from war, but tion under an anticlerical French colonial administration. At also through commerce as traveling merchants established trading the hands of the pacific clerics, translation assured the re- posts farther away from Islam's original center. newal of Islam and its continuing vitality as a pillar of civil society without the compromise of armed intervention or The most fundamental values of Islam have tended to encourage a state enforcement.

high degree of social mobility and to free movement of individuals from one city and region to another.

See also Arabic Language; Ibn Battuta; Persian Language; Travel was promoted through Islamic culture and put great emphasis on language and Literature; Qur'an; Science, Islam and egalitarian behavior in social relations based on the ideal of a community allegiance to one God.

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Travel was made easy by the dynamics of social life
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play of relations among individuals striving to conform to Islamic moral standards. Wherever an individual traveled, Gibb, H. A. R. *Arabic Literature: An Introduction*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

and moral dictates of Islam largely applied. The language
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Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1968. all but ensured a persistent dispersion of architects, writers, craftsmen,

legal scholars, scribes, Sufi divines, and theologians outward
Nasr, S. H. *Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study*. London: World of Islam Festival Publishing Company Ltd., 1976. frontiers of Muslim activity.

O'Leary, De Lacy. *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948. The members of the cultural elite maintained during

traveling a close tie with the greater cities of the central part
Rosenthal, Franz. *The Classical Heritage in Islam*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

scattering of literate and skilled Muslims across several continents, but an
Sanneh, Lamin. *The Crown and the Turban: Muslims and West* integrated, growing, self-replenishing network
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A great

interest in knowledge and learning has been a

Walzer, Richard. Greek into Arabic: Essays in Islamic Philoso- common thread

of Islam from its earliest days. Travel solely

phy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.

in search of

knowledge has been an integral part of the

intellectual life of the Islamic world. The scholarly class was

Lamin Sanneh an extraordinarily mobile group, who circulated incessantly

from one city and country to another, studying with renowned professors,

leading diplomatic missions, and taking

up posts in mosques and government chanceries.

TRAVEL AND TRAVELERS

Scholars from the more remote part of the Islamic world

Travel has been a part of the Islamic culture from the traveled to

the countries considered central to Islam in

beginning. The obligation of every Muslim, once in a life- search of

civilized models, higher knowledge, and learned

time, to make the pilgrimage, or hajj, to Mecca and Medina

companionship.

was an early and significant reason for much of the travel.

The need for travel and interest in it created an equal need

Before air transport the greater the distance one needed to for knowledge of

geography and navigation both on land and

travel on the hajj the more the journey tended to become a sea. As a

consequence the rihla, or book of travels, emerged.

grand study tour of the greater mosques and madrasas of the The genre

recounted for the reader the journey to Mecca

Muslim heartland. It was an opportunity for the traveler to with

information and entertainment of religious sites on

acquire knowledge. the route.

698

Islam and the Muslim World

Tribe

A copy of a Catalan map showing North Africa appears in the organize

the different segments of the tribe in a network of

volume two color insert. mutual

rights and responsibilities. Typically, the smallest

tribal segment is the household made up of one or more

See also Biruni, al-; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Pilgrim-

patrilineally related families; a number of such households

age: Hajj. make up

the next ascending segment, or lineage. Among the

Bedouins, this level of organization is known as fakhd; mem-

BIBLIOGRAPHY bers of a

fakhd or lineage usually lay claim to a common

Eickelman, Dale F., and Piscatori, James, eds. Muslim Travel- grazing

territory, brand their herds with the same symbol,
lers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination. and are
collectively liable to pay blood money in the case of a
Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California murder
committed by one of their memebtrs. A number of
Press, 1990. related

lineages are grouped into the next all-encompassing
level of the tribe, or qabila; in some parts of the Arabic-
Thyge C. Bro speaking Middle East, this level is also referred to as
ashira.

The tribe is thus the largest named unit of incorporation
constructed on a genealogical framework. While today tribes
serve mainly as reference groups for related lineages, in the
TRIBE past they

played an important role in the political life of the
region. Each tribe united behind a paramount chief who
The English word tribe is an ambivalent term that is used
acted as a military commander in intertribal warfare. Tribal
indiscriminately to refer to a wide variety of social groupings
members typically share a strong sense of common heritage
that range from small, preliterate, and relatively isolated
that goes beyond that of common descent. They tend to
communities in the Amazon jungles of South America to
speak one dialect, dress in a distinctive style, and have their
large, powerful confederacies whose chiefs are members of
own customs and traditions.

the national political elite such as the case of the Bakhtiyari of
southwest Iran. In what follows, the concepts of “tribe” and
Tribes have a long and complicated history in the Middle
“tribalism” are discussed in the specific context of the Mid-
East; unlike the case for other parts of the world, tribes did
dle East. not

disappear with the formation of nation-states in the
region. In fact, the historical coexistence of state and tribe
The Arabic term for tribe is qabila (pl. qaba il). The word
lends a unique texture to Middle Eastern human geography.
qabila is mentioned in the Qur an: “ O mankind: we have
Beginning with the Islamic conquest in the seventh century
created you from a male and a female and made you into
(itself carried out by Arab tribal forces) tribes and tribal
peoples and tribes [qaba il] that you may know each other”
confederacies have played a key role in the creation and
(49:13). In its most common usage, qabila refers to a named
disintegration of several Islamic imperial dynasties such as
group of people who share an ideology of common descent in
the Abbasids, the Ottomans, and the Qajars. Equally signifi-
the male line, claim a common geographical territory, and are

cant were the many tribes who managed to maintain their politically united under the leadership of a chief, called a autonomy in defiance of state rule. This was the case with the shaykh in Arabic, or khan in Persian and Turkish. As such, the Bedouin tribes of Arabia, the Kurds of the Zagros mountains, concept of “tribe” and “tribalism” is used to simultaneously and the large tribal confederacies of Iran like the Bakhtiyari indicate a personal and group identity, a form of social organization, and a distinct political structure. and the Qashqa i.

As a source of personal and group identity, tribal affilia- In the mountain and desert areas of Kurdistan, the Aration can be analogous to ethnicity albeit on a more limited bian Peninsula, and Iran, tribally organized confederacies scale; it confers a distinct identity on its members, binding managed to escape the reach of the state and maintain their them together in a distinct moral code expressed most com- independence well into the twentieth century. Following the monly in the idiom of honor, courage, and personal auton- breakup of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War omy. Tribal identity, based on ties of kinship (real or fictitious), and the arrival of European colonial powers in the region, the is further reinforced by the common practice of close endog- role of tribes in the newly formed nation-states assumed a amy that favors the marriage of a man to his father’s brother’s new significance. In their effort to stem anticolonial and daughter. Among Arabic speakers, intratribal bonds and nationalist movements in the region, colonial powers encourgroup cohesion are expressed in the idiom of asabiyya, or aged tribal separatism by promoting tribal identities and group solidarity, based on blood ties and common descent. reinforcing the authority of tribal leaders. This policy of “divide and rule” came to an end after the Second World Tribal systems of sociopolitical organization are also based War, which marked the end of colonialism in the region. on the ideology of common descent from a founding ances- Seeking to promote national unity, the policy of the newly tor; some pastoral nomads, like the Bedouins of the Arabian independent governments aimed at integrating the tribes and Syrian deserts, keep elaborate genealogies that serve to into the nation-state. In cases of pastoral nomadic tribes such

Islam and the Muslim World

Turabi, Hasan al-

as the Bedouins of Arabia and the Qashqa i of Iran, this took in the

national reconciliation process and became a significant force in the Islamization policies initiated by Numayri. Although al-Turabi did not have a direct role in drafting “the September Laws” of 1983 that imposed a version of Islamic law on Sudan, he and his group gained prominence in the new context. When Numayri was overthrown in 1985, al-Turabi reorganized the central governments. Tribal leaders have been generally reorganized the Brotherhood as the National Islamic Front (NIF), which co-opted or were absorbed into the national elite. But while (NIF), which emerged as the third largest party in the new context. their political role has been generally undermined, tribes and parliamentary system. NIF was able to prevent the repeal of tribalism remain an important component of Middle Eastern the September Laws and kept Islamic issues in the forefront of the cultural landscape. Supplanted by nationalist and Islamist of the Sudanese political agenda. ideologies, tribalism as an ideology has not disappeared. Tribal identity and tribal ties continue to be an important Al-Turabi’s role was transformed in 1989, when a military coup led by source for self-reference and social organization for many Hasan Umar Bashir established an Islamist-style people in the region. military regime in which al-Turabi was the ideological mentor. Throughout the 1990s, the Bashir-Turabi alliance at- See also Asabiyya; Bedouin; Ethnicity. tempted to create a new political system. The regime engaged in severe violations of human rights and the civil war between

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the central government and the southern region intensified as a result of military intransigence and the NIF’s agenda of Islamizing the Middle East. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Islamizing the whole country. In 1998 and 1999, Bashir Inc., 2001. relieved al-Turabi of all official posts and al-Turabi became a marginal force in Sudanese politics. Khoury, Philip S., and Kostiner, Joseph, eds. Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990. During the 1970s and 1980s, al-Turabi’s ideas became widely known in the Muslim world. He called for significant renewal of the whole structure of Islamic legal thought and developed important concepts of Islamic democracy. His

writings on the importance of gender equality in Islam were controversial but gained him a reputation as an Islamic liberal
TURABI, HASAN AL- (1932–)

activist. However, the failures of the NIF regime in the 1990s
Hasan al-Turabi is a Sudanese political leader and Islamist and its
excesses in blocking human rights reforms meant that
intellectual. Al-Turabi's family was well known and had a
al-Turabi's international visibility and reputation declined by
recognized tradition of piety. Al-Turabi's father was one of the end of
the twentieth century.

the first Sudanese to be trained as a judge in the British system
of administering Islamic law in Sudan, and Hasan received a BIBLIOGRAPHY
traditional Islamic education from his father along with his Affendi,
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modern education in the government-supported system. In in Sudan.
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secondary school and then at the University of Khartoum, al- Esposito,
John L., and Voll, John O. Makers of Contemporary
Turabi became active in the small, Islamically oriented stu- Islam.
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dent groups. He studied in London and received a doctorate
Hamdi, Mohamed Elhachmi. The Making of an Islamic Politifrom the Sorbonne. He
returned to Sudan in 1964, in time to cal Leader. Boulder, Colo.:
Westview, 1999.

be a visible participant in the October Revolution that overthrew the military
regime of Ibrahim Abboud.

John O. Voll

In the second period of civilian parliamentary politics in
Sudan (1964–1969), al-Turabi led the Sudanese Muslim
Brotherhood (established in the 1950s) into an important
place in Sudanese politics. It was not a mass party but was well TUSI,
MUHAMMAD IBN AL-HASAN

organized among students and professionals, and was able to (SHAYKH
AL-TA IFA) (995–1067)

give prominence in Sudanese politics to issues of Islamic
identity. The Brotherhood continued this role in changing Muhammad b.
Hasan al-Tusi (d. 1067), who was given the

political contexts. Al-Turabi's Brotherhood was the core of honorific
“Shaykh of the sect” (shaykh al-ta ifa), was an

the Islamic Charter Front in the 1960s, and then became part important
Imami Shi ite thinker of the early period. He

of the opposition to the military regime established by Ja far hailed from
Tus in Khorasan, but made his name in Baghdad.

al-Numayri in 1969. In the late 1970s, al-Turabi participated His work
represents both of the two main trends in early

Islam and the Muslim World

Tusi, Nasir al-Din

Twelver Shi'ism: rationalism and hadith study. His commentary on the Qur'an (tafsir), al-Tibyan, exemplifies this trend as to work for the Isma'ilis at various Iranian fortresses, including Quhistan, until he transferred to the Isma'ili castle at

meaning of each Qur'anic verse. His hadith works, the most famous being al-Tahdhib and al-Istibsar, are more than mere as a political advisor in 1247. Subsequent to the collections, but are also detailed expositions of the legal victory over Baghdad (1257), he was encouraged by employment of the traditions of the imams. His work in law found an observatory at Maragha in Azerbaijan, proper was similarly sophisticated, particularly his Uddat al-usul (a work in the principles of jurisprudence) and al-Mabsut time. His courtly duties included supervision of waqf (one of his many works of law). Tusi also wrote theological position that he retained under the Mongol leader works, in which arguments in the Mu'tazilite style were used until Tusi's death in 1274. Two critical issues conalongsides more text-based justification for the imamate. His cerning his religious persuasion and political stance remain

activities in bibliography and biography enabled the discipline of biography (ilm al-rijal) to develop into a sophisticated science in Twelver Shi'ism. His prolific output as a whether his involvement in the fall of Alamut and scholar can, in part, be explained by the criticism of the respectively, entailed treachery or prudence. G. M. Twelver tradition by Sunni intellectuals—that they lacked a sufficient corpus of respectable writings. Tusi's response was holds the view that Tusi's alignment with the Mongols to compile and collate works of great importance.

possible the continuance in new and flourishing forms of Islamic learning, law and civilization," a point that under-

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Tusi's political acumen under difficult circumstances.

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governor

Alamut,

entourage

Mongol

Hulagu to

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Abaqa,

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Ethics

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only a

handful have survived. Apart from his many scientific Press, 1998.

works, his noteworthy texts include the Hall mushkilat al-Isharat, a commentary on Ibn Sina's al-Isharat as well as a Robert Gleave

refutation of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's Muhassal; an ethical treatise titled the Akhlaq-e Nasiri, which evinces the influence of Ibn Miskawaih; the Isma'ili-inspired works Tasawwurat

TUSI, NASIR AL-DIN (1201–1274) (also

known as Rawdat al-taslim) and the autobiographical

Sayr wa Suluk; the Twelver-Shi'ite kalam or theological

Nasir al-Din Tusi, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Muhammad b. works

Tajrid al-aqa'id and Qawa'id al-Aqa'id; and a mystical

al-Hasan, was a Shi'ite philosopher, theologian, astronomer, work

titled Awsaf al-Ashraf. An original and innovative thinker,

mathematician, and political advisor. Tusi was born in Tus, in his works
continue to merit attention.

northeastern Iran, and died in Baghdad, in present-day Iraq.

A man of astounding intellectual breadth, he witnessed the See also
Falsafa; Khojas.

transfer of power in the Islamic world to the Mongols.

Beginning his career as a court astronomer to the Isma'ili

Zayn R. Kassam

Islam and the Muslim World

701

U

ULEMA

translations mark the beginnings of the incorporation of the applied sciences into the curriculum of learning, to comple-

Literally "those who have knowledge" or "those who know"

ment the religious sciences, in which the ulema were already
(singular alim, plural ulama). The term is most widely used
considered expert.

to refer to the scholarly class of Muslim societies, whose main

Once established, the ulema class became a fundamental

occupation is the study of the texts that make up the Islamic

element of Muslim societies. The expansion of the Muslim

Tradition (religious sciences such as Qur'an, hadith, Qur'anic

world, incorporating many different cultures and traditions,

commentary, jurisprudence, and theology, but also the apdidi not obviate the
need for a scholarly class whose primary

plied sciences such as medicine, biology, astronomy, and

functions were to maintain the intellectual tradition and

mathematics). Members of the ulema class have also been

provide religious and scientific guidance to the population.

called upon to act as advisors to rulers, or as qadis (judges)

Their fortunes waxed and waned depending on the receptivity implementing the law (shari'a) within Muslim societies. The of the dynasties to religious influence, but the vast majority of authority of the ulema class in defining right doctrine and Muslim societies, both past and present, have included a class right practice within Islam has been immense in Muslim of scholars, usually given the generic name ulema.

history.

The authority of the ulema in matters of doctrine and law In the early period (7th–9th centuries C.E.), a separate class has been definitive. The ulema themselves, though, have of scholars concerned with the elaboration of knowledge been divided on many issues, and hence should not be viewed (ilm) took some time to develop. Most historians date the as a unified group with common aims and intentions. An emergence of a scholarly class to the early years of the example of this division can be seen in the famous Inquisition, Umayyad period, when Islamic doctrine was much debated. (mihna) from 829 onwards, when one group of scholars (the Debates concerning the constituent elements of faith (iman), Mu tazilis) persuaded the Abbasid caliph to persecute (and or predestination (qadr), as well as the transmission of hadith declare as heretics) scholars who did not adhere to the (from the Prophet or other notable figures) and legal doctrine doctrine of “the created Qur'an.”

(fiqh) were the principal intellectual concerns of the emerging scholarly class. Many of the ulema also, it appears, partici-

The authority and respect demanded by the ulema has pated in the opposition movements to the Umayyad caliphate.

usually been justified on the simple basis of a practical

Some viewed them as deviating from true Islam in their division of labor. Not all members of society have the time, leadership of the Muslim empire, and wished to put forward skills, or the inclination to dedicate their lives to the study

the

a more sophisticated religio-intellectual criticism of the necessary to determine right doctrine and practice. Hence, it Umayyads. It was, however, in the Abbasid period that the

is

argued, a class of society that dedicates itself to this task ulema began to gain both political influence and popular should be instituted, and since these matters affect each respect, as Abbasid caliphs and their wazirs sponsored institu- individual's fate (both in this world and in the afterlife), the tional schools in which scholars could develop the intellectual guidance of this class is of paramount importance. In the area foundations of Islam. It was early in this period that the legal matters, this attitude was enshrined in the theory of ulema, with the support of some caliphs, became interested in

of

taqlid, whereby the Muslim community is divided between the Greek tradition of philosophy and science, and works in scholars and those who follow the rulings of the scholars languages other than Arabic began to be translated. These (typically called the muqallids).

Ulema

Apart from this practical justification for the ulema's the ideal political system, but believed that the imam had authority, scholars also turned to the Qur an. Q. 4:59 states gone into hiding (ghayba). Since there was no ideal political leader "Obey God, the Prophet and those in authority amongst other than this missing imam, Twelver Shi ites were you." Many Sunni scholars argued that "those in authority" greatly concerned with the issue of community authority. A theory of probably refers to the ulema (some also included the political "delegation" (niyaba) was therefore needed. The rulers in the category). Similarly, Q. 16:43: "Ask the people of Twelver Shi ites recognized a succession of Twelve Imams remembrance if you do not know" was interpreted by Sunni after the death of the Prophet. Only the first of these, Imam Ali, had scholars as exhorting the people to submit in matters of succeeded in gaining political power, and the last of knowledge to the ulema. There were also convenient hadiths, these had gone into hiding. Reports from a number of these Twelve Imams traced back to the prophet Muhammad, which could be used were interpreted to indicate that the imams to establish the ulema's status. For example, the well-known had delegated leadership of the community to the ulema in words attributed to the Prophet, "The ulema are the inheri- the absence of the Imam. tors of the Prophets," was interpreted as implying that in religious authority, the ulema were given the responsibility of In works of fiqh, one sees a gradual expansion of the ulema's announcing the message of Islam to the community. role in areas that, in early Twelver Shi ism, were seen as the prerogative of the Imam. This position faced a serious challenge when Although there were many scholars whose individual the Safavid mystical order came to power in Iran in charismatic power is well attested, their authority was ultimately based on learning. The ulema deserved this respect, Shi ism to be the state religion. Jurists either devised means whereby the not because of lineage, or familial connections, or even shah might be considered a legitimate ruler, despite the absence of the true ruler (the imam) or they

were due respect because of they had undergone a particular association with the Safavids and maintained the type of training and education that elevated their understanding of religious matters above the ordinary populace. It was on this basis that the institution of the ulema became an indispensable part of Muslim culture. The Muslim community has become more acute in the modern period. In Twelver Shi'ism, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini argued that the ulema should rule the Muslim community until the return of the Hidden Imam, a theory he had the opportunity to put into practice following the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979. In the modern Sunni Muslim world, on the other hand, one can recognize a variety of trends. Many Sunni Muslim governments have used members of the ulema to brand their government as religious in a manner reminiscent of God, whereas the ulema were appointed by the sultan and given the responsibility of enacting the law. However, one sees a reaction against the ulema, who often are characterized as obscurantist and pedantic, worrying about matters of religious technicalities, rather than the more important issues of preserving Muslim identity in the face of non-Muslim imperialism. The popularist commentaries on the Qur'an of, for example, Sayyid Qutb or Abu l-A'la Maududi, who advised the sultan on both religious and political issues, represent a rejection of the ulemas and an exhortation to "the people" to approach the divine text without the encumbrance of the scholarly tradition of learning.

Indian Mogul Empire.

This rejection of the ulema's authority in matters of religion is Al-Ghazali's influential formulation of the sultan-ulema

likely to increase as literacy and the availability of relationship can be informatively contrasted with the views of foundational texts of Islam become more widespread in the Shi'ite groups. Some Shi'ite groups, particularly the Isma'ilis Muslim world. In some Muslim countries, however, one sees in the medieval period, saw religious authority and political the re-emergence of the ulema as active political agents, power conjoined in an individual, who was given the title working for change. Two examples of this are Saudi Arabia imam. The need for a class of religious scholars who advised and Morocco. In the recent past, Saudi ulema have challenged the imam was reduced, since the imam was, himself, challenged the concentration of power in the person of the king in a mystical manner with knowledge of doctrinal and legal and his royal family. Attempts continue to be made to diffuse matters. Twelver Shi'ites also placed an imam at the apex of this power to a larger body, within which the ulema would

704

Islam and the Muslim World

Umma

play a larger role. In Morocco, legal scholars such as Muhammad cities, and distributed offices more widely among the various mad Allal al-Fasi have been at the forefront of the modernization Arabian tribes, thereby moving away from Abu Bakr's favoritization of Islamic law. Al-Fasi and others are responsible for the production of an intellectual movement in which the shari'a is considered more responsive to the needs of a society See also Caliphate; Law; Succession.

changing under the influence of new technology and science.

The ulema have, then, at different times been loathed and BIBLIOGRAPHY loved by the political establishment. However, their participation

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participation in the institutions of power remains an essential Islamic

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component of any Muslim political system wishing to call London:

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See also Knowledge; Law; Madrasa; Qadi (Kadi, Kazi);

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Shari'a; Shi'a: Imami (Twelver); Shi'a: Isma'ilis;

Succession.

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UMMA

Robert Gleave The term umma is an Arabic word. It was used sixty-two times in the Qur'an, in both the Meccan and Medinan periods. Its most common meaning is that of a group of people or a community, and it also refers to a religious community or a group of people who follow God's guidance. Most usages of umma in the Qur'an, however, are not related to the community of prophet Muhammad.

UMAR (C. 581–644) Umar b. al-Khattab al-Adawi al-Qurashi, an early Meccan companion of the prophet Muhammad, became the Prophet's second successor and is usually viewed as having done much to establish the foundations of the caliphate. The concept of a community of believers (umma) took shape during the Prophet's lifetime, first in Mecca then in Medina. In Mecca, the small group of the Prophet's followers opposed to Islam, Umar embraced it circa 615 in a reversal. Like Abu Bakr, with whom he was closely associated, Umar married a daughter of the Prophet in 625. Because of his strong personality, a motif differentiated from the rest of the Meccans. Meccan families frequently noted in the sources, he gained considerable influence. At the death of the Prophet in 632, he helped Abu Bakr to be elected as successor, and Abu Bakr in turn appointed Umar to succeed him two years later. Some followed the traditional religion of Mecca (paganism) while others followed the new religion. Religious affiliation became more important than family relationship or tribal membership. When the Prophet and his small group of followers fled Mecca to Medina, they formed, with the Muslims of Medina, a distinct community (umma) as opposed to, for firmer footing. He assumed the new title of Commander of the Believers (amir al-mu'minin), thus making clear his superior authority. He continued the campaign started by Abu

“believers” or Muslims, had a distinct identity. The early struggle of
 Bakr to expand the caliphate outside of Arabia. Under his general
 this community with non-Muslims, either in the
 rule, Syria (636), Iraq (637), Egypt (639–642), and western
 Arab rebellion (632–633) against Muslim rule from Medina, or,
 Iran (641–643) all came under Muslim rule, a transformation
 after that, with the Byzantine and Sassanid empires in
 that greatly altered the nature of the state. Internally, he
 the wars of conquest, led to a sharper view of what
 organized the state over a much larger area, founded new the Muslim
 umma was; that is, it was based on belief in one

Islam and the Muslim World

705

Umm Kulthum

God, in the prophethood of Muhammad, and in a supranational brotherhood.

UMM KULTHUM (1904?–1975)

Although some scholars have attempted to identify umma An
 accomplished and famous Egyptian singer, Umm
 with ethnicity, the understanding of umma in the Prophet’s
 Kulthum’s career extended over fifty years. Born to a poor
 time, and particularly in the post-prophetic period, became village
 family in the Egyptian delta, Umm Kulthum learned
 divorced from ethnic identity but remained firmly bound to to sing
 Muslim devotional songs by imitating her father, the
 the religious identity of Islam. In early Islam, this religious imam of the
 village mosque who sang for local occasions. She
 umma coincided with the political umma: Muslims united began to
 perform with her father, who dressed her as a boy to
 under one ruler during the periods of the Prophet, the avoid the
 opprobrium of presenting his daughter on pub-
 Rashidun caliphs, the Umayyads, and the early Abbasids. lic stages.
 However, this united political body became fragmented by
 In the early 1920s, the family moved to Cairo to work in
 the emergence of a series of separate political communities
 the lucrative world of performance and recording. At first
 among Muslims from the beginning of the ninth century
 Umm Kulthum appeared markedly rural and lower class
 onward. Despite this, the concept of umma as a common
 compared to the more sophisticated actresses and singers of
 brotherhood of all Muslims based on the two key ideas of
 the day. However, her strong voice attracted the attention of
 shared beliefs and equality has remained an ideal to which
 poet Ahmad Rami who wrote lyrics for her and taught her
 Muslims generally aspire.
 poetry. She adjusted her appearance and repertory and, by
 In the twentieth century, nationalism became an impor- the late 1920s,

commanded a busy schedule in major venues
 tant force in Muslim lands, following on the history of and one of
 the best recording contracts in the Middle East.
 fragmentation. In the same period, and despite debate as to its
 “Islamicity,” the nation-state model was adopted by Muslims,
 Between 1935 and 1946, she made six musical films. As the
 particularly after the abolition of the last, but at the time Egyptian
 economy worsened in the 1930s and the problems
 largely symbolic, Ottoman caliphate in 1924. There remains, of
 imperialist European domination persisted, Umm Kulthum
 however, significant unease among some Muslims as to where altered
 her repertory from escapist, romantic lyrics, to the
 their primary loyalty lies: with the nation-state or with Islam, terse,
 localized colloquial poetry of Bayram al-Tunisi set to
 particularly where the objectives of the two do not necessarily music by
 Zakariya Ahmad. With this, she rooted her peragree. What is emerging is a view
 that the nation-state is a formance in the sounds and meanings of local
 Egyptian words
 political reality that is here to stay but that effort must be and music.
 With Islamism growing as an alternative to
 made to ensure that Muslim nation-states as well as minori-
 Westernization in the 1940s, she sang complicated religious
 ties across the globe are brought closer to each other within and
 political qasa id (sing. qasida, a centuries-old sophisticated
 the framework of the religious umma. Instances of this are the poetic
 genre) by Ahmad Shawqi set to music by Riyadh alcreation of supra-national
 institutions such as the Organiza- Sunbati.
 tion of Islamic Conference and its subsidiaries, formed to
 In the 1950s, she recorded numerous songs in support of
 promote political and economic cooperation. More importhe Abd al-Nasser
 government and became linked with
 tantly, the concept and ideal of umma are strengthened by
 Egypt’s charismatic president as an ambassador of Egyptian
 common teachings and by religious institutions such as pilculture. In 1964, she
 joined forces with long-time rival
 grimage (hajj), an annual gathering of Muslims in Mecca.
 Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab, producing ten new songs
 While these may bring the Muslim nations closer together,
 marked by Abd al-Wahhab’s characteristic “modernity” and
 there are also divisive forces at work, represented in ideologithe historically
 Arab performance style of Umm Kulthum.
 cal, ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences.
 After the Egyptian defeat in the war with Israel in 1967,
 See also Ibadat; Modern Thought.
 Umm Kulthum toured the Arab world giving concerts to
 raise funds to replenish the Egyptian treasury. She became a
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near-mythical figure, drawing together Egyptians and Arabs
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 compelling renditions of fine poetry, her musical
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706

Islam and the Muslim World United States, Islam in

Danielson, Virginia. "The Voice of Egypt": Umm Kulthum, North
 American colonies and later the United States. Per-
 Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century. haps 10
 percent or more of all slaves in the Americas were
 Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997. Muslim,
 depending on what times and places are being
 considered. The number of Muslim slaves in the Americas
 Virginia Danielson may have increased even more during the early 1800s,
 after
 the West African Muslim leader Uthman dan Fodio (c.
 1754–1817) successfully waged a campaign to Islamize much
 of the region. Though the importation of foreign slaves to the
 UNITED STATES, ISLAM IN United
 States was officially banned in 1808, many U.S.
 residents violated the law, continuing to import slaves, in-
 Many scholars believe that Islam is the fastest growing relig- cluding
 Muslims.
 ion in the United States. While debates continue about how
 many Muslims actually live in the country—estimates range
 Despite the documented presence of Muslim slaves in the
 from 2 to 8 million persons—there is no dispute over the fact United
 States, however, there is little direct evidence that the
 that, due both to conversion and immigration, the number is practice of
 Islam was widespread among slaves in North
 on the rise. In addition, over twelve hundred mosques now America. In
 many cases, slave owners attempted to control
 operate across the United States in small towns, suburban slaves more

easily by separating families and others who locations, and inner cities. American Muslims are like a shared ethnic and linguistic ties. Though this assault did not microcosm of the Islamic world; they are diverse by race, translate into the elimination of African culture, including Islam, it class, ethnicity, linguistic group, and national origin. African did often lead to the recasting of certain customs, beliefs, and Americans, perhaps the largest racial or ethnic group of practices into different and often synthetic cul- tural forms. Muslims in America, may account for 25 to 40 percent of the Some slaves adapted certain Muslim traditions, total population. South Asian Muslims, who trace their roots like facing toward Mecca in prayer, to their practice of to India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, represent approximately Christianity. A few others, like the famous Umar ibn Sayyid 30 percent. The third largest ethnic group of Muslims in the (1770–1864), a North Carolina slave who was literate in United States traces its roots to the Arab world, including Arabic, eventually relinquished key elements of their Muslim countries in both the Middle East and North Africa. This identities, publicly converting to Christianity. Tellingly, the group may total approximately 25 percent of all Muslims in Muslims about whom the most is known generally lived in the United States. The United States is also home to thou- parts of the American South that had relatively large, isolated slave sands of Turkish, Iranian, Central Asian, Southeast Asian communities—places like the Sea Islands of Georgia where (especially Malaysian and Indonesian), southeastern Euro- African Islamic traditions stood a better chance of being pean (especially Bosnian), West African, and white and Latino preserved and passed on. American Muslims.

Thus, by the end of the Civil War, there seem to have In addition to possessing great racial and ethnic diversity, been very few practicing Muslims in the United States.

Muslims in the United States can be characterized as a Beginning in the 1870s, however, large numbers of Muslims religiously diverse population as well. Muslims in the United once again came to the shores of the New World. From 1875 States engage in a wide array of Islamic practices and adhere until the First World War, and then again from the 1920s to differing schools of Islamic thought and interpretation. until the Second World War, tens of thousands of Muslims The vast majority of Muslims, including African Americans, from the Ottoman Empire, especially Arabs from greater identify themselves as Sunni, those who follow the sunna, or Syria, traveled to the United States seeking economic opporthe traditions of the

prophet Muhammad. Some American Muslims made their homes in places as far flung as Quincy, Massachusetts, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, whose intimate and closer ties to God by traveling one of the Muslim community eventually established the Mother Mosque mystical paths of Islam. Still others are Shi'ite Muslims, of North America, one of the oldest continuously operating persons whose Islamic practice pays special attention to the Muslim communities in the United States. By 1920, hundreds of the prophet Muhammad's family in leading the hundreds of Muslims from both Anatolia and the Balkans had also community of believers. Finally, there are Muslims that do created their own chapter of the Red Crescent (the Muslim not fit easily under any of these labels, choosing to follow equivalent of the Red Cross) in Detroit, Michigan, and had obtained a interpretations of Islam that are considered unorthodox, if a cemetery where fellow Muslims could be buried not heretical by most Muslims—one famous example is the according to Islamic law. Many of these Muslims became Nation of Islam led by Minister Louis Farrakhan. peddlers, grocers, and unskilled laborers. Some eventually found jobs as farmers and factory workers, especially in the History burgeoning automobile industry in Detroit. These Muslims From the 1600s until the abolition of legal slavery in 1865, also practiced various forms of Islam. They not only identified West African Muslims were brought as slaves to the British fied themselves as Sunnis and Shi'a, but also as Druze, a

Islam and the Muslim World

707

United States, Islam in

In New York City, a Muslim street vendor observes the daily prayer ritual.
GETTY IMAGES

Syrian and Lebanese group that had long ago separated from newspaper that contained information about the movement the Shi'a; as Bektashi Sufis, a community made up mainly of and the rudimentary practices of Sunni Islam, especially daily Albanians; and as Mevlevi, the so-called whirling dervishes. prayer, almsgiving, and fasting during the month of Ramadan. The Ahmadiyya focused many of their missionary efforts on During the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Muslims in African Americans. The head missionary, Muhammad Sadiq, the United States also grew as hundreds, if not thousands, of promoted Islam as a religion of freedom and equality, often

African Americans converted, or as some African-American criticizing white Christianity's links with slavery and the Muslims would put it, reverted to Islam. These conversions destruction of African culture. This was an attractive message occurred in the context of the Great Migration, the move- and hundreds of African Americans, like P. Nathaniel Johnson of over a million and a half persons from the rural South son of St. Louis, Missouri, converted to Islam. By the mid to the more industrialized, urban North throughout the first 1920s, Johnson had become Shaykh Ahmad Din and was half of the twentieth century. Attempting to escape racism leading a multiracial community of Ahmadiyya Muslims in and economic oppression, black migrants often worked and the Gateway City. lived near immigrant Muslims who were also in search of new opportunities in cities like Detroit; St. Louis, Missouri; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Newark, New Jersey; and Chicago, during the 1920s and 1930s. Some of these groups, like the Illinois. African Americans became part of a dynamic cultural Moorish Science Temple, merely adopted certain Islamic milieu, where people from every part of the globe were names and symbols to create new African-American Islamic coming in contact with each other, confronting each other's traditions. While many scholars have dated the origins of this differences and exchanging both goods and ideas. movement to 1913, the Federal Bureau of Investigation believed that it began sometime in the 1920s, probably in This period also witnessed one of the first serious Muslim Chicago, Illinois. Adapting certain Islamic symbols from the attempts to convert Americans to Islam. The Ahmadiyya black Shriners (an African American fraternal organization movement, considered heretical by many other Muslims, was that stressed racial cooperation and self-improvement), move the first Muslim group to mass-distribute English translation movement founder Noble Drew Ali (1886–1929) taught that tions of the Qur'an, hoping to make the holy book more American blacks were actually members of the Moorish accessible to those who could not read it in Arabic. Beginning nation whose original religion was Islam. His Holy Koran of the in the 1920s, they also published the Muslim Sunrise, a Moorish Science Temple (1927), a sacred text that had no direct

independent countries in Africa and Asia where Islamic seventh century C.E., stressed the importance of morality, activists arose to challenge political regimes that stressed industry, and group solidarity, and promised that the practice nationalist and socialist rather than Islamic identities. In 1963, some of these students formed the Muslim Student Association, which would eventually become one of the largest Muslim organizations in the United States. Some other groups established by African-American Muslims, however, embraced more traditional Islamic practices, In fact, it is clear that by the 1960s, a global Islamic revival placing greater emphasis on the five pillars of Islam and on was underway, and Islam in the United States was deeply affected by the Qur'an. Among these communities, many of which can it. Many Islamic revivalists stressed the universal trace their origins to the 1930s, were the First Cleveland ity of Islam, arguing that Muslims should reject divisions Mosque, led by African-American convert Wali Akram (d. along lines of race, language, or nationality and work toward more unity in 1994); the Adenu Allahe Universal Arabic Association in the Muslim umma, or worldwide community of believers. The Buffalo, New York; and Jabul Arabiyya, a Muslim communal revival, which also called for a return to strict interpretation of the Qur'an and the hadith, attracted African American Muslims, as well. In places like the Islamic Mission groups, largely because their scholarly gaze has focused on to America in Brooklyn, New York, for example, one could find a the more controversial Nation of Islam. multiethnic and multiracial crowd of Muslims engaging the ideas of Egyptian activist Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), whose writings were being circulated all over the globe. During the peddler probably of Turkish or Iranian origin, founded the same period, some African American Muslim revivalists, Nation of Islam in the Detroit metropolitan area. By 1934, he like members of the Darul Islam movement, had disappeared, leaving Elijah Poole (1897–1975), an African-intentionally separated themselves from mainstream society, American migrant from Georgia, to continue his legacy. hoping to recalibrate the rhythms of their lives in accordance with Islamic law. Others, like Malcolm X, embraced Sunni religious claims of Noble Drew Ali, arguing that Islam was the original

practices, but insisted on the need to struggle religion of the “Blackman.” He said that Fard was God in the simultaneously for black political liberation. flesh and that he, Elijah Muhammad, was God’s Messenger, sent to resurrect black people from the dead—a teaching that meantime, more and more Muslim immigrants violated many of the most basic tenets of Sunni Islamic traditions. An advocate of black separatism, Elijah Muhammad also emphasized black economic and political independence from whites, the building of moral character, and the practice of his unique Islam as solutions to the social and economic challenges facing black America. It was not until and became successful doctors, engineers, and after the Second World War, however, that his teachings in cities and towns throughout the United States. Others were from Africa, Europe, other parts of Asia, missionary work of the articulate, fiery, and handsome Malcolm X (1925–1965), who had become a follower of Elijah Muhammad while in prison. before them, they subscribed to a variety of Islamic practices. Among just the Shi’ite immigrants, for example, there were many Twelvers. During the postwar period, the face of American Islam (the largest group of Shi’ite Muslims in the world) and was also transformed by a new wave of Muslim immigration into Ismailis, a smaller community that is itself divided into subgroups. become refugees after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 and Egyptian citizens who had been dispossessed after the mystical branch of Islam, also grew during this period. Jamal Abd al-Nasser’s revolution in 1952. Sometimes, they While there had been Sufis in the United States for some time, a larger number of white Americans began to join various Sufi groups or to follow various Sufi masters in the 1960s and works like the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, a group of more than twenty themselves

Muslims and did not practice the five pillars of Islam. Others, however, insisted on adherence to foundational Islamic practices. By the beginning of the new millennium, Sufi Islam in the United States was a multiethnic and cross-class phenomenon. The most active critics of such behavior were often foreign students in American universities. They had arrived from members of a number of different Sufi groups, including the

Islam and the Muslim World

709

United States, Islam in

Tijaniyya, Naqshbandiyya, Qadiriyya, Bektashis, Shadhiliyya, oil supplies.

In 1979, American-Islamic relations were further

Ishraqiyya, Sufi Order International, and numerous independent

when revolutionaries overthrew the U.S.-backed

shah of Iran

and then held dozens of Americans hostage for

like Carbondale, Illinois. In addition, there were pan-Sufi over a year.

Direct American military involvement in the

organizations, like the Sufi Women Organization, which Lebanese

Civil War (1982), the Persian Gulf War (1991), and

encouraged female Sufis to organize for social change among the War in

Iraq (2003) only added to these tensions.

Muslims and society in general.

In the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terrorist

The post-1965 period of American Islamic history was attacks on the

World Trade Center and the Pentagon,

also shaped by important transformations in African-American however, some

Americans began to question the deeply

Islam. The number of independent African-American Muslim embedded

prejudices against Muslims in American culture.

lim groups continued to increase as did the number of Americans of

many faiths offered support to their Muslim

individual converts—especially in prisons, where Muslim neighbors,

visited a mosque for the first time, and attended

individuals and groups, of all ethnic and religious stripes, large

interfaith prayer services. Many understood that though

reached out to male inmates. But perhaps the most important the

terrorists may have been Muslim, they did not act on

event of this period was the death of Elijah Muhammad in behalf of

Islam. Other Americans, however, continued to

1975. After inheriting the leadership of the Nation of Islam,

argue that Islam itself was a threat. Muslims faced discrimina-

Wallace D. Muhammad (b. 1933, a.k.a. Warith Deen Muhammad) on airplanes and in

employment. And in some instances, mad), one of Elijah's sons, dramatically altered the religious Muslim property and Muslim persons were physically at nature of the movement. Rejecting the most controversial tacked. In addition, negative portrayals of Muslims continued elements of his father's teachings, including those about the to appear in the popular media and in books written by a few divinity of W. D. Fard and the inherent evil of the white race, academic critics. Muslim organizations in the United States Wallace D. Muhammad (now known as W. D. Mohammed) responded quickly to the events of 11 September 2001 by emphasized the importance of Sunni Islamic practices, unequivocally condemning the attacks, offering support for cluding daily prayer, the pilgrimage to Mecca, and fasting victims, increasing their outreach efforts, and working to during Ramadan. He even changed the name of the organization to protect Muslims in the United States against any further tion from the Nation of Islam to the World Community of Islam in the West, and eventually, the American Muslim Mission. Though thousands of members followed the leader Gender through what he called the "Second Resurrection," Minister Of all issues discussed in the American media regarding Louis Farrakhan (b. 1933) criticized these deviations from Muslims, gender is one of the most popular. The status of Elijah Muhammad's teachings. By the late 1970s, he had women in Islam is a symbol of particular importance for reconstituted a version of the old Nation of Islam, which he Muslims and non-Muslims alike, often used as a poetic standstill leads as of the time of this writing. in for larger arguments about society, politics, economics, Discrimination and Prejudice and religion. Muslim women in the United States face a From the beginning of Islamic history in North America, variety of challenges, including discrimination from several Muslims have lived in an environment often dominated by sources: non-Muslims who regard them as the "oppressed curiosity, suspicion, fear, and even hatred of Islam and Muslim women of Islam"; male family members and religious leaders who act in lims. Anti-Muslim prejudice has several roots, including a sexist ways; and a society that has not delivered on thousand-year-old European Christian bias against Islam and its promises of equality of economic and educational opportunity. nineteenth-century American racism and xenophobia. In the tunity to women in general, especially women of color. last half of the twentieth century, however, these prejudices have been amplified by several events, many of which involve American

Muslim women themselves disagree about how the foreign policy of the U.S. government. During the cold war against the Soviet Union, for example, the United States argue that Islam is an inherently sexist religion. generally sided with Israel in its disputes with Soviet-backed other conservative Americans would call “family values,” some Muslim women maintain that the Quran believe that Arabs and Muslims were the “enemy.” During the men and women to operate in separate spheres—the 1973 oil embargo of the United States by OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) nations, who were public world of the workplace and the woman in the world of the home. Men and women are equal, protesting U.S. military support of Israel, many Americans they are also fundamentally different. Others, became resentful of Arabs and Muslims more generally. American Muslim and Quranic scholar Amina Political cartoonists regularly drew racist images of the stupid, but dangerous, “Arab sheikhs” who controlled the world’s men and women, women’s roles should not be

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710

Islam and the Muslim World

United States, Islam in

In 2001 Imam Sa d al-Kassas speaks to other Muslims during their weekly service in New Jersey. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

restricted to the private sphere. The Quran guarantees identities. Children of first-generation immigrants, for equality between the sexes, Wadud argues, and it does not ample, sometimes challenge what they regard as the sexist

prescribe one right way of being a man or a woman. views of

their parents and grandparents. In so doing, they

often make a distinction between the patriarchal culture of

Regarding the controversial issue of the hijab, or the the old

country and what they say is the true, egalitarian Islam

headscarf, some Muslim women claim that wearing the veil is of the

Quran and the hadith. On the contrary, some female

unnecessary and that modesty of the heart is what matters. converts

to Islam, including white Christian women who

Some cover their heads only when making their prayers. marry

Muslim men, defend what they identify as the tradi-

Some say that they would like to cover, but are afraid of the tional

relationship between husbands and wives in Islam,

discrimination that they would face from non-Muslims. Still arguing that Islam is liberating precisely because it elevates others consistently cover whenever outside their homes or in their status as wives and mothers. the presence of men who are not relatives. Likewise, Muslim women disagree over the issue of polygyny. Some argue that Islamic Organizations having up to four wives is a Qur'anic right given to men, as There are dozens of political, religious, economic, and cultural organizations that focus on issues of interest to Muslims treated equally; others say the practice was meant to be temporary or that the Qur'an itself virtually in the United States. The largest is the Islamic Society of North bans polygyny when it warns against treating one's wives North America (ISNA), an umbrella organization formed by members of unjustly (4:3). the Muslim Student Association in 1982. Over three hundred mosques are associated with ISNA, whose Several factors influence Muslims' views of gender, in-headquarters are located in Plainfield, Indiana. The organization including their ethnic, racial, class, linguistic, and generational zation holds a popular annual conference during the first

Islam and the Muslim World

711

United States, Islam in

weekend in September in which Muslims network, discuss among their students, others actively defend the practice of encouraging concerns of the day, and even meet future mates. In addition, responsible interaction among boys and girls, not only it publishes the magazine Islamic Horizons, offers workshops during class but also during social activities. In addition, on Islam for teachers, and maintains an active website. Per-Islamic some Muslim parents fear that the creation of Islamic schools will only make the integration of Muslims into the American Society of Muslims (ASM), a loose configuration of predominately African American mosques that recognize W. D. Mohammed as their leader. Publisher of the children have the public Muslim Journal, the ASM also offers an annual conference, Islamic religious convictions to their non-Muslim classmates. Most oversees the broadcast of Imam Mohammed over the radio, and encourages followers to attend his many public addresses, Most mosques in the United States also engage in a

which often draw thousands of listeners. number of
 outreach activities. Members share their faith
 experiences with non-Muslims, visit a school or church to
 Many smaller Muslim organizations focus their energies talk about Islam,
 contact the media, and welcome visitors to
 on more specific concerns. For example, the Council for the mosque.
 Though their activities have gone largely unno-
 American-Islamic Relations defends the civil rights of Mus- ticed by
 major media outlets, many Muslim leaders have also
 lims, educates other Americans about Islam, and encourages played
 prominent roles in interfaith dialogue in the United
 Muslim participation in national politics. The Association of States. W. D.
 Mohammed, for example, has become well
 Muslim Social Scientists helps Muslim professionals, educa- known among
 some Roman Catholics for his work with the
 tors, and academics develop and share Islamic perspectives on Focolare
 movement. Maher Hathout (b. 1936), a leader of
 contemporary issues. And the Fiqh Council of North Amer- the Muslim
 Public Affairs Council in southern California, has
 ica, a group of Muslim legal scholars, regularly offers counsel held
 interfaith dialogues with both Jewish and Christian
 to Muslim individuals and local communities regarding eve- leaders. And
 Imam Elahi of the Islamic House of Wisdom in
 rything from business contracts to haircuts. New groups Dearborn,
 Michigan, has even organized an interfaith celecontinue to be formed every
 day—one recent example is al- bration of Thanksgiving Day.
 Fatiha, an organization that offers support to gay, lesbian,
 bisexual, and transgendered Muslims. Leadership
 It is often said that there is no pope in Islam. Indeed, since the
 Education and Outreach death of the
 prophet Muhammad, Muslims have never agreed
 There are probably more than two hundred full-time Islamic on one
 central authority in religious or secular matters. In the
 schools for children in the United States, and most mosques United
 States, Islamic leadership is arguably even more fluid,
 offer some sort of weekend school for both children and due to the
 diversity of American Muslim communities, their
 adults. The full-time schools are located mainly in cities and relatively
 short history in North America, and constitutional
 suburbs with large Muslim populations. Most of them offer guarantees of
 religious freedom. Furthermore, there are
 primary education programs. Their curricula include state- many
 different kinds of Muslim religious leaders in the
 mandated subjects like reading and math in addition to United
 States, including Sufi masters, Muslim academics and
 Islamic studies and Arabic classes. Perhaps one-quarter of educators,
 Islamic legal advisers, the heads of various Muslim

these, called Sister Clara Muhammad Schools, are associated with the community of W. D. Mohammed. Originally part of these organizations and movements, and the imams or presidents of local mosques.

Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, these now-Sunni Islamic African American schools are named in honor of the wife of In many parts of the Islamic world, an imam is simply a male who leads the communal prayers on Friday. In the United States, however, an imam can play several different roles in the community. Located mainly in inner cities, these schools offer an alternative to African American parents, both Muslim and non-Muslim, who view their public schools as troubled, if not the imam operates in both spiritual and administrative capacities, like many Protestant ministers. In predominantly immigrant mosques, however, the imam is more likely to be a spiritual leader who answers to an executive committee or board of directors that is composed of men and women from the local community. Furthermore, many mosque leaders, whether dating, and an unhealthy consumerist culture. They hope part-time called president or imam, work on a volunteer or basis, requiring them to seek employment outside the values and behaviors. Interestingly, what is defined as "Islamic" is itself a subject of debate within Muslim schools. the mosque. While most of them have completed studies at the college level or above, less than half have any kind of formal While some schools attempt to enforce gender segregation Islamic education. Muslim women are generally barred

712

Islam and the Muslim World

United States, Islam in

from serving as imams, although some do become mosque ideals. They complain that immigrants often take condescending attitudes toward them, especially in deciding who gets to determine what the "real" Islam is. There are also serious September 2001, Chereffe Kadri led two thousand people, both Muslim and non-Muslim, in prayer as they literally Muslim

immigrants themselves. These differences often come joined hands around the building, asking for God's protection. to the fore when immigrants form cultural centers along linguistic lines, separating themselves into groups, respectively, Muslim Identity of Urdu, Persian, or Arabic speakers. Some Muslims Muslims in the United States constantly debate the issue of defend such activity by arguing that the Qur'an encourages identity, engaging the question of what it means to be a ethnic and racial diversity (49:13). Some African American Muslims Muslim from a number of different angles. One of these is the Muslims also assert that cultural autonomy and a sense of relationship between Muslims and the state. For decades, racial pride are especially important in their struggles for some Muslims have proudly embraced their identity as American black liberation. But other groups, like the Islamic Center of Southern California (ICSC), work actively to create interdistance themselves from American culture and especially ethnic and interracial American Muslim communities, often American foreign policy. During the Gulf War, for example, linking the future growth of American Islam to the diminution of W. D. Mohammed supported the coalition against Iraq, tion of racial divisions among American Muslims. arguing that it was desirable, from an Islamic point of view, to expel the Iraqi army from Kuwait; but Minister Louis There is, in the end, little unity over the question of Farrakhan joined some prominent Sunni Muslim figures in Islamic identity and many other issues of concern to Muslims in the denouncing the presence of American troops on Islamic lands. in the United States. Such disagreements, while sometimes seen as problematic by Muslims themselves, reflect the diversity of There have been similar divisions in the attempt to find an sity of American Islam. That diversity—the many faces and answer to the question of how Muslims should function in a voices and manifestations of Islam in the United States—is an non-Islamic country, a nation that sometimes seems quite inextricable part of its growth. hostile to Muslims themselves. Should Muslims run for political office? Should they serve in the military? How much See also Farrakhan, Louis; Gender; Islamic Society of should Muslims interact with non-Muslims and in what North America; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Muhammad, Warith Deen; Muslim Student Association; capacities? The need for answers only increased in the wake tion of North America; Nation of Islam. of 11 September 2001 and the war in Iraq as many American

Muslims attempted to show support for America while simultaneously questioning American foreign policy toward various Muslim countries. Some Muslim organizations in the United States, like the Tabligh Jama'at, worry that Muslims will become corrupted by participating more fully in American culture, which they see as un-Islamic. Similarly, Hizb Ihsan; Perl, Paul M.; and Froehle, Bryan T. *The Tahrir, or the Liberation Party, argues that the United States is dar al-kufr (the realm of disbelief), advising Muslims to work for the reconstitution of the Islamic caliphate, which was abolished in 1924 by Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Most Muslim groups, however, advocate full participation in American public life. These include both the Islamic Society of North America and W. D. Mohammed's Muslim American Society in addition to the American Muslim Council and the Council for American-Islamic Relations. Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation. New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001.*

Muslims in the United States also continue to debate the place of racial and ethnic difference within their own communities. Most Muslims, including African American Muslims, affirm the idea that Islam is a creed or way of life universally applicable to all, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, class, or Communities in North America. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Most also espouse Islamic notions of racial equality and categorically denounce racism. Many African American Muslims argue, however, that the Americanization Path? New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

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Urdu Language, Literature, and Poetry

McAlister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. Urdu has successfully retained this role as an Islamic language while also developing as the medium of a modern secular literature much influenced by the West. McCloud, Aminah Beverly. *African American Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Urdu has been replaced by English. As an administrative and educational language, however, Urdu has progressively lost ground to modern English. Smith, Jane I. *Islam in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. Urdu has been replaced by Hindi, the rival Sanskritized language promoted as a replacement for Urdu by Hindu nationalists. Since independence from British rule in 1947, Urdu has thus increasingly become marginalized in its Indian homeland and identified with Pakistan. Wadud, Amina. *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Urdu is only by Muslim immigrants from India and their descendants, Urdu is the official language of Pakistan, where languages like Punjabi, Sindhi, or Pashto have limited regional status only. As such, Urdu has been carried by the Pakistani diaspora to many other parts of the world, including the Middle East, Europe, and North America.

URDU LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND POETRY Classical Persian poetry was for many centuries one of the major arts to be cultivated across the eastern Islamic world. The patronage of the great Mughal emperors encouraged a further development and cultural history reflects the special position of Islam in the development of Persian poetry in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century India by the Indian subcontinent of South Asia. While linguistically both immigrant and native-born poets. While their works were related to Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, and the other languages of the Indo-Aryan family (whose classical representative is Sanskrit) formally cast in the long established traditional poetic

genres, some novelty of expression came from their
skrit), Urdu is distinguished by the very high proportion of development
of the new baroque manner called the “Indian
Perso-Arabic elements in its vocabulary. This Islamic cultural style”
(sabr-e hindi).

orientation is also reflected in its written form, which uses the
The eighteenth-century switch from Persian to Urdu as
Perso-Arabic script with appropriate modifications to mark
the preferred language of courtly poetry in northern India
distinctive Indic features such as retroflex and aspirated
had been linguistically foreshadowed by the preclassical Urdu
consonants.

poetry produced in the southern Muslim kingdoms of the
While its origins elude precise definition, Urdu clearly Deccan. But
the living tradition of classical Urdu poetry is
began in medieval times from a mixture of the local Indian identified
with the period when the empire had collapsed
dialects of the Delhi region with the Persian spoken by the under the
twin pressures of external invasions and internal
Muslim conquerors whose armies rapidly spread the new struggles
into several successor states, notably the court of the
lingua franca across the subcontinent. Since Persian contin-
Navvab-Vazirs of Avadh in Lucknow and that of the polituied to be the preferred
administrative and cultural language cally shadowy later Mughals in
Delhi, both of which were

of the Delhi sultanate and the Mughal empire, it was only maintained
as puppet kingdoms by the British until the midwith the collapse of unitary
Muslim political authority in the nineteenth century.

eighteenth century that Urdu came to be cultivated in northern India as a
literary language for a courtly poetry that The carefully cultivated
conscious rivalry between the
constitutes the classical heritage of Urdu literature.

“schools” of Delhi and Lucknow now seems less significant
than the common features of classical Urdu poetry, which is
From the early nineteenth century, when British colonial both the direct
heir to the immense artistic heritage of
rule was extended across northern India, Urdu came increas- Persian
poetry (itself now linguistically inaccessible to most
ingly to be used also as a written prose language. British South Asian
Muslims) and the chief vehicle for the public and
policy itself favored the development of Urdu as an official private
literary expression of an elite society facing major
bureaucratic medium, and Muslim writers took ample advan- political
and cultural challenges. Most of the poetic genres
tage of the opportunities provided by the colonial state for the are of the
well-known Persian types, and are similarly based
production of textbooks, newspapers, and very varied prose on rhyming

verses composed in the usual Persian meters, writings. It is from this early modern period, when British typically ending with the incorporation of the poet's pen name India was the scene of the most intense debates about the definition of Islam in the modern world, that Urdu became a popular genre is the ghazal, the ubiquitous short lyric whose language of Islamic expression second only in international cultivated formal rhetoric readily allows its expressions of importance to Arabic. private feeling to achieve widespread public outreach through

714

Islam and the Muslim World

Urdu Language, Literature, and Poetry

An Afghan refugee child writes in Urdu in a school in Pakistan. While Urdu was used widely as a written prose language under British colonial rule on the Indian subcontinent, its usage has decreased in India and it is now much more identified with Pakistan. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

recitation and musical performance as well as written dis- While the Lucknow poets are in general considered less semination. The two great classical masters of the Urdu notable for their thematic range than for their cultivation of a ghazal are generally acknowledged to be the very prolific Mir formal Persianizing elegance, the Shi a allegiance of the Taqi Mir (c.1722–1810), who is known for the poignancy of rulers of the Avadh kingdom encouraged the magnificent his direct expression of the sufferings of love, and the Delhi flowering of the strophic marsiyya, the innovative Urdu genre poet Ghalib (1797–1869), whose slim collection (divan) of that deployed the full resources of the “Indian style” for the ghazals is an iconic masterpiece combining refinement of elegiac celebration of the sufferings of Karbala celebrated in sentiment with the ironic intellectualism of the “Indian style.” the annual rituals of Muharram, and whose two great masters are Anis (1801–1874) and Dabir (1803–1875).

Of the longer public genres of Persian poetry, the narrative masnavi was more successfully cultivated in Urdu during Modern Urdu Literature its pre-classical phase in the Deccan. Although Mir himself While the transition from the classical to the modern period wrote a number of striking short masnavis on contemporary can be sharply marked by the annexation of Avadh by the romantic subjects, it is his versatile and innovative contempo- British in 1856 and the destruction of much of Delhi that rary Sauda (1713–1781) whose poetry addresses the greatest followed their ruthless suppression of the Great Revolt of

variety of public themes, using the formal ode (qasida) as well 1857,
there was also naturally much overlap between the two.
as various strophic forms to compose not only elaborately Under
the patronage of other Indian Muslim rulers, some poets
rhetorical eulogies and satires but also a number of striking
were able to continue working in the classical style, like
elegies on the cultural and political devastation of Delhi in
Ghalib's younger relative Dagh (1831–1905) who perfected a
the mid-eighteenth century. In the qasida Sauda is later
mastery of the light ghazal designed for singing by courtesan
matched only by Zauq (1790–1854), the great rival of Ghalib
artists.
for the favor of Bahadur Shah II Zafar (1775–1862), the last
Mogul “emperor” whose sad fate at the hands of the British
On the other hand, many of the developments most
has helped to assure a special status for his own elegiac
characteristic of later nineteenth-century Urdu literature
ghazals. such
as the increasing importance of prose and of explicitly

Islam and the Muslim World

715

Urdu Language, Literature, and Poetry

Islamic writing had already begun before 1857, not least
philosophical ghazal and of the new kind of thematic poem
because of the emergence of an Urdu publishing industry (called
nazm in Urdu), Iqbal is rightly remembered in South
based on the lithographic reproduction of professionally Asia for
his Urdu poetry rather than the longer Persian
calligraphed texts. It was through this means that a wider masnavis on
which his international reputation tends to be
public was found, for instance, for such early masterpieces of based.
Although Iqbal continues to be the object of an
Urdu prose as Ghalib's elegantly informal letters. inflated
official cult in Pakistan as the ideological founder of
the nation, his power directly to inspire, whether as a thinker
It was, however, after the cultural watershed of 1857, or as a poet,
has long been supplanted by the numerous
when the Muslims of India had to confront the reality of the writers of
very different types who have subsequently flourdefinitive loss of their
political power, that the new trends ished in Urdu.
associated with the early modernity of the colonial period
became firmly established. Some writers of the later nine- As an
Islamic ideologue, the most influential Urdu prose
teenth century were provoked into formulating new styles of writer of
the later twentieth century was certainly Sayyid Abu
literary response to the acute sense of cultural loss caused by l-A la

Maududi (1903–1979), the founder of the Jama'at, at the political changes of the period. Two of the most notable Urdu Islami, while the Urdu poetry of the post-Iqbalian period these were Muhammad Husain Azad (1834–1910), whose period came quickly to be dominated by Faiz Ahmad Faiz. Ab-e Hayat (1881) is a pioneering history of Urdu poetry (1911–1984), whose combination of an idealistic socialism lovingly reconstructed around his revered master Zauq, and with a unique ability to intermingle the style of English the maverick Muhammad Hadi Rusva (1858–1931), whose romantic poetry with graceful references of Ghalib has ensured his Umrao Jan Ada (1899) remains the most appealing of Urdu assured his continuing ability to inspire new generations of poetic novels with its wonderful evocation of the life of a courtesan poetic followers in the ghazal and the nazm. in the old Lucknow.

Modern Urdu narrative prose is less ambiguously based. For other writers of the period, new kinds of Islamic on the example of English genres and styles. While a few ideology were as important as the new genres opened up by novelists, notably Qurrat-ul-Ain Haider (b. 1928) and Abdullah the example of English, which now increasingly came to Husain (b. 1936), have been able to establish serious reputations, supplant Persian as the model for Urdu prose styles and traditions on the basis of major works, it is the short story that has genres. This was particularly the case with the talented group generally proved to be the most successful genre. Following of writers associated with the Aligarh movement inspired by on the earlier example of the Urdu-Hindi writer Prem Chand the modernist interpretation of Islam promulgated by the (1880–1936), whose short fiction was inspired by Gandhian great reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1818–1898), himself ideals, the new school of self-proclaimed Progressive Writers a vigorous and prolific exponent of a forcefully stripped- that emerged in the 1930s (and with which Faiz was associated) Urdu prose style. The leading poet of the Aligarh (founded) looked rather to socialist realism. By far the most movement was Altaf Husain Hali (1837–1914), whose long successful of these short-story writers was Saadat Hasan Musaddas of 1879 (revised in 1886) is the greatest poem of the Manto (1912–1955), some of whose most memorable stories were period. Inspired by what he had read of Wordsworth's poetic were inspired by the tragedies of the Partition of 1947, and ideals, Hali used a quite new style, that he called "natural his overall achievement in the genre has yet to be fully poetry" and that consciously dispensed with most of the matched by later writers in Pakistan. But several memorable familiar Persianizing rhetoric, first to evoke the lost glories of

collections of short stories, variously combining genuinely Islam under the Arabs, then to embark on a savage critique of modernist formal experimentation with troubled articulation of the failings of contemporary Islam in India. In prose, a number of the writings of a modern Pakistani Muslim cultural identity, have similarly reformist message is conveyed with greater stylistic subtlety, if smaller artistic impact, in the moralistic novels of Intizar Husain (b. 1933) with his continual reflections on the loss of an Indian Shi'i cultural heritage, or Mazhar ul Islam (b. 1949) with his attempts to integrate the local Sufi heritage. Poetry, however, continued to be the favored medium of expression among the next generation of Urdu writers, which is dominated by Muhammad Iqbal (1879–1938). It was Iqbal's achievement to combine his own uplifting call for a Muslim Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; South Asia, renaissance, looking to contemporary European philosophy as well as to an individual reinterpretation of certain Sufi ideas, with a hugely powerful poetic voice that drew anew

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upon the full resources of a rich Persian vocabulary to Ahmad. Poems by Faiz. Translated by Victor G. Kiernan. reinvigorates Urdu poetic diction after the successful challenge of Hali's "natural poetry" had undermined the appeal of traditional styles. A grandiloquent master both of the Literature. London: Urdu Markaz, 1985.

716

Islam and the Muslim World Usuliyya

Matthews, D. J., trans. and ed. Iqbal: A Selection of the Urdu including his brief epistemo-theological introductory re-Verse. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993. marks whose elaboration he presented in another work Abkar al-anwar. Amidi defined istidlal in its specific sense, as syllogistic reasoning which is not necessarily based on the four classical Islamic legal sources. Russell, Ralph, and Islam, Khurshidul. Three Mughal Poets. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968. Russell, Ralph, and Islam, Khurshidul. Ghalib, 1797–1869,

The Shi'ite school of Hilli, which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, did not

disregard the rationalist Usuli achievements of its Sunni counterparts. This Sadiq, Muhammad. A History of Urdu Literature, 2d ed. New school historically begins with Ibn Idris al-Hilli (d. 1202) Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

who, benefiting from the growing rationalist tendency among the Twelvers, made a more detailed exposition of Shi'ite Christopher Shackle jurisprudence in his al-Sara'ir. In refuting the traditionalists,

Ibn Idris negates the validity of isolated traditions, and explicitly identifies the human rational faculty (aql) as the fourth source of law in deducing legal norms.

USULIYYA

The Usuli doctrinal movement truly began with al-

The term "usuliyya" applies to those who adhere to the Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d. 1277), who was the first to open a chapter of principles in law that, in Twelver Shi'ism, came specifically to ijtiḥād and qiyās (analogy) in Shi'ite jurisprudence. mean the principles of jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh). The no- Like Ghazali, Muhaqqiq defines ijtiḥād in such a way that, by tion of principles was at first imbued with the theological making a distinction between the speculative component doctrines of the Mu'tazila in the works of al-Shaykh al-Mufid (ẓān) on the one hand, and qiyās and unrestricted reasoning (d. 1022) and his students, al-Sharīf al-Murtada (d. 1044) and on the other, ijtiḥād is legitimized on the basis of valid ẓān. al-Shaykh al-Tusi (d. 1067), who exposed the imami concep- He challenges Mufid on the question of qiyās by claiming that tion of usul al-fiqh. However, the methodology for extrapo- the ratio legis (illa) in certain kinds of qiyās are discernible and lating legal norms (ahkām) from the sources had not yet been may be applied to new cases under the pretext of tanqīḥ althoroughly incorporated into jurisprudence to the extent mināt (scrutiny of criterion). It is noteworthy that the initiative seen in later periods. The ulema of the tenth and eleventh tion of ijtiḥād is regarded as the major source of dynamism in centuries viewed themselves more as rational-theological Shi'ite law since the thirteenth century, when the claim of jurists rather than as followers of the Usuli tradition. "closure of the gate of ijtiḥād" began to circulate in the Sunni milieu. Moreover, Muhaqqiq tried to redefine the Shi'ite After Tusi, Shi'ite jurisprudence stagnated for a century conception of aql by restricting it to three applications: (i) and a half, during which Sunni law flourished more creaverbal inferences such as the tone (lahn) of religious distively. Ibn Hazm (d. 1064), an Andalusian of the Zahirite

course, (ii) what is implied in God's address (fahwa al-khitab), school, presented an unusual combination of theology, and (iii) the reason for the address (dalil al-khitab). Only the mu'ustics, logic, and epistemology in his al-Ihkam. He defends the second is considered to be referring to the human conception of logic and reasoning on the grounds that all thinking, even of good and evil.

"the tradition," should be verified by reason. A contemporary of Ibn Hazm was Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni (d. 1085) Muhaqqiq's nephew, al-Allama al-Hilli (d. 1327), who combined a strong Ash'arite tendency with a certain advanced this Usuli position by not only upholding ijtihad, but measure of logic and rationalist epistemology in the introduction to his usul work al-Burhan. office for Shi'ism. From the vantage point of knowledge of jurisprudence, he divided the community into two groups: One of Juwayni's students, Abu Hamid Ghazali (d. 1111), mujtahids and their followers. In his Tahdhib, Allama legitimized a new structure to Islamic legal methodology that mized two kinds of qiyas: i) al-mansu al-illa in which the leges inspired Shi'ite Usulis. In al-Mustasfa, he proposed a horizontal scope for usul al-fiqh which differed from the hierarchical classification of the sources of legal knowledge as law than its premise. initiated by al-Shafi'i. Ghazali's approach to usul al-fiqh impressed such subsequent Sunni legal authors as Sayf al-Din By the middle of the Safavid era (the seventeenth century), al-Amidi (d. 1233) and Ibn al-Hajib (d. 1248). These scholars the Usuli trend suffered a temporary setback due to the focused on the method of drawing out legal norms rather Akhbari (traditionalist) resurgence that seriously challenged than on the categorization of the legal sources, as pre-Ghazali the Usuli way of resorting to qiyas and ijtihad instead of authors had done. Amidi dedicated a chapter to syllogism relying on the imams' traditions. The founder of the neotraditionalist trend was Mulla Muhammad Amin Astarabadi

Islam and the Muslim World

717

Usuliyya

(d. 1626), who had been educated by Usuli masters. Astarabadi Another consequence of Usuli dominance was the succeeded in turning Akhbarism into a legal school with

reformulation of the doctrine of juristic mandate (velayat-e distinct methods of jurisprudence. Among his formulas was faqih) with a methodical argumentation. The idea of the the principle of “customary certainty” (al-yaqin al- adi or al- juristic mandate still contained at its heart the concept of the qat al- adi), which proposed that the Shi ites should content imam as deputy, but it came to include as well an acknowlthemselves with “the general certainty” (al-qat al-ijmali) that edgement of the legitimacy of qualified jurists to succeed the the contents of imams’ traditions convey to them. According all-embracing authority of the imam, due to the work of an to Astarabadi, these traditions are compiled in the four Usuli jurist of the Qajar court, Molla Ahmad Naraqi. The canonical collections of Shi ite traditions as well as other early executive force of this doctrine is taqlid or the unquestioned Shi ite compilations. mass following.

The Usuli methodology found a new momentum in the Concurrent with the increase of the mujtahid’s social Shi ite seminaries during the second half of eighteenth cen- prestige, the Usuli legal methodology reached another peak tury, when the leading Akhbari-oriented jurist of the shrine with Shaykh Murtada Ansari (d. 1864), who shifted the emphasis cities of the Atabat, Shaykh Yusuf al-Bahrani (d. 1772), of the contents of usul al-fiqh from the semantics of incorporated the key elements of Usuli principles, including the Qur an and traditions to what he termed “the rational the ijthihad, in his comprehensive work on Shi ite law, al- practical principles” (al-usul al- amaliyya). Ansari defended Hada iq al-Nadira . Bahrani, moreover, allowed his Usuli the use of syllogism in legal methodology, and he applied it in parts of opponent Baqir al-Bihbihani (d. 1791) to flourish in the his work. Ansari rejected the application of “juristic Atabat by encouraging his own students to attend Bihbihani’s mandate” beyond religious matters, but he advocated the necessity lectures, and still more, by assigning Bihbihani to lead the of a mujtahid for approbation of Muslim actions. funeral prayer at his death.

Ansari’s discourses were compiled and circulated among Shi a in the form of the juridical manual (risala-ye amaliyya) Bahrani’s goal, which was to reduce the differences be- that were issued by the supreme exemplar of the community. tween the two parties, was viewed as having been defeated by later Usulis, since they awarded Bihbihani victory over the The notion of unquestioned following taqlid was further Akhbaris. Enjoying his family connections and ability to

corroborated by Sayyed Mohammad Kazem Yazdi (d. 1919), support his students, Bihbihani succeeded in re-establishing who maintained that the actions of Muslims would be void without Usulism in the shrine cities. However, he wrote more polemical treatises such as *Risalat al-ijtihad wal-akhbar*, rather as the opening issue of Shi'ite law. The last bolster of taqlid, in than works on Usuli legal methodology. Despite Bahrani's its Usuli context, was made by Ayatollah Khomeini (d. 1989). He aspiration, the Usuli-Akhbari conflict continued, and eventually climaxed into personal refutations and even bloody clashes "following," but was intended to mean complete obedience to the qualified jurist's commands. the century.

The centrality of taqlid in some of the Usuli works should The re-establishment of the Usuli position not only in- not be taken to mean that the Usulism of the contemporary era was created the authority of the ulema, but also placed the actually reduced to taqlid and its corollary ijtihad to doctrine of ijtihad and taqlid at the heart of the Shi'ite juristic enhance the mandate of jurists; but rather that several genustructure upon which the subsequent institution of marja' al-taqlid attempts were made to present the Shi'ite Usuliyya in its best methodical form. The juridical office of marja' al-taqlid best methodical form. The most successful work in this vein appeared as an independent institution when the Usuli ulema belongs to Shaykh Mohammad Reza Mozaffar (d. 1963), of the Atabat began to acknowledge the superiority of one or who dedicated half of his book to discussions of "rational several senior mujtahids in expounding legal opinions, and in entailments" and "the practical principles." He expounded some cases in pronouncing final and binding verdicts. the Shi'ite conceptions of "independent rational inducements" (*al-mustiqillat al-aqliyya*), rational proofs, and the The institution was manifested more completely when presumption of continuity of the past.

Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Isfahani was singled out as the sole supreme mujtahid in Najaf in 1846, and he formally took

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charge of paying the stipends of the students of other seminaries in the shrine cities of the Atabat. In view of the Arjomad, Said Amir, ed. Authority and Political Culture in considerable socio-political roles performed in the modern Shi'ism. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988. period by this institution and by the ulema in general, it is Kazemi

Moussavi, Ahmad. Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam. suggested that the consolidation of the independent Shi'ite
Lumpur: ISTAC, 1996. Kuala
“hierocracy” resulted in a duality within the structure of
authority during the Qajar reign in Iran.

Ahmad Kazemi Moussavi

718

Islam and the Muslim World

Uthman ibn Affan

UTHMAN DAN FODIO

UTHMAN IBN

AFFAN

(1754–1817)

(R.

644–656)

Uthman dan Fodio was a religious scholar and the founder of Uthman b.
Affan, a wealthy merchant of the Qurayshi tribe
the Islamic empire of Sokoto in present-day northern Nigeria. who was noted
for his elegant dress, supported Muhammad

when he first began preaching in Mecca. He converted to

Uthman dan Fodio was born in Maratta in the Hausa Islam and married
Muhammad's daughter Ruqayya, with

kingdom of Gobir. He studied the Qur'an with his father, and whom he
emigrated to Abyssinia. Soon after they rejoined the

other Islamic sciences such as fiqh and hadith with a number Muslims in
Medina, Ruqayya died during the Battle of Badr

of scholars of the region. Through Shaykh Jibril b. Umar he and Muhammad
gave him Umm Kulthum, another of his

was initiated into the Qadiriyya Sufi brotherhood. After daughters, in
marriage.

completing his education in circa 1774, he started to teach

and preach in Gobir. His preaching brought him into a On the

death of Umar b. al-Khattab, Uthman was

conflict with the political establishment in Gobir that, al- elected the

third caliph by a council of six, including Uthman,

though claiming to be Muslim, was still committed to a policy Ali, and Abd

al-Rahman b. Awf. Noticeably, the Ansar (the

of accommodation with respect to the non-Muslim majority Medinan

companions of the Prophet), had no representation

of the population. In 1804, this conflict led to a military in the

council, a detail which helped Uthman defeat Ali.

confrontation between the jama'a (community) of Uthman

Uthman is credited with establishing the canonical verdan Fodio and the King

of Gobir. In the subsequent jihad the

sion of the Qur'an during his caliphate. He handed the pages

jama'a of Uthman dan Fodio was able not only to defeat the

of Qur'an, left by Umar in the care of his daughter Hafsa (a

King of Gobir in 1808, but also to conquer almost all other

V

VEILING

men's and women's gaze, gait, garments, and genitalia. The specific articles and aspects of clothing that are mentioned

The word for veiling, hijab, is derived from the root h-j-b. Its regard to women only are jilbab, a loose outer clothing or verbal form hajaba means to veil, to seclude, to screen. The and khimar or scarf. When in the company of men, complex phenomenon of hijab is generally translated into the are asked to raise their khimar (scarves) over the English as veil with its correlate seclusion.

necklines of their shirts (24:31). When in public women are asked to draw their jilbab (cloaks) over them so they may be The term hijab or veil is not used in the Qur'an to refer to identified as respectable women and not be harmed (33:59).

an article of clothing for women or men, rather it refers to a Qur'anic verses do not mention any parts of the women's spatial curtain that divides or provides privacy. The Qur'an No body parts of either men or women are mentioned

instructs the male believers (Muslims) that when they ask of modesty verses except the genitalia, which are to be anything from the wives of the prophet Muhammad to do so guarded (24:30–31). Guidelines for covering of the entire from behind a hijab, a curtain that creates a visual barrier except for the hands, the feet, and the face, are found in between the two sexes (33:53). The observance of this hijab is of fiqh and hadith that are developed later.

the responsibility of the men and not the wives of the Prophet.

Early in the twentieth century the tradition of veiling among Muslim women created controversy. Different ide-

In later Muslim societies this instruction specific to the and attitudes, whether in Western countries or on the wives of the Prophet was generalized, leading to the segregation of Muslims influenced by the West, challenged the

tion of Muslim men and women not related to each other practice. Regimes in a few Muslim countries have legislated through family ties. It created a social and political division veil on or off Muslim women. In most Muslim countries between public male space and private female space with the Muslim women have the freedom of choice, some,

effect of a political, social, economic, and psychological especially in the modern urban centers, have discontinued the disenfranchisement of the women. The gender-segregated practice of veiling. Some of those who had discarded the veil space has also provided an intimate homosocial context con-

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returned to it. But this modern return to the hijab
 conducive to deep bonds between members of the same gender
 actually gives many women access to public spaces and jobs
 and inimical to bonds and commitments across genders,
 instead of secluding them. For many Muslim women, due to a
 including heterosexual relations.
 complex of personal belief, social reinforcement, and public
 self-image, the use of the hijab is an integral part of their being
 Although the term for dress or garment in the Qur'an is in the
 world and an outward expression of their inward faith
 libas, hijab has come to mean the headgear and outer garment that
 dictates modesty and chastity.
 of Muslim women. Libas is used both literally to refer to
 physical/material dress and adornments and figuratively as a
 Beginning with the twentieth century, Western perceptions of human
 shortcomings and vulnerabilities. (16:14; tions also underwent
 change with regard to the image of the
 35:12; 18:31; 44:53; 22:23; 35:33). veiled
 Muslim woman. Originally perceived as being submissive or oppressed, some
 Muslim women are now being
 In the Qur'an the righteousness or taqwa of libas is mod- viewed as
 being an embodied threat to Western culture. The
 esty. It is the correct balance between the function of libas as custom
 of Muslim women to publicly cover themselves with
 protection and as ornamentation. Modesty concerns both
 garments that completely hide their body and hair creates a
 Velayat-e Faqih
 mystique regarding the wearer and challenges Western mo- theory
 of scholarly authority. The term velayat in Shi'ism was
 demerit and feminism. normally
 associated with devotion to, and obedience of, the
 imams, and consequently was a defining aspect of Shi'ism
 Western perceptions of a stereotypical harem with trapped, generally.
 Imami Shi'ite jurists, over time, developed a theory
 seductively veiled women were played out in the erotic whereby
 the obedience due to the imams, particularly in
 imagery of early twentieth-century films and paintings. matters
 of law, was channeled through the jurists (sing. faqih,
 pl. fuqaha), who acted as representatives of the imam during
 This misrepresentation of Islam persisted until the sudden
 the occultation (ghayba). Until the nineteenth century, this
 decolonization of French Algeria. The dramatic events of the
 was phrased in terms of a general delegation (Per., niyabat-e
 Algerian war (1954–1962) marked a turning point in Western
 amma, Ar., niyaba amma) of the jurists. In the early nineteenth-century perceptions of
 Islamic women when heavily veiled Muslim

teenth century, the scholar Ahmad al-Naraqi (d. 1829) was female militants utilized their garments for the concealment probably the first to describe this obedience in terms of of weapons. The use of veiling by Muslim women now had velayat-e, signifying a further expansion of the authority of the politically sinister connotations of danger, fanaticism, and jurists during the ghayba. terrorism. In the West veiled Muslim women now may be seen both as oppressed and dangerous.

The velayat of the jurist (velayat-e faqih) was not, at first, In the case of the woman who veils her face, gaze-reversal viewed as entirely replacing the political and legal role of the is implied; instead of being scrutinized herself she is free to imam by Imami jurists, and there were jurists (such as Murtada gaze upon men without their knowledge, a perception that al-Ansari [d. 1864]) who viewed the idea of velayat-e faqih with thus may cause another degree of discomfort. some suspicion. The concept remained undeveloped in legal works, though the idea of the legal authority of the jurist was Any analysis of appearance must be viewed within the developed in other areas. This all changed with the work of totality of the social environment. The Western analysis of its the Iranian scholar Ruhollah Khomeini. In his lectures, he gaze on Muslim women is not capable of representing the proposed a political theory in which a faqih took on political reality of the lived experience for each individual woman. leadership, replacing existing forms of government with The Western and modern Muslim view of Islam and of Islamic government. The jurist who was to rule was conwomen has changed over the last hundred years or so. ceived not as the most learned (a lam), but as one who had the

Whether the hijab liberates or oppresses or is simply a part of political skills to gain (and maintain) power. If a faqih was able one's everyday clothing is not an issue that can be easily to do this, Khomeini argued, all other jurists were dutyanswered because of the complexity of each individual situation. bound to support his rule. This theory Khomeini termed velayat-e faqih, thereby making a link between his political See also Clothing; Gender; Harem; Law; Purdah. ideas and Imami traditional jurisprudence.

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Hussain, F., ed. *Muslim Women*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1984. return
 to Iran from exile, Khomeini set about putting his political
 theory into practice. In the referendum of March
 1979, the Iranian population voted for the establishment of
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 republic. In October 1979, a constitution was
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 that included the famous article 5, stating that during
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 occultation "the wilaya and leadership of the umma
 devolve upon the just and pious faqih." This faqih was
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 Khomeini. The principle of velayat-e faqih was, then, en-
 Edited by A. Ahmed and H. Donnan London: shrined in
 the constitution which theoretically gave the faqih
 Routledge, 1994. power,
 though, in a concession to democratic principles, the
 faqih was to share power with the (popularly elected) presi-
 Ghazala Anwar dent and parliament (majlis). After Khomeini's death in
 1989,
 Liz McKay the constitution was amended in order that his chosen
 successor, Ali Khamenei, might take over this position. Since then
 there have been vigorous (and, as yet, unresolved) debates in
 Iran over the relative jurisdictions of the faqih, the president,
 VELAYAT-E FAQIH and the
 majlis.

Velayat-e faqih (Ar., wilayat al-faqih), literally "the authority of See
 also *Hukuma al-Islamiyya*, al- (Islamic Governthe jurist," refers to a
 development in the Imami Shi'ite ment); Shi'a: Imami (Twelver).

722

Islam and the Muslim World

Vernacular Islam

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Muslim

practice in multiple cultural and geographic con-
 Ende, Werner, and Brunner, Ranier, eds. *The Twelver Shia in* texts, and
 are keenly aware of an ideal of a "universal" Islam
 Modern Times. *Religious Culture and Political Culture*. Leiden that may be
 seemingly threatened by this diversity, refer to
 and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2001. these
 practices as cultural rather than religious and therefore
 not "real" Islam. The term "vernacular Islam" is less value-laden than
 "folk Islam" and more easily inclusive of both

Robert Gleave

textual and nontextual traditions. To understand Islam in practice, scholars need to pay attention to the various levels of interaction between vernacular and universal practices.

VERNACULAR ISLAM

The

practice of Islam may take regional shape and vernacular expression on multiple levels. For example, in some

The central Islamic tenet of tawhid, the essential oneness and regions, women are not allowed to pray in the mosque

unity of God, contributes to a self-conception and represen- (Pakistan, India, Morocco, for example), while in other countation of Islam as a universal and singular religious tradition. tries (the Arab world, Malaysia, the United States, Canada,

The idea of singularity is reinforced by the shahada, or witness England), women do pray in the mosque, although each

("There is no god but God. Muhammad is the Messenger of mosque varies in the architectural design for the separation of

God"), and shared ritual practice obligatory for all Muslims men and women in prayer. Another tangible regional/cul-

(ibadat) in Arabic, often called the Five Pillars in English. tural, vernacular expression of Islam is found in the levels and

This ideology of singularity is based upon the authority of the style of women's head coverings and the meanings and

Qur'an and hadith. The fact that one can hear nearly identical historical and political motivations for these. Prior to the

Arabic recitation of the Qur'an in New Delhi, Jakarta, and revolution in 1979, many Iranian women adopted the veil

Detroit, that South Asian, African, Arab, and Indonesian (chador) to protest the rule of the shah; veiling was both a

Muslims perform similar ablution rituals before they attend religious and political act. Since the revolution, women have

Friday prayers together in London or New Delhi, or that been forced to veil and are under the surveillance of religious

pilgrims from all over the globe gather at Mecca for the hajj police. In the secular state of Turkey, where Muslims are

are visible manifestations of a tradition shared across geo- nevertheless a majority, women are forbidden to wear head

graphic and social boundaries of difference. coverings in government buildings; in the Islamic state of

Saudi Arabia, where the Wahhabi tradition that interprets

Muslims, however, live in particular cultures, locales, and Islamic law very literally is dominant, women are not permitgeographies that influence their

practice and create local ted to go out in public without veiling and all public buildings

knowledge and variation. Knowledge and practice particular and work spaces are gender segregated. In other contexts, the

to a locality can be identified as vernacular Islam. In linguistics, the vernacular is associated with the language or dialect “Islamization” becomes greater, such as in Egypt, where, for example, Bedouin women have begun to adopt a spoken in a particular geographic location; it is the common “standard” style of veiling as they become more educated in everyday language of ordinary people in a given locality. The state-supported schools (Abu-Lughod).

vernacular may be juxtaposed to a language that is shared across geographic boundaries or locales. A. K. Ramanujan has distinguished, in the Indian context, the vernacular regional or not the culture is one of immigrants. For language as the mother tongue in contrast to the pan-Indian, diversity of ethnicities represented in many literary language of Sanskrit, which he calls the father tongue. For Islam, Arabic is the father tongue that is known, at least differ significantly from those of Muslims living for Qur’anic recitation purposes, across the globe; but Muslims speak numerous languages and dialects in everyday communities often begin to draw distinctions interactions, sermons, and rituals. Those practices limited to specific regional contexts may be labeled as culture, or as Scholars of Islam have distinguished many local practices, practice interpreted through and influenced by confined to specific cultural contexts, from pan-regional An example of such practices is the wedding ritual of (universal) Muslim practice and belief by calling the bride. While many Indian and Pakistani Muslims may say that the ritual application of turmeric paste on simply to refer to practices that are local or nontextual, the bride’s skin is a Muslim practice, it is not prescribed term is an accurate descriptor. However, in both lay and Qur’anic or hadith and non-Asian Muslims do not academic usage, the term often connotes a hierarchy of this ritual. There are other practices, such as the practice and belief in which “folk Islam” is at the low end. sacrifice of an animal at the Feast of the Sacrifice, which are Frequently, educated Muslims who have been exposed to the Qur’an, but whose implementation may be

practice of
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The
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example, the
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tices, which
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religious
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decorating
Muslims of “folk Islam” or
Muslims may say that the ritual
the new
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practice
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Vernacular Islam

interpreted differently in various cultural contexts. One reason for controversy over the veneration of saints and worship for vernacular expressions of a shared sacrificial practice at their tombs takes different forms and magnitude depend may be something as “secular” as governmental public health ing on local religious, cultural, and political circumstances and regulations, which in American cities may differ significantly and contexts. For example, according to Katherine Ewing, in from cities in the Philippines, India, or Indonesia. Pakistan (where Muslims are a majority, living under a Muslim state) certain movements (Ahl-e Hadith, Ahmadiyya, Veneration of Saints Jama at-e Islami) have attempted to eliminate saint veneration. References to “folk Islam” are most often associated with tion and practices around the institution of the pir; and public specific kinds of vernacular practices—in particular, visitation discourse is filled with debate about what is the correct practice of Islam. Similarly, John Bowen describes a vigorous debate in associated performance and healing traditions. In Morocco Indonesia over what constitutes proper Islamic practice, the cult of saints is called maraboutism. The majority of these including whether or not rituals of farming, healing, saints are Sufi teachers, guides, or masters (pir, shaykh), who and casting spells are acceptable. In India, while educated Muslims may be part of a lineage of authority within specific Sufi Muslims may denounce veneration of the pir, the level of public orders (tariqa), or they may be independent of an order. debate over these practices is much less vigorous than These saints are “friends of God” (awliya Allah) who embody it appears to be in Muslim states such as Indonesia and particular spiritual powers (barakat) that may result in their Pakistan. Furthermore, many educated Muslims who criability to perform miracles. Many Muslims believe that even cize such “folk” practices as visiting the shrine of a saint to ask after death, the barakat of the saint is accessible, and miracles for miraculous intervention, may themselves access such practices may be performed at his grave site; for believers, the saint is otherwise when their own family members are ill, infertile, or in distress. These practices are not limited to rural contexts between worshiper and God. Women may visit the grave to ask for fertility, for the health of a child, or resolution of a

marriage negotiation; men may ask for business success or Healing

success in an exam. Others visit the grave for general well-being, without a specific request, or simply to honor the saint, associated with religious healing traditions that address who may be one's teacher, teacher's teacher, or founder of the illnesses caused by intervention by spiritual forces (including Sufi lineage to which one belongs. The presence of these eyes, jinn, spirits of the dead, and ghosts) into the physical shrines sacralizes the land itself; they are local or regional, world. Many pirs are both teachers and healers. Their vernacular sites of power. In many Muslim cultures, the practices are based on the assumption that illnesses or annual death anniversary of the saint is celebrated in grand fashion at his tomb, with large processions of pilgrims carry- force. One method of diagnosis of a patient's probing flags, musicians, and new cloth grave coverings that are phal kholna (literally, opening gifted by the pilgrims. The anniversary is called an urs (literally, wedding), as the saint is not considered to have died, every Arabic letter is associated with a particular nubit to have simply left his worldly body and joined God. of the letters in the

Dreams are a common idiom through which Sufi saints, both patient's name is determined by the healer and then that of living and dead, communicate to their disciples. patient's mother. These are added, along with the numerical value of the lunar day of the month. The total is

Most Muslims worshipping at a saint's grave site (called dargah in South Asia; Ar. qabr) would draw a clear distinction until a single digit remains, which determines what between honoring a saint and asking for his intervention and force is causing the illness. Other diagnostic rituals performance of miracles, and worshipping the saint, which include "reading" the ways in which a lemon shrivels would be shirk (idolatry or blasphemy through assignation of dreaming by the pir, visions obtained through partners to God). However, because the practice of worship reflection in a surface of oil and kohl. The most at the tomb of a saint can be so easily misconstrued as worship prescription against spiritual forces that have caused of the saint (making offerings of flowers, incense, elaborately is the written word of God; that is, amulets, on which

Religious
Veneration
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human
healing
troubles
spiritual
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tions,
merical value. The numerical value
divided by
worlds)
kind of
may
over time,
trance, or
common
illness

decorated cloths, etc. at the grave, and taking back some of
 written the various names of God, his angels, and Qur'anic
 these offerings as embodiments of the barakat of the saint),
 are given to patients to wear as protection, to dip in
 many Muslim modernists and fundamentalists label this prac-
 drink, to burn, bury, or hang from a doorsill. The
 tice as superstition, a cultural practice adopted from other
 manifestation of the very word of God is inherently
 religious traditions rather than from Islam itself, or outright
 it may call back a lost child, deflect a neighbor's or
 shirk. Even if the critics of saint veneration accept that the
 argumentative words, soothe a child's high fever, or
 saint is not being worshiped, they may critique the practice as
 literal shield against the evil eye. Pilgrimages to
 placing an unnecessary intermediary between God and the
 saints and given periods of time to be spent there
 worshiper.
 be prescribed by the pir.

724

Islam and the Muslim World

Vizier

See also Arabic Language; Persian Language and Lit-
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VIZIER See Wazir

W

WAHDAT AL-WUJUD

Knysh, Alexander D. *Ibn Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam*. Albany:

Wahdat al-wujud, which means “oneness of being” or “unity

State University of New York Press, 1999.

of existence,” is a controversial expression closely associated with the name of Ibn al- Arabi (d. 1240), even though he did

William C. Chittick

not employ it in his writings. It seems to have been ascribed to him for the first time in the polemics of Ibn Taymiyya (d.

1328). Through modern times, critics, defenders, and West-

WAHHABIYYA

ern scholars have offered widely different interpretations of its meaning; in “Rûmî and Wahdat al-wujûd” (1994), William

The Wahhabiyya is a conservative reform movement launched

Chittick has analyzed seven of these. in

eighteenth-century Arabia by Muhammad b. Abd al-

Wahhab (1703–1792). It provided the ideological basis for

Taken individually, the two words are among the most

the military conquest of the Arabian peninsula that had been

discussed in Sufism, philosophy, and kalam (theology). Wahda

undertaken by the Sa'ud family, first in the late eighteenth

or “oneness” is asserted in tawhid, the first principle of Islamic

and early nineteenth centuries, and then again in the early

faith. Wujud—being or existence—is taken by many authors

twentieth century. Wahhabism is the creed upon which the

as the preferred designation for God’s very reality. All Muskingdom of Saudi

Arabia was founded, and it has influenced

lims agree that God’s very reality is one. Controversy arises

Islamic movements worldwide.

because the word wujud is also employed for the “existence”

of things and the world. According to critics, wahdat al-wujud

Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab began to preach a puriallows for no distinction

between the existence of God and tanical form of Islam during

the 1740s in the small settlethat of the world. Defenders point out that Ibn

al- Arabi and ments of the Najd, the arid province of north central

Arabia.

his followers offer a subtle metaphysics following the line of His

basic teachings are found in a small treatise titled Kitab althe Ash arite

formula: “The attributes are neither God nor tawhid (Book of

unity), and from it his followers took the

other than God.” God’s “signs” (ayat) and “traces” (athar)—

name Muwahiddun (Unitarians). His Muslim opponents,

the creatures—are neither the same as God nor different

along with Westerners, initially used the term “Wahhabiyya” from him, because God must be understood as both absent and its anglicized form, “Wahhabism,” as derogatory referend present, both transcendent and immanent. Understood ences to what was depicted as a fanatical sectarian movement. correctly, wahdat al-wujud elucidates the delicate balance that To this day, the term is often used pejoratively by critics of needs to be maintained between these two perspectives. the movement.

See also Falsafa; Ibn al- Arabi; Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad; Ibn Abd al-Wahhab wanted to restore the pristine Islam Tasawwuf. of the Qur an and the Prophet by cleansing it of all innovations (bid a) that challenged strict monotheism. Foremost

BIBLIOGRAPHY among these was the cult of saints, which had developed over Chittick, William C. “Rûmî and Wahdat al-wujûd.” In Poetry the centuries among both Sunnis and Shi ites. Such popular and Mysticism in Islam: The Heritage of Rumi. Edited by practices as pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, beseeching the Amin Banani, Richard Hovannisian, and Georges Sabagh. dead for intercession with God, asking blessings upon saints Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1994. following the ritual prayer, and the construction of domed

Wahhabiyya

mausoleums for pious personalities were strongly condemned as shirk, or associating divinity to beings other than God.

Among the “innovations” condemned by Ibn Abd al-Wahhab was the centuries-long heritage of jurisprudence (fiqh) that coalesced into four Sunni schools of law and the many schools of Shi ism. The Wahhabiyya considered themselves the true Sunnis and acknowledged their affinity to the Hanbali legal tradition. Yet they rejected all jurisprudence that in their opinion did not adhere strictly to the letter of the Qur an and the hadith, even that of Ibn Hanbal (780–855) and his students. Consequently, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, along with other Muslim reformers of the eighteenth century, such as Shah Wali Allah (1703–1762) in India, was one of the most important proponents of independent legal judgment (ijtihad) of his time. His ijtihad, however, was of a very conservative type, aimed at enforcing a literal reading of the Qur an and hadith, especially in such matters as the punishment for adultery, theft, drunkenness, and failure to follow religious obligations like daily prayers and fasting during Ramadan.

Having been expelled from the first two towns in which he preached, Ibn Abd al-Wahhab settled around 1744 in Dir iyya, an oasis controlled by Muhammad b. Sa ud (r. 1746–1765). The religious teacher and tribal chieftain concluded a pact by which Ibn Sa ud pledged to give military support for the propagation and enforcement of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab’s teachings. The alliance was cemented by Ibn Sa ud’s marriage to the daughter of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the beginning of frequent intermarriage between the two families that continues to the present. Ibn Abd al-Wahhab’s sons would also participate actively alongside the Sa ud family in the military expansion of the movement. Abdallah ibn Sa ud, circa 1750. Wahhabism is the conservative eighteenth-century reform movement upon which the current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was founded. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

By 1747, Ibn Sa ud was at war with the neighboring ruler of Riyadh, a conflict that would continue for nearly thirty years. Conquest of territory was followed by the establishment of a fort and mosque, where Wahhabi preachers and judges were settled to propagate Ibn Abd al-Wahhab’s teachings. Control over the entire Najd was achieved by 1780. Wahhabi force marched into the city and proceeded to level the gravestones of those members of the Prophet’s family and companions who are buried in the cemetery under the leadership of Muhammad b. Sa ud’s son, Abd al- Aziz. adjacent to the Prophet’s tomb.

By 1811, the Wahhabi domain extended over much of the Arabian Peninsula and north into Syria. The movement was checked only when the Ottoman sultan authorized the governor of Iraq. In 1802, Wahhabi tribesmen sacked the Shi ite shrine city of Karbala, severely damaging a number of religious buildings, including the gold-domed tomb of the Prophet’s Mecca the following year. In the Najd, however, the Wahhabi forces fought fiercely until the death of Sa ud in 1812 and his grandson, Husayn. To avenge this destruction, a Shi ite from Karbala, who had infiltrated the Wahhabi camp as a convert, May 1814. Sa ud’s successor, Abdallah, tried to negotiate a settlement with Muhammad Ali, but in September 1818 was forced to surrender the capital of Dir iyya and was later executed in Istanbul.

Wahhabis advanced upon the Hijaz. In 1803, they entered Mecca after the city was abandoned by its Ottoman garrison, The Wahhabi state was restored in the new capital of and quickly moved to purge the sanctuary of the Ka ba of any Riyadh under Turki, a cousin of Sa ud's, following the deparoffending ornamentation. Medina was not taken until the ture of Egyptian troops from the Najd in 1822. By the time of

728

Islam and the Muslim World

Wajib al-Wujud

Turki's death in 1834, most of the tribes in northeastern not adhering strictly to shari a and for wasting billions of Arabia acknowledged Wahhabi rule. A power struggle within dollars of the country's wealth. By 2003, the presence of Wahhabism began after Turki's death, when the Rashid clan American military bases in the kingdom had become the of Ha il began increasingly to challenge Sa udi control. In major source of conflict between Wahhabi activists and the 1891, Muhammad b. Rashid (r. 1872–1897) won a decisive royal family. Although the government has not taken any victory over the Sa udis and occupied Riyadh as the head of concerted steps to shut down or curb private Wahhabi the Sa ud family, Abd al-Rahman (r. 1889–1902), fled organizations, it has jailed or exiled a number of dissident to Kuwait. scholars and activists.

The Sa ud clan, now led by the young son of Abd al- Saudi Arabia's tremendous oil wealth has made possible Rahman, Abd al-'Aziz (1880–1953), reclaimed control of the dissemination of Wahhabi ideas and influence through- Riyadh in 1902. In 1912 Abd al- Aziz founded the first of the out the world, through religious propaganda and financial agricultural colonies known as dar al-hijra (abode of migra- assistance to mosques and schools. During the Afghan war against the tion). These colonies would produce the Ikhwan, a group of Soviet Union, many wealthy Saudis financed charities devoted Wahhabi loyalists who were prepared to fight for the that educated and cared for Afghan refugees in Sa ud family at short notice. The Wahhabi expansion in Pakistan. The religious schools (madrasas) where poor Afghan Arabia was curtailed under British pressures during the First boys were educated produced the foot soldiers for the Taliban, World War, but immediately afterward Abd al- Aziz began who seized control of much of Afghanistan during the 1990s and to advance beyond the Najd. The Hijaz was conquered by the

established a state grounded in Wahhabi doctrine. One end of 1925.

wealthy Saudi, Usama bin Ladin, personally directed the recruitment, training, and fighting of Arabs coming to Afghanistan. Wahhabi doctrines have governed much of the legal and culture in Afghanistan since the 1990s, leading to the rise of jihad against Soviet occupiers. This was the basis of the cultural life of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia since its founding in 1932, even though followers of Wahhabism may be a minority within the country. A Supreme Council of Ulema advises and oversees the government on the application of Islamic law (shari'a), which from the period of Ibn Abd al-Algeria, Sudan, Palestine, Chechnya, Kashmir, and Wahhab has been based largely on Hanbali jurisprudence. the Philippines.

While legal reform has taken place in certain areas—slavery and concubinage were officially outlawed in 1962, for

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example—the ulema have resisted reform in such fields as personal, economic, and penal law. The courts enforce a Jovanovich, 1982.

largely unwritten legal code that permits capital punishment Layish, Aharon. "Saudi Arabian Legal Reform as a Mechafor murder, rape, drug smuggling and adultery, amputation nism to Moderate Wahhabi Doctrine." Journal of the of the hands for theft, and flogging for drunkenness. The Oriental Society 107, no. 2 (April-June 1987): 279–292.

"commanding the right and forbidding the wrong," enforce Harry St. John Bridger. Arabia. New York: Charles Wahhabi societal mores, including "modest dress" for both Scribner's Sons, 1930.

sexes and a ban on public displays by Muslims or non-Muslims of heterodox religious beliefs.

Sohail H. Hashmi

The rapid modernization of Saudi society has often led to clashes between the Saudi family and clerical establishment and the most zealous Wahhabi loyalists. The first major crisis AL-WUJUD

came in the late 1920s, when Abd al-Aziz crushed his own Ikhwan militias when they revolted against some of his of wajib al-wujud (necessary existence) is the

modernization efforts. Later, dissident ulema challenged the most central aspect of Ibn Sina's (980–1037) philosophy and the one on government over such matters as the introduction of radios, which his cosmology rests. In subsequent Islamic thought, television, and automobiles into the country. Social reforms, wajib al-wujud is synonymous with "God." involving greater rights for women have provoked particularly severe reactions. The opening up of higher education to Ibn Sina distinguishes between the necessary, the possible, and the impossible. The necessary is that whose nonexistence of the twenty-first century, women were still unable to drive existence is impossible. The possible is that whose existence or nonexistence their own automobiles, despite domestic pressure to lift this existence is not impossible. The impossible is that whose existence is ban. In 1992, more than one hundred scholars circulated a thing always impossible. Thus, the necessary existence of a thing always petition criticizing the government for, among other things, belongs to that thing. This necessity of existence

Islam and the Muslim World

729

Wali

is manifest either through the thing itself or through some- range of Islamic topics in Arabic and Persian. The fact that his writings thing else. A thing whose existence is necessary through itself are often characterized by a historical, systematic approach cannot be necessary through something else. The converse is divisive coupled with an attempt to explain and mediate true. A thing whose necessity of existence is through some- tendencies leads him to be considered a precursor to thing else cannot be necessary through itself. The name of modernist/liberal Islamic thought. the latter type is "possible in itself, necessary through another." From an early age his father, Shah Abd al-Rahim, trained him both in What is possible in itself may not exist. But if it exists, it Islamic studies and Naqshbandiyya Sufism. In 1731, does so through an external cause that necessitates its exist- Wali Allah left India to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca ence. Since the chain of causes cannot be infinite, it must stop and Medina, where he stayed for some fourteen months. with a thing whose existence is necessary through that thing His most important and influential work, Hujjat Allah itself and not through another. al-baligha, in which he aimed to restore the Islamic sciences through the study of the hadith, was composed in This first cause must be necessary in all respects. For if it Arabic sometime during the decade after his return to India.

had an aspect that was possible in itself, then there would be need for something prior to it that could bring it into existence, and so on.

carried on by his descendants, in particular his sons, Shah

Based on the fact that the first or uncaused cause is Abd

al- Aziz (d. 1823) and Shah Rafi al-Din (d. 1818), and

necessary in all respects, Ibn Sina argues in ways beyond this his

grandson Shah Isma'il Shahid (d. 1831). Shah Abd al- brief discussion, that,

among other things, the first cause is Aziz was a noted scholar and

teacher with a wide circle of

also as follows. One, that is, nothing can share in it. Thus, it pupils,

some of whom are linked directly with the establish cannot have any

differentiating characteristic (as rationality is ment of the Deoband

madrasa.

for humanity), species (as humanity is for animality), or genus

South Asian Muslims with an anti-Sufi, puritan outlook

(as animality is for humanity). Therefore, it is indivisible in

such as the Ahl-e Hadith, and even the followers of Maulana

discourse and, hence, indefinable. For a definition is a discourse divided into

genus, species, and difference. Maududi, find in Shah Wali

Allah's return to the fundamentals of shari'a and political rejection of

alien influences a

Wajib al-wujud, also called, among other things, the first, precursor

to their own reformist beliefs. Another group of his

the first mover, the first manager, the principle of all, the

successors, best exemplified by his closest disciple and cousin,

creator and Allah, is a desired intellect that knows itself and Muhammad

Ashiq (1773), seems to have pursued Wali

knows other things in a universal manner inasmuch as it is Allah's

mystical inclinations.

their principle.

See also Deoband; South Asia, Islam in; Tasawwuf.

Ibn Sina's concept of wajib al-wujud had a great influence

on later Islamic and Christian thought (see, for, example, the

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third Way of the five Thomistic proofs of God's existence).

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See also Falsafa; Ibn Sina.

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Afaq al-Jadida, 1985.

Shams C. Inati

WAQF

The common textbook definition of waqf (pl. awqaf) as a

WALI See Saint

“charitable and religious trust” only partly conveys the much richer history of these institutions. Awqaf always had familial and political dimensions along with, as well inseparable from, the purely pious ones. These dedications did provide ways of WALI ALLAH, SHAH (1703–1762)

organizing welfare and piety, but also ways of passing from

one generation to the next wealth as well as the social power

Shah Wali Allah was the most prominent Muslim intellectual that

wealth insured. Most endowments mixed private and

of eighteenth-century India and a prolific writer on a wide public dimensions.

730

Islam and the Muslim World

Waqf

In technical terms, a waqf depends on the “stopping” (one Managing relations with the power holders attracted by that wealth was a basic meaning of the Arabic root verb, waqafa) of some piece second task falling to the overseers. In this case, of property. An owner surrenders his/her rights of possession describing the history of a particular waqf gives insights into the ways to God. The house or field or garden so dedicated should that political organizations shift. At Mazhar-e Sharif, never again pass to a human owner—unless replaced with shrewd management brought a relatively smooth transition from the something of equal value. The person making the dedication period of Uzbek domination to the era of Pushtun (the waqif) retains two important powers. He can distribute ascendancy marked by the creation of Afghanistan. the income of the waqf in any way that does not violate Islamic sensibilities (a waqf to support a tavern would be bad): Several important studies by Carl Petry are founded on information therefore, donors as well as their near relations can receive provided by the awqaf connected to the Mamluks of Egypt and the income from such a trust. Also, the dedicator appoints a mosques and their families. Sultans and great emirs founded trustee (mutawalli) who administers the income of the waqf. theological seminaries (madrasas). Since their Donors are free to appoint as mutawallis themselves, their sons were not likely to inherit any political power, endowchildren, and grandchildren.

ments provided the only economic future the dependents of Mamluks could have. Therefore, women featured prominently in the Although permanent, in theory, the historical record awqaf of Mamluk Egypt. shows that most awqaf were fragile. The earliest engraved The history of Mamluk women and their awqaf find announcement of a waqf so far discovered emerged from a analogies in the rest of the Muslim world. Women founded heap of rubble in Palestine. As the economic, social, and and managed many of their own endowments. Females in the political needs of people whose livelihoods depended on early modern Dar al Islam probably had more economic and endowments changed over time, succeeding generations insocial power than they possessed in more recent times.

evitably altered the terms of the trusts until they ceased to resemble their founders' dictates concerning the disposition Mamluks had a peculiar place in medieval Egypt. They of real property and its income. For example, in postcaliphal were of foreign birth. They were Central Asians or from the states such as Mamluk Egypt, rulers sometimes seized en- Caucasus Mountains: Turks, Circassians, and the occasional dowments established by their predecessors and set about Mongol. As martial artists, they differed in almost all social recreating them to suit a different understanding of their own ways from the Arabic-speaking peasants of the Nile basin.

epoch's religio-political needs. Colonial regimes and the Their status as warrior-slaves was not inheritable. Therefore, nationalist states that succeeded them followed the practice many high-ranking Mamluks planned the economic and of "Islamic" states by renewing and reconstituting endowments. social futures of their families, especially that of their womenfolk, with awqaf. Their wives and offspring could receive Muslim endowments acquired a kind of dual status in stipends guaranteed by endowments' incomes. Egyptian realmmost every region of the Dar al-Islam. On the one hand, religious scholars (ulema) also figured in the Mamluk way of their status according to scholars of shari a/fiqh (the terms waqf making. As educated members of the Arabic-speaking badly translated as Islamic law) was a constant source of majority, ulema were often go-betweens representing the debate although they generally agreed that awqaf should be rulers to their subjects. Scholars were, therefore, a favorite permanent. On the other hand, the institutions themselves choice when appointing custodians. continually evolved to suit the economic, social, as well as political circumstances of particular times and places. Of the Other

studies of single places in periods of transition can
 four madhahib of the contemporary Muslim world, the Hanifite yield
 insights into the political as well as the social operations
 seems to have the most elaborate doctrines concerning of awqaf.
 Miriam Hoexter's study of the endowments manendowments.
 aged by ulema of Algiers city in the late
 seventeenth and early
 eighteenth centuries establishes a model for analytical social
 In a brilliant study of the shrine (Mazhar-e Sharif) of dimensions of
 endowments. Most of the trusts in her study
 Hazrat Ali in what is now Afghanistan, Robert McChesney were actually
 founded, under the Hanifi rite, in the interests
 has traced a series of awqaf over a period of four hundred of the
 donors' own families. But the urban population of
 years. Custodians (mutawallis) were the central figures in Algiers
 suffered from violence that had both internal and
 Mazhar-e Sharif's waqf complex. A few families managed to external
 orgins. When creating a waqf, the poor of the Holy
 pass the guardians' office along a direct line of descent. Such Cities of
 Mecca and Medina were often the residual beneficicontinuity merely deepened a
 particular group's commit- aries of the income. The scholars of
 Algiers city honestly
 ment to the Mazhar. Custodians of Ali's shrine concentrated managed
 those endowments. Almost every year for nearly a
 on the management of a vast irrigation project watering the century, they
 managed to forward a tidy sum in coin to poor
 fields dedicated to this holy place. McChesney shows that Algerians
 living out their lives in Mecca or Medina.
 over time the valuable canals fell into disrepair. The total
 amount of land under cultivation declined. Even so, the value Colonial
 regimes often thought of themselves as preservof the produce from the
 shrine's lands remained considerable. ing and reforming Muslim
 institutions. Gregory Kozlowski

Islam and the Muslim World

731

Wazifa

describes some of the ways in which colonial governors in meanings
 of wazifa explain why information on it is found in
 India not only changed the character of specific endowed such a
 diversity of sources.
 establishments, but shaped all subsequent views, Muslim and
 non-Muslim alike, concerning the legal status of awqaf. Apart
 from the allusions to wazifa that are found in
 Because imperial regimes shaped the characters of the inde- chronicles
 and biographical dictionaries, information on its
 pendent states that succeeded them, attitudes that were meaning as

a pension for the members of the religious colonial in origin have exerted some power on the present day institution in Iran is found in Safavid administration sources. Muslim nation-states. In particular, colonial and post-colonial Wazifa was a state stipend given to deserving individuals regimes tended to suppress any awqaf primarily dedicated to or institutions, invariably religious in nature. In principle the the founders' families. The second trend was to have a state stipend was attached to a function. For example, in late controlled bureaucracy administer all public dedications. Safavid times in Iran, all leading members of the religious Government-controlled endowments were sometimes the establishment received a wazifa, which was paid out of the core of one or another officially endorsed versions of Islam. state treasury or royal endowments. Another kind of wazifa was paid to Armenian religious leaders from the income of In the years since 1950, old trends of the history of the Armenian Christian churches. endowments have continued. Particular institutions are still fragile and depend upon watchful managers. Circumstances After the fall of the Safavid state, the payment of the wazifa of the moment still shape Muslim philanthropy. HAMAS by the state was discontinued. When the Qajar dynasty came to power began its life as a charitable trust for Palestinians. Much of its in Iran, the state paid greater attention to religious work continues to be feeding the poor or tending to the sick leaders, and resumed the payment of the wazifa to them. and wounded. New kinds of waqf that have a global focus have emerged as a proselytizing tool for Saudis and Iranians. See also Political Organization.

Others with a less confrontational approach dedicate themselves to such noble tasks as preserving Islam's architectural BIBLIOGRAPHY heritage. Though their institutional shape may alter, awqaf Floor, Willem. A Fiscal History of Iran in the Safavid and Qajar will be a feature of Muslim life in the years to come. Qajar Periods 1500–1929. New York: Bibliotica Persica Press, 1999.

See also Economy and Economic Institutions; HAMAS; Law.

Mansur Sefatgol

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Kozlowski, Gregory C. Muslim Endowments and Society in British India. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University In medieval Muslim society, the wazir (Per., vazir) was the

Press, 1985. prime minister who administered the central government for the caliph. The term wazir occurs in the Qur'an once (25:35), McChesney, Robert D. *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991. loosely applied to political assistants in the early Umayyad period (661–750). The Islamic office of wazir developed in Petry, Carl F. *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk the early Abbasid Age (750–1258), probably during the reign of Caliph al-Mahdi (775–785)*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. evolved out of the administrative functions of the chief scribal secretary (katib) whose duties, functions, and authority were Gregory C. Kozlowski well established under the Byzantine and Sassanian governments that fell in part or in total, respectively, to Muslim rule in the seventh century. Thus, some of the earliest figures to serve in this important and powerful post in Baghdad and WAZIFA other capitals of government established by the Abbasid caliphs were chief secretaries trained under non-Muslim A wazifa, or pension, refers to a payment made to members of governments who converted to Islam and continued to apply the religious institution in Iran. The term was employed by their skills under the new Muslim rulers. Persian and Arab writers with a variety of meanings including task, duty, and office. But the term had a special meaning A famous line of early wazirs came from the Barmakid exclusive to the administrative system of Iran, which differs family, originally affiliated with a Buddhist temple in Balkh from the other Muslim administrative systems. The multiple (Bactria) in Central Asia. A patriarch of the Barmakid family,

732

Islam and the Muslim World West, Concept of in Islam

Khalid ibn Barmak, joined the Abbasid revolution against the By the late nineteenth century there was a growing conceptualization of Western Europe as an entity. Earlier Muslim reformers had worked simply to adopt European techniques and ideas within their own societies but by late in the century, some Muslim the government for the caliph on a day-to-day basis. As the

intellectuals, like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (d. 1897), began to argue that Muslim thought and societies could be modernized without having to become culturally European and that there were distinctive differences between European and Muslim civilizational systems over several subdivisions of administrative government. Christian-based European civilization and Muslim civilization (sing. *wizara*), such as the military, treasury, and post. The conceptualization developed, many Muslims began to define "the West" as a materialist civilization, as distinguished from the spiritually strong "Eastern" civilization whom accepted Islam) seized control of the Islamic lands like Islam. In Baghdad and its immediate surroundings in Iraq. In later times the term *wazir* came also to mean an advisor. During the first half of the twentieth century, for many Muslims, the West became the model for reform and material development. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's vision of transformation of Turkey during the 1920s, for example, was explicitly based on a concept of the West as a model. These concepts of the West tended to be liberal in mode but by the middle of the twentieth century the West also became a source for radical programs of societal transformation. Although radical Arab socialist movements like the Ba'ath in Syria made some symbolic gestures to Muslim identity, their programs of WEST, CONCEPT OF IN ISLAM socialist revolution involved concepts of the West that reflected Marxist and other Western radical Muslim awareness of the region called "the West" reflects the ideologies. changing historical nature of the West itself over the centuries. In the early centuries of Islamic history, Muslims knew By the 1960s, many Muslims began to have new concepts of the existence of lands and peoples north of the Mediterranean of the West. Influenced by major crises of Western civilization, but they were identified primarily in ethnic and geotion like the two world wars and the Great Depression, geographical terms and described as primitive. By the time of the Western self-criticism, and Muslims' own sense of self-Crusades (the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), the most assertion following the decline of Western imperialism, many

common term used by Muslims for Western Europeans was Muslims were more willing to be critical of the Western al-*ifranj* or “Franks.” This term implied a Christian and model, even in terms of material dimensions of life. The foreign identity and a relatively barbarian lifestyle. fixation with copying Western models was seen as weakening In the early modern era there was a growing awareness of Muslim society, and an influential Iranian intellectual, Jalal European societies. However, there was not a single generic Al-i Ahmad, called it the disease of being intoxicated by the cultural concept—like “the West”—that Muslims regularly West (gharbzadeghi). New movements of Islamic resurgence used for European societies, although there was recognition began to be explicitly anti-Western in both political and that Europeans (often still “Franks”) were Christians and cultural terms, while arguing that modern Western technology therefore unbelievers. Until the nineteenth century, what-ogy and science were still important for Muslims. This new ever identifying labels were used, Muslim conceptualizations type of position was already clearly articulated in the mid of the West involved a sense of peoples and regions that were 1960s by the Egyptian militant ideologue, Sayyid Qutb (ex ignorant infidels and inferior to the civilization of Islam. cuted in 1966), in his book *Milestones*. Just as the concept of the success of the West was an important part of the logic of The situation changed dramatically in the nineteenth Muslim modernizing reformers in the nineteenth and early century. As European states expanded control over much of twentieth centuries, the concept of the failure of the West the Muslim world, Muslims’ visions of the West were filtered was an important part of the ideological logic of the late through the lens of experiencing European imperialism. The twentieth-century Islamic resurgence. West became identified with modernity. Muslim reformers sought European advisors and models as a part of their efforts Late in the twentieth century a new concept of the West to modernize society. There was recognition of the greater developed among some Muslims. As Muslim minority communities became significant parts of Western societies and of the stronger munities became significant parts of Western societies, European military power of European states when compared with pean and U.S. Muslims began to identify themselves as Muslim societies. authentically “Western” as well as Muslim. Scholars like

Islam and the Muslim World

733

Women, Public Roles of

Tariq Ramadan argued forcefully for the effective existence early

history of Islamic civilization. Muslim women in early of a legitimate “European Islam.” At the beginning of the Islam had numerous public roles in such different fields as the economy, education, religion, and the military. For example, Khadija b. Khuwaylid (d. 619), the Prophet’s first wife, was renowned among the Quraysh for her business acumen. During wartime, Muslim women participated in the military. See also Crusades; European Culture and Islam; Islam Muhammad used to bring his wives to the battlefields. and Other Religions. A isha b. Abu Bakr (d. 678) accompanied the Prophet to the wars and learned many military skills, such as initiating pre-war BIBLIOGRAPHY negotiations between combatants, conducting, and ending wars. It Ahmad, Jalal Al-e. Gharbzadeghi (Weststruckness). Translated by John Green and Ahmad Alizadeh. Costa Mesa, Calif.: contemporaries and companions entrusted her military ability to restore justice and the communal good. At the Battle of the Camel, Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, and Smith, Jane I., eds. Muslim in 656, she led a force of 13,000 soldiers against the caliph Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible. Walnut Creek, Ali (d. 661) after he failed to punish the murderer of Uthman (d. Calif: Altamira Press, 2002. 656). Muslim history is replete with the tales of many Hourani, Albert. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939. other Muslim women warriors, such as Husayba (of the Battle of Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983. the Battle of Uhud, in 625), Umm Umara (of the Battle of Uqraba, in Lewis, Bernard. The Muslim Discovery of Europe. New York: 634), al-Khansa (of the Battle of Qadisiyya, in Uqraba, in Norton, 1982. 636), and Hind bint Utba and Huwayra (of the Battle of Yarmuk, in 637). Voll, John O. “Islamic Renewal and the ’Failure of the West.’” In Religious Resurgence. Edited by Richard Antoun Women have also played important roles in the field of and Mary Elaine Hegland. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Unireligious knowledge. A isha was one of the most authoritative sources in the transmission of the prophetic tradition. Von Laue, Theodore H. The World Revolution of Westernization: Hafsa, another Prophet’s wife, preserved the original collec-

The Twentieth Century in Global Perspective. New York:

tion of the Qur'an. And Fatima, the Prophet's youngest

Oxford University Press, 1987.

daughter, played an equally important role in the transmission of the Prophetic tradition within the eminent Shi'ite

John O. Voll

circles.

Medieval Times

Religious scholarship and outstanding personal devotion in

WOMEN, PUBLIC ROLES OF

life allowed these and other early Muslim women to insert

There are religious and historical considerations concerning themselves

into the male-dominated public sphere. Regarding the inclusion of Muslim women

in the public sphere. The Adawiyya (d. 801) was famous for her

mystical pursuits.

Qur'an addresses women as individuals who are responsible Sayyida

Nafisa (d. 824), a female descendant of the Prophet,

for their moral individuality. It states that no individual, was

respected for her piety and knowledge. Al-Qushayri's

regardless of sex, will be forced to bear hardship beyond his or wife, the

daughter of his master Abu Ali al-Daqqaq, was

her capacity (2:233, 2:286); that each person is responsible for renowned for

her transmission of hadith as well as for her piety.

his/her own account (6:164, 40:17, 20:15); and that any good

In the medieval period, Muslim women achieved less

deed returns to the one who performs it (2:272).

public participation. Compared to the previous generations,

Qur'anic Examples only a few

Muslim women were well known for transmitting

The Qur'an further associates the call for women's individual prophetic

traditions. Among them were Khadija bint Muhammad with communal participation

in public good, as indicated (d. 1389), Bay Khatun (d. 1391), and

Khadija bint Ali (d.

cited in verse 33:53. This verse invites human beings to 1468).

Women's participation also became less and less

display their individual and communal virtues for the public visible as

their roles were subject to the general codification of

good. It also establishes a common obligation for both men Islamic law.

The jurists generally agreed that the most honorable women to endow themselves

with the ethical qualities, able roles for women were those of wife,

mother, and capable

such as chastity, truthfulness, and patience, which work at household

manager. Less valued but acceptable was the role

both personal and communal levels. of religious

teacher. The most inappropriate role for women,

however, was generally held to be that of a judge or a head of

Whereas the Qur'an provides the general principles governing the state. Nonetheless, jurists' opinions varied greatly on earning a woman's participation in public life, concrete examples of female leadership, and Abu Hanifa (d. 767) and Ibn Jarir al-Tabari's views of how they actually participated can also be found in the Tabari believed that women could be appointed judges.

734

Islam and the Muslim World Women, Public Roles of

women supporting the male-only Nahdlatul Ulama ("Rise of Religious Scholars," 1926) formed the N.U. Muslimat (1946).

The trend toward globalization presents ever-greater opportunities for Muslim women to engage in public life. More women find that public participation provides them with an avenue for self-expression and an opportunity to become affluent, whereas others are driven into the public sphere by necessity. Muslim women have availed themselves of the opportunity to contribute to the public good in a variety of ways, such as religious teachers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, farmers, laborers, and politicians. Some Muslim women have become the heads of Muslim states, for example Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan (prime minister, 1988–1990 and 1993–1996), Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia (elected president in 2001), Shaykh Hasina Wajed of Bangladesh (elected prime minister in 1996), and Tansu Ciller of Turkey (prime minister, 1993–1995).

Although women have achieved important advances in the public sphere, the idealization of the proper Muslim woman as a mother and a wife has never died. Islamists, both male and female, continue to disseminate this idea in order to counter ideas of women's roles that they see as having been imported from the West. Zaynab al-Ghazali (b. 1918), the founder of Islamic Women's Association, set forth a critique against Benazir Bhutto, above, was Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1988–1990 and 1993–1996. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS women who modeled themselves on the Western ways of life and images, even taking to task her own early mentor, Huda Sha rawi.

The legal assertion of a gender-based division of societal Embedded in Islamist movements throughout the Muslim world is the ideal image of a veiled wife and mother as the resulting in their seclusion within the private sphere. This pillar of social order and family. Some such movements praise

exclusion coincided with the misogynistic assumption that women's roles as mothers and wives, but still permit them to women's participation in public life invites evil and creates engage in public life if need drives them to do so; others confine women social disorder for society, largely because of the temptation to their own households, denying them more they pose to men. public roles, as in the case of the Taliban.

Modern Movements See also
Feminism; Gender; Law.

The influx of modernity to the Muslim world has changed the faith of many Muslim women. Opportunities for Muslim

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women to receive education and get involved in nation building have multiplied. By early 1900, women had become Ahmed, Leila.
Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

as Huda Sha rawi (1879–1947) and Malak Hifni Nassef (1886–1918), were among the first generation of Muslim Hibri,
Azizah Y al-. “An Introduction to Muslim Women’s women to promote education for women and discuss the Rights.”
In Windows of Faith: Muslim Women Scholar-Activists in North America. Edited by Gisela Webb. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

The call for educating women was heard as far away as Indonesia. There, men’s political activist groups were quickly Mernissi,
Fatima. The Veil and Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women’s organizations, which provided collaboration of Women’s Rights in Islam. Translated by Mary Jo
Lakeland. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1991.

tion and support. For instance, the Muhammadiya (“Way of Muhammad,” founded in 1912) had a women’s counterpart Roded,
Ruth. Women in Islam and the Middle East: A Reader. in the A isyiah (“way of A isha,” founded in 1917). Similarly, New
York: Taurus, 1999.

the women’s counterpart to the Persatuan Islam (Islamic Union, 1923) was the Persatuan Islam Istri (1936), and
Etin Anwar

Islam and the Muslim World

735

Y

YAHYA BIN ABDALLAH RAMIYA

Nimtz

August, H. Islam and Politics in East Africa: the Sufi

Order in Tanzania. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota
(1856–1931)
Press, 1980.

Yahya bin Abdallah Ramiya was born named Mundu, in
Hassan Mwakimako
eastern Congo, in 1856. He became a house slave of Shaykh
Amr bin Sulayman al-Lemki (d. 1901) at the age of eight,
embraced Islam, and became a successful merchant, plantation owner, Sufi
shaykh, and colonial administrator. Owing

YOUNG OTTOMANS

to the endogamous nature of the Ibadi sect to which Ramiya's A
movement committed to constitutional reform in the
master adhered, he became a Sunni. His religious studies Ottoman
Empire, the Young Ottomans were influential
began at the age of thirty, and he completed the Qur'an under between
1860 and 1876. After 1865 they were the leading
Sharif Abdallah bin Alawi al-Jamal al-Layl around 1889. He critics
of the Ottoman state. They used the press to create
continued studying jurisprudence (fiqh), mysticism (tasawwuf), public
opinion and introduced political concepts such as
exegesis (tafsir), theology (tawhid), and logic (mantiq) under
nationalism, patriotism, and parliamentarianism into the Otto-
Shaykh Abu Bakr bin Taha al-Jabri, matriculating around 1900. man
debates. They developed the first constitutionalist ideology in the Ottoman
Empire. Civil and official leaders of the
In 1911, Shaykh Ramiya received an Ijaza (certificate of society
embraced them.
instruction) from Shaykh Muhammad bin Husayn al-Lughani,
From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ottobecame a khalifa of the
Qadiriyya Sufi order, and was selected
man Empire gradually fell behind the emerging West. Dis the shaykh of Bagamoyo
after the death in 1910 of his master,
covery of America altered the economics of gold. Europe
Shaykh Muhammad Ma aruf bin Shaykh Ahmad bin Abu
slowly became a bigger gold holder while the Ottoman
Bakr. Shaykh Ramiya established the Maulid in Bagamoyo, to
Empire began to lose its buying power. This was reflected in
celebrate the Prophet's birthday. This ritual became the most its
tax policies that made its subjects uncomfortable and later
popular Muslim celebration on mainland Tanganyika during
rebellious. As Europe grew richer, it entered an era of
the colonial period, equaled by that held at the Riyadhha
technological development that was reflected in its military
Mosque in Lamu. In 1916, he was appointed Liwali (district and
especially in its fleet power. European colonialism took
governor) of Bagamoyo, making this former slave an influen- off

when the Ottoman Empire became less comfortable with
tial personality throughout East Africa. He died on May 1931 its
institutions of government. The growth of Europe, ineviand was succeeded both
materially and spiritually by his son, tably, happened at the expense
of the only non-European

Shaykh Muhammad Ramiya. imperial
power. Ottomans slowly lost their control of trade
routes, and gave privileges to European traders in order to be
See also Africa, Islam in; Tariqa. able to
keep them in their markets. Borrowing from the
European bankers to keep the state intact was a short-term
solution, which hastened the bankruptcy of the Ottomans.

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Modernization became an issue as the need for a better
Cruise O'Brien, Donal Brian, ed. Charisma and Brotherhood in
military power to fight the Europeans rose during the eight-
African Islam. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988. eenth
century, and the entire nineteenth century was an

Young Ottomans

attempt to reach an Eastern style social-military-modernity. As the
alliance grew, three intellectuals became its leading
This shaped the politics of the Middle East to the date. figures:
Namik Kemal, Ziya Pasa (1825–1880), and Ali Suavi.
Under their guidance the Young Ottomans used Tasvir-i
After losing many of its social estates in the eighteenth efkar to
communicate their ideas. Eventually, they were
century, the empire started to reform itself. At the beginning censored
and in 1867 Kemal and Ziya had to escape to
of the nineteenth century these reforms were intensified, and Europe.
They continued to communicate their work through
after 1839, with the proclamation of the Hatt-i Serif of foreign
post offices that were outside the scope of official
Gülhane (The Rescript of the Rose Chamber), the period of Ottoman
censorship. In Europe, the Young Ottomans formed
Tanzimat (Reformation) started. Hatt-i Serif recognized equal an
opposition movement, based in London and Paris. An
rights for Muslims and non-Muslims alike, promised security
Ottoman-Egyptian prince, Mustafa Fazil, who tried to use
of life, and administrative, educational, and economic re- the
movement to pressure the Ottoman government for his
forms. Another document, the Hatt-i Hümayun (The Impe- own ends,
sponsored them. Mustafa Fazil had also helped
rial Edict) of 1856, reasserted the equal rights of non- Ibrahim
Sinasi, in 1861, with the establishment of Tasvir-i efkar.
Muslims and Muslim Ottoman subjects alike. This edict also
triggered some negative responses among Muslims. In 1859, Later

Ali Suavi also went to exile. Suavi represented the the so-called Kuleli Conspiracy took place when a religious more Islamic reaction to the Tanzimat and it was essentially leader led a riot to which young officers and clerics also gave after his arrival that the Young Ottomans became aware of support. Evidently, the Tanzimat generated political and their differences. Kemal and Ziya's understanding of parliacultural conflicts for it changed the millet (protected religious ment and democracy had little resemblance to Ali's concepcommunities) structures. Secular, ethnic, and nationalist ide- tion of these institutions. Their newspaper, called Hurriyet als began to mobilize Ottoman subjects, first non-Muslims, (Freedom), was closed due to the conflicts among the leaders then Muslims. of the movement. In 1870, most of the Young Ottomans returned to the Ottoman Empire and continued to express The Young Ottomans represented the first sound Muslim their ideas. They were subjected to further censorship and exile. intellectual response to the Tanzimat. It was initiated by Although the Young Ottomans were liberals, they were Ibrahim Sinasi (1824–1871), a young Ottoman bureaucrat, often conservative in their criticism of Tanzimat leaders like and a protege of Mustafa Resit Pasa, director of the Army Ali Pasa. They believed the reforms undermined Muslim and Arsenal (Tophane). Sinasi entered the Arsenal and rose within Ottoman identity. They admired European nations and parthe bureaucracy. He was sent to Europe by Resit for further liamentary systems, but they argued that the Ottoman Empire education. In Paris he attended the literary soirées of Ernest was different from the European countries. They accepted Renan and Lamartine. In 1855, he was a leading Tanzimat that the subjects of the empire were heterogeneous, varying bureaucrat but his high profile threatened some of his colin race, religion, and language. For the future of the Ottoman leagues. As a result of internal conflicts, he was never allowed state, they argued, it was necessary to implement a constituto hold a significant position. He was especially disliked by tion, a parliament, and Ottomanism, an ideology that com- Ali Pasa, the grand wazir. After 1860, Sinasi became involved bined Ottoman culture and Islam with modern nationalism. in literature. He started his own paper Tasvir-i efkar (De- In their view a parliament would provide a political forum scription of Ideas, 1861–1870), which later became the news where these differences could be consolidated and governorgan of the Young Ottomans. In 1864, he asked for a ment policies developed. Participation in such a system would government post and was refused by Ali Pasa one last time.

generate a feeling of belonging and emphasize the concept of He went into exile in Paris, leaving Tasvir-i efkar to Namik vatan (fatherland). Some of the Young Ottomans argued that Kemal (1840–1888), a member of his circle. the entire millet system had to be abolished in order to allow a The intellectuals who became associated with Sinasi and full expression of Ottomanism. his paper were critics of the government. They accused Ali Ironically, Ali Pasa and Fuat Pasa were modernizers too. and Fuat Pasas of using Tanzimat to establish the autocratic They belonged to the same generation of reformists as the Young rule of elite bureaucrats, of undermining Islam and Ottoman Ottomans but they believed that reforms had to be achieved culture, and of not defending the empire against the influ- through a strong, centralized state. In their view, ences of the Western powers. In 1865, six men formed a representative government would delay modernization and secret group called the Patriotic Alliance, to criticize Ali Pasa undermine the power of the state. and act against him. Most of these men were former employees of the Translation Bureau of the Porte, and were thus In part, it was the Young Ottomans who inspired the exposed to international developments. They shared a com- civilian and military officials who dethroned Sultan Abdulaziz in 1876. mon knowledge of European civilization and concern over In the same year, the first constitution and the first parliament the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Their names were were introduced in the Ottoman Empire, under Mehmet Bey, Nuri Bey, Resat Bey, Namik Kemal, Ayatollah Sultan Abd al-Hamid II (Ar., Abd al-Hamid II). These Bey, and Refik Bey. developments can also be attributed to the influences of the

738

Islam and the Muslim World

Young Turks

Young Ottomans, who saw to it that the first constitution of in Salonika. They joined the CUP in 1907 and because of their the empire emphasized Ottomanism as its ideological basis. reputation for action these men became the ruling faction. From then on the new coalition was named the Committee for Among the leaders of the Young Ottomans, Namik Kemal Progress and Union (CPU). In the same year, between 27 proved to be the most influential. Later generations, and and 29 December, the Second Congress of Ottoman especially the Young Turks who emerged after 1889, em- Liberals met in Paris and resolved to topple

braced his image and his fervent patriotism. Abdülhamit II from power.

See also Pan-Islam; Reform: Arab Middle East and By the spring of 1908 those CPU members who had North Africa. served in the Ottoman army in Macedonia began to act more openly. They reacted to Abdülhamit's efforts to discipline BIBLIOGRAPHY and spy on their activities by assassinating inspectors and Mardin, Serif. The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought. Prince- others loyal to the sultan. In July, Adjunct Major Ahmed ton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962. Niyazi Bey and later Enver Bey renounced their loyalty to the Shaw, Stanford J., and Shaw, Ezel Kural. History of the sultan and took their troops into the mountains to engage in Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II: Reform, Revo- guerilla activity. Later, the special military commander sent lution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975. to take control of the Macedonian army was assassinated by a London: Cambridge University Press, 1977. CUP member. The CPU further pressured the sultan with a series of telegrams threatening to occupy the capital if the Murat C. Mengüç constitution were not reinstated. In July 1908, Abdülhamit felt obliged to reinstitute the 1876 constitution, inaugurating the second constitutional era, also known as the Young Turks' revolution.

YOUNG TURKS

The event was celebrated by every ethnic group that stood Young Turks is the term generally applied to the opposition to acquire greater security. Yet when the parliament began to the Ottoman sultan Abdulhamit II's rule (Ar., Abd al- meeting, the division among the Young Turks's supporters Hamid, 1876–1908). Although the foundations of the move- became clear. Two major factions were identified: unionists ment can be traced back to 1889, it only became politically CPU and the liberals. The unionists favored a strong centralactive prior to the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Its ized state to achieve modernization and progress. The libermembers at the time forced the reinstatement of the constitu- als wanted a decentralized and autonomous polity benefiting tion and the parliament after thirty years of autocracy. Between non-Muslim and non-Turkish groups. The multireligious 1908 and 1918 it was the Young Turks who governed the and multinational population of the empire eventually forced Ottoman Empire. the Young Turks to adopt a middle way, which has been

called Ottomanism. Meanwhile, Turkist and Islamist think-
The Young Turks belonged to the generation following ers were still
involved in the government.
that of the Young Ottomans, whose legacy was the constitutional era inaugurated
in December 1876. But when in In April 1909 an insurrection
led by an Islamist organiza-
February 1878 Sultan Abdulhamit II dissolved the parliament tion made it
clear that Muslim influences were strong among
and embarked on absolute rule, an opposition slowly began to the
unionists. But in 1912 a military coup brought the liberals
form underground. In 1889 a group of students from the into power.
Meanwhile the demographics of the empire were
imperial Medical School formed an alliance called the Asso- changing:
the Ottoman army had suffered repeated defeats in
ciation for the Union of Ottomans. By 1895 they had changed the Balkans,
and during its last withdrawal from 1911 to 1913,
their name to the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP). the empire
lost almost all of its remaining European lands and
The CUP was mostly active in Europe and Egypt. Its mem- one-quarter
of its population. The unionists took advantage
bers came from diverse backgrounds, ethnically and profes- of the
political turmoil and in January 1913 took over the
sionally. Due to Abdulhamit's autocratic rule, many educated government
once and for all. By June, they had eliminated the
Turks, Greeks, Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, and Armenians liberal
opposition.
came to support the idea of Ottomanism, a nineteenthcentury ideology that
combined Ottoman culture and Islam Throughout World War I, with
the deportation and
with modern nationalism. In 1902 the First Congress of ethnic
cleansing of Armenians and the arrival of Turkish
Ottoman Liberals was held in Paris where the opposition to people from
the Balkans and Caucasus, the empire populathe sultan came into the open.
tion became increasingly Muslim-Turkish and Arab.

The
unionists started to rely more on religion. Their pan-Islamism
In 1906 some military officers and government officials was often
aimed at appeasing Arab constituencies who were
formed another group called the Ottoman Freedom Society, displeased
with the empire.

Islam and the Muslim World

739

Youth Movements

In the prewar period, both the Turkish and the Arab Lewis, Bernard.
The Emergence of Modern Turkey. New York:
nationalists were intent on forming a solid nationalist ideol- Oxford

University Press, 1961.

ogy. Under the CPU, official and popular sentiment started to embrace Turkish nationalism. The Turkish Hearth (Türk

Murat C. Mengüç

Ocagi), founded after March 1912, was a side organization of the CPU whose original duty was to advocate Islamism and Ottomanism. But they were also trying to convince Turkish people that the only way for the empire to survive was to
YOUTH
MOVEMENTS

embrace Turkish nationalism. The Turkish Hearth was also responsible for propagating the use of Turkish instead of Youth typically refers to the ages fifteen to twenty-four or other languages. Under CPU pressure, government officials eleven to twenty-nine. Analysts view youths as intellectually idealistic, increased the use of Turkish in government administration, psychologically impatient, practically inexperienced, and as the religious schools and courts came under state socially liberal, and politically radical. Since they often lack a control, Turkish started to predominate. The immigrating socially defined position in society, they tend to demand more Caucasian and eastern European Turks participated in these more far-reaching changes in society than their elders. Youth developments, and a project to unite all the Turks, or all the movements also bear these characteristics.

Turanian people, began.

Although youth movements are modern phenomena, After 1914 the notion of Arab independence emerged, youths' collective involvement in politics is not new to the along with the possibility of the Ottoman Empire's fall and Middle Eastern societies. The futuwwa brotherhoods in methe inevitability of subsequent foreign hegemony. Many such dieval periods consisted of semireligious, voluntary, urban, ideas were current in Beirut, Damascus, and Basra, where the youth organizations engaged in acts of chivalry (javan-mardi) independence movements in the Balkans had already been protecting the less fortunate, supporting public causes, and at times acting noted and the Young Turks had been active. Triggered by an times acting in parallel with official security forces. Though not always alliance between Sharif Husayn of Mecca and the British, in not always viewed positively or engaged in benevolent acts, the futuwwa 1916, the Arab Revolt started the separation of Arab lands the futuwwa groups represent early forms of collective action from the Ottoman Empire. by youths in Muslim societies. These youth organizations imposed strict ethical standards on their members and re- During World War I, the Ottoman Empire proved incaquired strong group loyalty. pable of fighting on a scale equal to the European forces. The

end of the war in 1918 also signaled the end of the Young
movements in the Middle East emerge in the
Turks era. After the ensuing war for independence, the new
politics or popular culture. Youths express them-
Turkish republic was formed, owing much of its social
sports, music, and dress. Because most Middle
infrastructure to the Young Turks. Although under the CPU
are undemocratic, officials have considered the
the state ideology remained Ottomanist and Islamist, the
independent social movements a threat to political
emergence of non-Turkish Muslim nationalist movements
issue that captures youths' attention, even if
among the Balkan and Arab populations strongly influenced
in nature, takes on a political character, and state
Turkish intellectuals and statesmen. The major intellectual
respond accordingly, exerting control and resorting
development of the Young Turks era was Turkish national-
ism. The secular ideas of Young Turks leaders like Ziya
Gökalp found popular support long after the CPU.
region's youth movements are usually connected to
broader changes under way in society, especially political and
See also Modernization, Political: Administrative, Mili-
developments. Influenced by such developments,
tary, and Judicial Reform; Revolution: Modern; Young
movements in turn intensify the broader changes. For
Ottomans.
instance, in
1908, drawing young members of the military, a
liberal opposition movement known as the Young Turks
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forced the
Ottoman sultan, Abd al-Hamid II (r. 1876–1909),
Ahmad, Feroz. The Young Turks: The Committee for Union and
to restore the
constitution and parliament that he had sus-
Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908–1914. London: Oxford
pended in
1878. Youths were also energetic partners in most
University Press, 1969.
anticolonial
struggles. In Iran, young people, especially uni-
Hanioglu, H. Sukru. Preparation for a Revolution: The Young
versity
students, were an important force in the push to
Turks, 1902–1908. New York: Oxford University
nationalize
the oil industry in the early 1950s. Nowhere have
Press, 2001.
youths'
struggles been more intense and persistent as in the
Kayali, Hasan. Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism,
Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories, where they have borne
and Islam in the Ottoman Empire. Berkeley: University of
the burden of
two major uprisings, the Intifada (1987–1988)
California Press, 1997.
and Al-Aqsa

Intifada (2000–2002). Youths also fought most

740

Islam and the Muslim World Youth Movements

ferently during the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) and in the In the political arena, the locus of Middle Eastern youth war that resulted in the withdrawal of the Israeli military from movements is often universities. Where allowed, political south Lebanon in May 2000. In the 1970s and 1980s, both organizations and parties establish subsidiaries in universities leftist and Islamic associations grew in countries as far apart as for recruitment and mobilization. Where outlawed, opposi- Egypt and Pakistan, polarizing university campuses. tion groups still operate on campuses underground for political agitation and recruitment. In the absence of serious Having little stake in the status quo, young people join political parties in many societies, student movements beopposition groups hoping to create an “ideal society.” Both come the principal advocates of ideological and political governments and their oppositions exploit youth’s abundant trends in society and a vanguard of change. In the 1980s and idealism and impassioned activism. Because oral traditions 1990s, a host of sociological variables has contributed to the are prevalent in Muslim societies, religious and political rising expectations among the youth and created fertile grounds for youth leaders use their speaking skills to establish credibility, culti- for youth activism. In 1998, 40 percent of the Middle Eastern vate charisma, and recruit and mobilize followers, particu- population was under fifteen years old, as opposed to onelarly youths. In the late 1950 Egypt, Jamal Abd al-Nasser’s fifth for the developed world. The general decline in oil (1918–1970) powerful lectures drew youth support for his prices around the world, coupled with increasing population, policy of Arab unity. During the 1970s, Ali Shari ati’s has led to economic decline in the Middle East. Unemploy- (1933–1977) oratory won over Iranian youths to his radical ment, aggravated by the increase in the rate of rural-urban Islamic ideology. In the 1980s and 1990s, Abd al-Karim migration and urbanization, has led to disenchantment among Soroush’s (b. 1945) deft use of language has similarly appealed the youth making further demands for education, social to Iranian youths in the Islamic Republic, who sympathize freedom, jobs, housing, and resources for establishing a family. with his liberal Islamic ideology. Often, religious leaders These factors have delivered frustrated youth to attract youths to their political causes through mosques or extremist

ideologies, especially Islamic fundamentalism. The underground networks, as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood witnessed massive recruitment among the youth by hood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin), founded in 1928, and the radicals like HAMAS in Palestine, Hezbollah in Iranian Fedaiyan-e Islam, created in 1945, have shown. the Jama a Islamiyya in Egypt, the Mobilization (Basij) Forces in Iran, and al-Qa ida in Afghanistan. In societies marked by limited upward political and economic mobility, student movements enable youths to crack The most interesting demographic change has been a the system and open up spaces for participation in the increase in the number of young women in Middle politics. Many nationalist leaders began their political sociali- universities outnumbering men in a number of fields. zation in student organizations. Realizing this fact, govern- second decade of the revolution in Iran, more females ments also try to recruit students to their administrations. In various fields, despite official restrictions. In Syria, the early 1970s, the shah of Iran, Muhammad Reza Pahlevi Jordan, and Iraq, the governments encouraged fe- (1919–1980), undermined the growing power of the Confed- participation in most aspects of social and political life. eration of the Iranian Students in the United States and Persian Gulf countries, Kuwait, Yemen, and Europe by luring its leaders to lucrative government posts. developed policies promoting female education The Saudi and Kuwaiti governments have likewise co-opted participation, but except in Kuwait, success has their young opposition and with greater success than the shah. generally slow and limited.

The correlation between the emergence of youth move- dominant features of student movements in the ments and economic decline is not strong in the Middle East. radicalism, intellectual idealism, anti- Since most youth movements are sociocultural and political, authoritarianism, anti-imperialism, anti-Americanism, and they have arisen during both economic prosperity and de- nationalistic. The scope of these movements is national and cline. In the 1970s, a guerilla movement emerged in Iran as respective state apparati are their targets of attack. Iran’s the oil export boom brought new wealth. During the mid- movement exemplifies these characteristics the best. 1990s, proreform students formed a movement, reacting to look at this movement will demonstrate the dynamics the last decade’s political developments rather than to poor

1990s has
Islamic
Lebanon,
sharp
Eastern
In the
studied in
Turkey,
male
Among the
Oman have
and social
been
The
region are
the
student
A close
and

diversity of the student movement in the region. economic conditions. The relationship between youth movements and the Iranian state has been discontinuous. When in The Student Movement in Iran late 1940s, Mohammad Mosaddeq (1880–1967), then elected Before mass protests erupted against the Pahlevi regime in prime minister, launched a campaign to end the British 1978, the Iranian student movement splintered into Islamic, control of the Iranian oil industry, students backed both his liberal, and Marxist factions. The secular or non-Islamic stance as well as his antimonarchy efforts. However, once the associations, the strongest and largest groups, had ties to the CIA-supported coup ended Mosaddeq’s government in 1953, guerrilla movement operating outside of universities. The restoring the monarchy, the student movement opposed the Muslim associations comprised a small segment of the stushah’s rule by using both violent and nonviolent tactics. dent movement and had loose contacts with Ayatollah Ruhollah

Islam and the Muslim World

741

Youth Movements

Khomeini (1902–1989) and the Freedom Movement of Iran. These associations encouraged student participation in gov- ernment All these associations cooperated to topple the regime. Dur- rallies, reported on antigovernment activities and ing the shah’s final years, students initiated the process that faculty criticisms of the state ideology, and implemented state gender culminated in revolution. Student poetry readings, lecture gender policies by monitoring male-female interactions on campus. In series, and political forums were catalysts in a chain of events campus. In short, the student movement, formerly an active, that crippled the old regime. In 1977, when demonstrations independent, creative, and antiestablishment force, was transagainst the shah became widespread, the student associations formed into a watchdog of the state, alienating most students recruited many members, organized numerous rallies in who feared religious vigilantism and spying by the governmajor cities, and became supporters of Khomeini’s call for ment. These associations lost their appeal among students the shah’s departure. who felt increasingly apathetic and disenchanted. Although these associations’ members were closely affiliated with the Once the revolution succeeded, students expanded their regime and some occupied government positions, conservaactivities, joined revolutionary forces, and occupied numer- tives still suspected some students whose nonconformity and ous properties belonging to the fleeing former officials. By

radical outlook they found troubling. Conservative religious the time Khomeini returned to Iran, student associations had organizations established parallel Islamic student associations established de facto headquarters for their respective groups tions in the universities to discourage unfavorable and unprein universities. Faced with the tasks of institution and state dictable activities by others.

building, the clerics considered student demands as obstacles to the consolidation of their power, using the Muslim Student Organization as an instrument to challenge its secular second decade inspired another momentous rise in student counterparts. and youth

activism. According to the Secretariat of the Supreme Council of the Youth, of 60,055,488 total population On 4 November 1979, after an earlier attempt by the tion in 1997, 40.4 percent, or 24,248,768, were eleven to Marxist organization, the Iranian Fedaiyan Organization, a twenty-nine years old—a 37.3 percent increase since 1987 Muslim student group engaged in the boldest and most and more than 104.7 percent growth since 1977. With the consequential act in the history of student activism in Iran: doubling of the population between 1978 and 1996, the the seizure of the U.S. Embassy and the holding of American number of institutions of higher education increased as well. diplomats as hostages for 444 days. Khomeini endorsed the Alienation, disillusion, and frustration among youths intensitakeover, capitalizing on this event to undermine opposition fied. Islamic vigilantes constantly interfered in youths' and to his new theocracy. In 1980, the secular student organization women's lives, compelling them to obey strict religious codes tions were effectively outlawed and their members physically of behavior.

attacked by the religious vigilantes. Muslim student associations identified and helped to arrest non-Islamic students, After 1988, Iran's clerical establishment split into two sabotaging their political and cultural activities. This was the major factions. With the decline of the Islamic leftists' for-first time ever that elements of the Iranian student movement tunes during the 1989 to 1996 period, the student organization turned against each other. Later, Khomeini ordered universities lost their influence within the government. Many of its ties closed until purged of un-Islamic elements and the influential members began careers in political journalism. grounds laid for their Islamization. He created the Council Radical individuals who had served in high-ranking positions for Cultural Revolution to review faculty and students' activities during

Khomeini's rule were isolated and pushed to the margins as well as university programs. Many activist students and faculty members were fired or arrested for their affiliations with political groups. An unprecedented coalition of dissatisfied youths and women, When universities reopened two years later, leftist, nationalist, secular, and opposition students and professors segments of the public voted for Khatami. A new chapter in student activism had begun. were gone, with new Islamic and ideological criteria defined for admission and recruitment. Female students were barred from studying certain disciplines. In addition to meeting New student organizations emerged, and activists challenged the conservative faction's authority within the Islamic Republic. Islamic values and have an untainted moral history. Until Reacting to broad support for Khatami in universities, the Khomeini's death in 1989, these restrictions remained in force, although students and the faculty had devised mechanisms of resistance. All these measures failed, ironically reinvigorating student activism. As the conservatives blocked Khatami's reformist policies, In the 1980s, numerous Muslim associations were formed students marched in his support. As student demonstration at colleges. New admission quotas for war veterans and the strations against the judiciary and the conservative faction armed forces' families enabled these associations to grow. multiplied, one of the protests, on 8 July 1999, led to a deadly

742

Islam and the Muslim World Youth Movements

The Thai Muslim Student Association protesting in front of the Government House in Bangkok in September 2001. © REUTERS NEWMEDIA INC./CORBIS

attack on a student dormitory in Tehran by Islamic vigilantes the ruling clerics have successfully crushed these protests, and the police. This attack provoked three days of student despite their persistence, because the students lack organization in Tehran and several other cities in that month. tion, goals, and leadership. At the end of February 2003, the

students' Office for Consolidating Unity finally expressed its
 After these uprisings, the government cracked down on disillusionment
 with President Khatami by withdrawing its
 the students, leaving them alienated, agitated, and restless as support for
 the reformist camp in the local elections. A
 they looked for any opportunity to express their frustrations. number of
 student organizations have emerged since, de-
 Protests spilled over from the universities to the soccer fields, manding an
 end to theocracy and the establishment of a
 cinemas, and music concerts. Disturbances in various cities secular
 government based on the principles enshrined in the
 following the loss of an international soccer game by the Universal
 Declaration of Human Rights.
 national soccer team in 2001 highlighted widespread discontent with the status
 quo. In November 2002, students started Conclusion
 a series of mass protests at a death sentence passed against During the
 1990s, youths in the Middle Eastern countries,
 Hashem Aghajari, a reformist university professor, for al- especially
 Iran, have shown a strong desire for Western
 leged blasphemous remarks about clerics in Iran. In early cultural
 icons, music, and arts, as they reject the imposition of
 June 2003, students began a new round of protests in com-
 undemocratic, traditional, and strict policies on their lives.
 memoration of an attack on a student dormitory on 9 July Part of
 this desire for more freedom is due to the limitations
 1999. Most of these irregular and spontaneous protests have imposed by
 the states. However, part of it is a demonstration
 lacked a clearly articulated political agenda. The govern- effect: The
 communications revolution and globalization of
 ment's systematic efforts to weaken the student movement local
 regional economies have stimulated youth's attraction
 have led youths to become more spontaneous and momentum- to a
 material lifestyle as well as to the cultural norms and
 driven. Most protests have begun as friendly gatherings political
 freedoms typically identified with Western societies.
 rather than as a result of any organization or planning. In fact, Government
 authorities have resorted to various means to

Islam and the Muslim World

743

Yusuf Ali, Abdullah

limit these demands: In Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Syria, and Yusuf Ali was
 the son of a police officer of Gujarati parentage.
 Yemen, state-sponsored programs are designed to respond to With communal
 Muslim schooling in Bombay, he looked
 the youths' demands by creating synthetic opportunities beyond his
 Bohra Sh ite origins and was extremely concerned

where nonoffensive and nonpolitical forums are created for about the fate of Muslims in British India and beyond. But he releasing youthful energy. While sport has been a successful was very successful in achieving the highest rank in British means for this purpose, cultural and social programs have had schooling. He earned a scholarship at Cambridge, and after little success in tempering these energies. The Iranian gov- graduation won a place in India's civil service. Yusuf Ali ernment has often resorted to moral campaigns against vice, honored these two traditions, British and Muslim Indian, publicly arresting and flogging violators, thus furthering with equal vigor. For his devotion to the British cause in the youth's anger against the government. Interestingly, the First World War, he was awarded the title of Commander of appeal of the West contradicts the rejection of the same the British Empire. He was called upon to represent loyal culture during the Iranian revolution two decades ago. Cou- British Muslims against pan-Islamic tendencies in India. Yet, pled with the sociological factors discussed earlier, these he was still respected by Muslims like Muhammad Iqbal, who developments will surely give a new impetus to student called upon him to head a Muslim school. activism in the years to come.

Yusuf Ali, however, was more than an anglophile and See also Futuwwa; HAMAS; Ikhwan al-Muslimin; communal Muslim. His translation of the Qur'an represents the kernel of Khomeini, Ruhollah; Muslim Student Association of his ideas on Islam, mysticism, and progress. In North America; Qa'ida, al-. addition, he wrote a number of pamphlets and articles on Islamic issues in which he took a critical stance on both Sir

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Khan and Sir Muhammad Iqbal. His was a vision of Islam that stood on an equal footing with other Mahdi, Ali Akbar. "The Student Movement in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Journal of Iranian Research and Analysis* religions, just as he viewed Indian Muslims on an equal 15, no. 2 (November 1999): 5–32. footing with the family of nations.

Matin Asgari, Afshin. *Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah*. In the closing years of the twentieth century, Muslims Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publisher, 2001. revisited the legacy of Yusuf Ali's widely read translation.

Meijer, Roel, ed. *Alienation or Integration of Arab Youth: Perturbed by the modernist and mystical tendencies in his Between Family, State and Street*. Richmond, U.K.: Curzon translation, Islamist groups have tried to expurgate his com-

Press, 2000. elementary of
so-called unorthodox leanings.

Ali Akbar Mahdi See also Qur an; Translation.

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 1934.

Qur'an, Abdullah Yusuf Ali presents a unique figure in Islamic modernism at the turn of the twentieth century.

744

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ZAND, KARIM KHAN Perry,
John R. Karim Khan Zand: A History of Iran, 1747–1779.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979.
(c. 1705–1779)

Karim Khan Zand was the ruler of western Iran from 1751

until 1779. A chieftain of the minor tribe of the Zand, of the Lakk branch of the Lors, Karim Khan led his contingent from the debacle of Nader Shah's army in 1747 back to their inner-Zagros mountain ranges. In alliance with Ali Mardan Khan

of the Bakhtiyari, he established a puppet Safavid shah in Isfahan and consolidated the southwest under their rule. In the Omani dynasty of Zanzibar, under the able leadership of Sayyid Sa'id bin Sultan (1791–1856), inaugurated a new era in the commercial life of East Africa. Zanzibar had steadfastly remained loyal to Omani rule whether under the Yarubi ruler of the whole of Iran except Khorasan, with his capital at Shiraz, or by the Afshar, and Qajar leaders. By 1765 he had emerged as de facto

end of the seventeenth century, or under the Yarubi successors, the Busa idi dynasty, which came to power by the Karim did not assume the title of shah, even when the 1740s. Sayyid Sa'id was able to assert his sovereignty over

putative Safavid king predeceased him, but ruled as vakil al- much
of the East African coastal strip but not over the
ra aya, “people’s representative” (the term for a traditional
Mazru i of Mombasa (his major competitor) who held out
local ombudsman). He encouraged internal and foreign trade, until
1837. He eventually moved his capital from Muscat to
granting the East India Company a base at Bushire, and
Zanzibar by the 1830s. The sultan was a master of intrigues
rebuilt Shiraz (many of his fine buildings are still standing). A and
was able to deal with potential rivals such as Kimweri, the
nominal Shi ite, he practiced religious toleration, and did not
Kilindi ruler of Usambara, by disbursing gifts to Kimweri’s
actively seek the endorsement of the ulema. In 1776, after a
officials, who were urged not to lose sight of the sultan’s
year’s siege, he captured the port of Basra in Ottoman Iraq,
interests.
but his death in 1779 brought a withdrawal.
Major changes took place in East Africa after the arrival of
The Vakil, as he is affectionately known, has left a reputa- Sayyid
Sa id. In fact, East Africa experienced what can be
tion as a strong but humane and unassuming ruler who termed
as a commercial revival, brought about by expansion
restored a measure of peace and prosperity to Iran. His in
trading activities, new agricultural ventures (introduction
successors were by contrast cruel , rapacious, and unpopular, of
clove plantations), reforms in currency and customs adexcepting the last, Lotf
Ali Khan (1789–1794), and soon ministration, and
encouragement of people with trading
succumbed to the rising power of the Qajars.
skills, such as Indians and Omani merchants, to settle in
Zanzibar. The expansion in the coastal economy confirmed

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Zanzibar’s privileged position as the hub of the international
Perry, John R. “Justice for the Underprivileged: The Ombuds-
trade with its control of coastal ports through which products
man Tradition of Iran.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 such as
ivory and slaves filtered from the interior. The
(1978): 203–215.
sultan’s aggressive economic policies encouraged the trading
Zar

some of the leading Ibadhi families ended up following
Shafi i rites.

See also Africa, Islam in; Mazrui.

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Abdin Chande

ZAR

Zar refers to a type of spirits, the afflictions such spirits may cause, and the rituals aimed at preventing or curing these afflictions. It is one of the most widely distributed “cults of afflictions” in Africa and the Middle East. Its diffusion owes much to the slave trade and to the migration of people associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca. Zar spirits and zar Sayyid Bargash Bin Sa'id, the Sultan of Zanzibar, circa 1880 with practices are found throughout eastern North Africa and in members of his court. The Zanzibar Sultanate fostered the growth areas of East Africa and the Middle East, including Tunisia, of higher learning and of the intellectual community. HULTON Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, Ethiopia, Egypt, Somalia, Arabia, ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Iran, and Israel. The zar cult has also influenced other possession practices in East and West Africa. Little is known of the cult's origins, but its presence has been documented in caravans to venture into the interior of East Africa, and the Sudan since the mid-nineteenth century and in Ethiopia wherever the Arab and Swahili traders went Islam went with since at least the eighteenth century. Etymologically, most scholars consider the term zar to derive, not from Arabic, but from East Africa along the trading routes as far as Buganda, where from Persian or, more plausibly, from Amharic. contact was made with the King of Buganda.

Popularly, however, the word is believed to originate from The nineteenth century also witnessed the growth of zara, “he visited,” an Arabic word that was later corrupted.

Islamic higher education in the whole coastal region. This The geographic distribution of the word zar has led research growth was due primarily to the Omani presence and, in ers to consider the many cults of spirit possession in northeast particular, the Zanzibar sultanate, which contributed to liter- Africa as part of a single, historically connected phenomenon. acy and to the intellectual life of the community. Written While zar practices exhibit considerable variations from texts became more readily available and this led to greater place to place, it is nonetheless possible to identify some knowledge and adherence to the written orthodox tradition, shared

characteristics of the spirit-host relation. Involvement which was stimulated by the Sa idi sultanate. Religious scholars generally follows a period of illness, during zar from Arabia—mainly from Hadramaut and Oman, the medical options have been exhausted. Eventually, Comoros, and the Benadir coast—began to arrive in the sufferer is diagnosed as being afflicted by a spirit. Treatment coastal towns and especially in Zanzibar, which emerged as ment involves initiation into the zar cult during a propitiatory ceremony in the leading center of Islamic learning in East Africa. Later which the initiate will ideally enter a trance, some of the leading scholars in East Africa (such as Sayyid allowing the spirit to possess her or his body so as to affirm its identity Smail and Abdalla Bakathir) traveled to the Middle East and reveal its requirements. Once initiated, devotees must where they supplemented their education. Moreover, the continuously negotiate the terms of their relationships with the Zanzibar sultans employed religious scholars, of both Shafi i possessing spirits. They express their commitment to and Ibadhi rites, as Muslim judges. Nevertheless, Omani intrusive zar by attending ceremonies, making offerings, Ibadhi influence was very superficial on the mainland. In fact, and fulfilling ritual, moral, and social requirements. Getting well thus not only did the Ibadhis as a community lose Arabic as their becomes a lifelong exercise, much of which is part of daily first language (many had African mothers), but in addition experience rather than being restricted to dramatic ritual.

746

Islam and the Muslim World

Ziyara

In many areas, the zar cult has retained pre-Islamic or pre-Messing, Simon D. “Group Therapy and Social Status in the Zar Christian features. It has strongly been influenced by these (1958): Cult of Ethiopia.” *American Anthropologist* 60, no. 6 1120–1126. and creative ways that zar has simultaneously competed with, Young, Allan. “Why Amhara Get Kureynya: Sickness and Possession in an Ethiopian Zar Cult.” *American Ethnologist* 2, no. 3 (1975): 567–584. means that spirit devotees see no incompatibility between their commitment to the zar and their identities as Christian or Muslims. To them, possession is part of a wider religious enterprise. Adeline Masquelier

Not everyone agrees with this assessment, however. Some see zar as being antithetical to Islam or Christianity. Such divisions often follow gender lines. Thus, for northern Sudanese women, zar falls squarely within the purview of Islam, whereas their male counterparts find that relinquishing control of one's body to a possessing spirit is simply sinful and un-Islamic. Despite such condemnations, zar has continued to thrive in both rural and urban areas; in the latter it often important centers of Islamic scholarship and inprovides supportive social networks for newcomers. construction in North Africa, together with Al-Azhar in Cairo and Al-Qarawiyyin in Fez. Qur'anic exegesis, Arabic grammar, and Islamic law (shari'a) were the main subjects offered at Zaytuna. Among the many historical figures who taught at Zaytuna were Muhammad Ibn Arafah, one of the greatest scholars with zar, men implicitly acknowledge the spirits' role in the of Islam's Maliki school, and the famous historian Ibn Khaldun. preservation of fertility and prosperity. Though in some areas, men can become initiated, it is women whom zar most afflict, mainly with infertility. The preponderance of women Zaytuna suffered from the Spanish entry in Tunis in 1534, has traditionally been explained as a strategy of redress for which the mosque and library were pillaged. But marginalized or powerless individuals in male-centered cultures. From this perspective, zar is nothing but a means to its programs and teaching methods were institutionbring public attention to one's plight and achieve momen- alized. After the establishment of the French Protectorate tary power. (1881), Zaytuna reformed its traditional programs to include a more modern and scientific system of instruction. In the More recent interpretations have pointed to the multiple beginning of the twentieth century it bred a generation of ways in which zar participants distill the lessons of history, Islamic reformist thinkers and played an important role for reflect upon their subordinate status, and assess the relevance Tunisian and Algerian nationalist movements. of cultural values by conjuring up images of amoral, foreign,

and powerful spirits. Far from constituting a refuge from the independence of Tunisia (1956), Zaytuna beoppressive reality, zar is seen as a cultural resource that came part of the state university and its library was integrated transcends the context of illness and is drawn upon by people within the National Library of Tunis. to make sense of certain problems and experiences of everyday life. See also Education; Law.

See also African Culture and Islam; Miracles.

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Pilgrimage: Ziyara

Islam and the Muslim World

747

Glossary

Pronunciation Key

Symbol	Sound	Symbol
VOWELS	Sound	CONSONANTS
dh	then	
ah	father	h
	horse	
au	mouse	kh
	ch as in the German Bach	
ay	pay	
	or the Scottish Loch	
e	feet	sh
	shake	
i	in	th
	thin	
oo	boot	
	glottal stop, the sound	
u	foot	
	in uh-oh (between the	
uh and the oh)		
	voiced pharyngeal fricative	

The syllable stress is indicated by italics. A doubled vowel such as in the word “ke-taab” indicates that the vowel should be said twice as long as a vowel in English.

Abd (Ar., ahbd):

scripture (the book), and specifically refers to Jews, Christians, and Sabians (Q. 5:72 “Those who believe [in the Allah “Servant of God” or Abd al-Rahim, “Servant of the Qur an] those who follow the Jewish [Scriptures] and the Compassionate One” or Abduh, “His servant.” Abd also Sabians and the Christians any who believe in Allah and the means “slave,” comparable to ghulam (Per.) or mamluk (Ar.) Last Day and work righteousness, on them shall be no fear nor shall they grieve.”) Later Muslim rulers extended the Abu (Ar., ah-boo):

interpretation of ahl al-kitab to include Zoroastrians, Hindus, “Father.” Used in the construct “Abu + son’s name,” such as

Mandaeans, and Buddhists, among others. As such, ahl al-“Abu Husayn,” to mean the father of Husayn. Often, it is the kitab have a specific protected status and freedom of religion kunya or the name by which a person is known. Abu can also within Muslim society, which the “pagan” Arabs did not mean “the place of,” such as Abu Dhabi (the place of the enjoy.

gazelle) or “the one that has.” “Abu” can also be written as Aba or Abi, as in Ali b. Abi Talib. Amir

al-Mu minin (Ar., ah-meer al-mu -min-een):

Adhan (Ar., a-dhaan):

“Commander of the Faithful.” This title was adopted by “Call to prayer.” The early Muslim community in Medina is Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second leader of the Muslim said to have debated how to summon their worshippers; community after the death of Muhammad, and was used by Muhammad suggested the human voice. Thus, most mosques subsequent caliphs, heads of states, and sultans to signify their have their own muezzin, trained in the art of recitation, who religiosity and religious authority. calls worshippers to prayer five times a day.

Ansar (Ar., an-sahr):

Ahl al-kitab (Ar., ahl al-ke-taab):

“The helpers”, a designation referring to the people of “People of the Book.” Mentioned in the Qur an, this phrase Medina who aided Muhammad following the hijra (emigrating literally refers to religious communities who have a written migration) from Mecca to Medina.

Glossary

Aya (Ar., ah-yah pl., Ayat ah-yaat): status and
the jiziya tax do not exist in contemporary nation-
A verse in the Qur an; a sign. states.

Ayatollah (ah-yah-tul-lah): Dhu-l-Hijja
(Ar., dhul-hij-jah):
A Shi'ite theologian who has completed the following: 14 The twelfth
month of the Islamic calendar and the month in
subjects of elementary study, independent study, and qualifi- which the
hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, takes place.
cations of a mujtahid (practitioner of independent legal rea-
Emir/Amir (Ar., Per., ah-meer):
soning) through oral examination. An ayatollah must also
A prince, ruler or commander, but early usage also included a
have attained a reputation amongst his peers, students and
military commander.
laity in knowledge and piety.

Faqih (Ar., fa-keeh):
Baraka (Ar., bah-rah-kah):
A jurist, thus one who would be an expert in shari a, especially
Blessings of God. fiqh.
Bid a (Ar., bid-ah): Al-Fatiha
(Ar., al-fa-tee-hah):
"Innovation." A point of view or interpretation used in The
opening chapter of the Qur an, consisting of seven ayat
Islamic law or practice, but which is not present in the Sunna (verses).
This chapter is said in prayers as well as at significant
of the Prophet, and is therefore unacceptable to "traditional- times, such
as marriage.
ists" who rely on the traditions (hadith) of Muhammad.

Fatwa (Ar., fat-wah):
Bint (Ar., bint): "Legal
opinion." Issued by a mufti or some other recognized
"Daughter." Used to designate the father-daughter relation- and
qualified scholar, a fatwa is a legal or advisory opinion in
ship, such as Fatima bint Muhammad, and abbreviated in answer to a
specific question or a broader issue facing the
English as "bt."
community.

Caliph: Fiqh (Ar.,
fik):
"Successor." A title used by Muslim rulers to indicate their
"Jurisprudence." The science of studying the shari a.
connection to Muhammad's leadership over the Muslim
Fitna (Ar., fit-nah):
community. The title did not indicate, however, any sort of
connection with the divine or spiritual supremacy. First used to

describe the violent factional dissension that took place in the early Islamic community, it denotes Muslim Companions: Muslims fighting Muslims, and as such signals the end of Muslim unity, and Most Sunni scholars believe that all those who converted to the domination of chaos and irreligiosity. Fitna is Islam during Muhammad's lifetime and who had contact with him are to be considered among his "Companions" with an also used to describe temptations that test believers' religious commitments.

ensuing righteous status. They are the primary transmitters of hadith, and it is to these people that the contemporary Futuhat (Ar., fuh-tuh-haat): The conquest of territory by Muslim armies. Salafiyya movements look for guidance. Because of the contentious relationships among some of this first generation of Hadith (Ar., ha-deeth, pl., ahadith a-ha-deeth): Muslims, Shi'a scholars are more selective in terms of who The utterances, opinions, or rulings of the prophet Muhammad they consider a Companion. mad. According to the methods through which they have been collected and verified in the three centuries following Da wa (Ar., dah -wah): his death, two elements are essential to a reliable hadith: a "Call." The missionary aspect of Islam in which Muslims continuous, verifiable isnad (chain of transmitters), and a encourage non-practicing Muslims to practice again (or practice according to a particular ideological view) and encourage The Hadith, along with the Sunna and the Qur'an are the non-Muslims to convert to Islam. main sources for Islamic law. Sunnis and Shi'ites share many ahadith, but have different isnads.

Dhikr (Ar., dhikr): "Remembrance." An individual or collective ritual, usually Hajj (Ar., haj): involving chanting, where participants invoke the names and The pilgrimage rite to Mecca, one of the essential requirements of God. Dhikr is a central element in Sufi practice of being a Muslim. Muslims come from all over the and spirituality. world to participate once a year in the Hajj, commemorating Abraham's building of the Ka'ba and the difficult experiences of Hagar and Isma'il. The Hajj is required of Muslims once in Protected groups of non-Muslims living under Muslim rule, their lifetime, but only if physically and financially able to do

primarily People of the Book (ahl al-kitab). Dhimmi were so—they cannot leave behind debts, and they must have paid required to pay a tax (jizya) and were not allowed to serve in the zakat on the resources they use to go on Hajj. After a the army, although many rose to prominence as scholars, person completes the pilgrimage, a man is called a Hajj or government advisors and officers, and physicians. Both dhimmi Hajji and a woman is called a Hajja.

750

Islam and the Muslim World

Glossary

Halal (Ar., hah-laal):

Ijma (Ar.,

ij-mah):

Permitted according to Islamic law. The use of the word also “Scholarly consensus,” and one of the main methods for signifies a slaughtering technique that sanctifies meat for developing and interpreting Islamic law.

Muslims.

Ijtihad (Ar., ij-ti-haad):

Hanafi (Ar., ha-na-fee):

“Independent legal judgement.” The interpretation of law

One of the four Sunni schools of Islamic law, named after Abu based on individual reasoning.

Hanifa (699–767).

Ilm (Ar., ilm, pl. Ulum, u-luum):

Hanbali (Ar., han-baal-ee):

In

religious terms, ilm means knowledge and also gives us the

One of the four Sunni schools of Islamic law, named after word

“ulema” (religious scholars) meaning those who are

Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855)

knowledgeable. In both the historical and contemporary

Muslim world, ilm also means “science.”

Haram (Ar., hah-raam):

Ilm al-Rijal (Ar., ilm-ul-ri-jaal):

Forbidden in Islamic law, such as the consumption of pork

The study of the people who transmitted the hadith (sayings and alcohol are haram.

and practices of Muhammad) and who are mentioned in the

Haram (hah-ram): isnads

(chains of transmission). Biographies of these early

Muslims are the topic of many books and provides material

A holy place, a sanctuary. Mecca is referred to as Masjid alfor judging the soundness or believability of each hadith.

Haram and the al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem is the location of the Dome of the Rock and the Masjid al-Aqsa. Imam (Ar., Per., ee-maam):

Among Sunnis, an imam is a legal scholar or the prayer leader

Hijra (Ar., hij-rah):

in a mosque. Among Shi'ite communities, an imam is an "Emigration." This term refers to the journey of Muhammad infallible guide to the community, descended from the family from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E. and marks the beginning of of the Prophet. The Twelver Shi'ites believe that there were the Muslim (lunar) calendar, known by the same name, twelve imams, the last one of which went into occultation abbreviated as A.H. (Arabic Hijra or Hegira) (hiding) and will return one day as the mahdi.

Hizb (Ar., hizb): Imami (Ar., ee-maam-ee):

A political party or movement, as in Hizb Allah (Party of Twelver Shi'ites or Imami Shi'ites. See Shi'ites. God) in Lebanon.

Iman (Ar., ee-maan):

Ibadat (Ar., e-baa-daah):
"Faith."

Devotional acts of worship.

Islam (Ar., Is-lahm):

h

Ibadis (Ibadiyya) (Ar., e-ba -de-ya): The religion of Islam. Someone who follows Islam is a See Khawarij. Muslim,

which means that he or she believes that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God.

Ibn (Ar., i-bin): The word Islam, meaning "surrender" comes from the Arabic "Son." Used in the construct of names to indicate the son- root (s-l-m) which denotes wholeness, peace, and safety, father relationship, thus Ibn Hasan is the "son of Hasan". suggesting that these are the qualities one achieves through Often it is the name by which people are known, their kunya, surrendering oneself to God.

although it does not necessarily reflect their father's name, such as Ibn Sina or Ibn Rushd. In Arabic, when "ibn" occurs Isma'ili (Ar., is-ma-ee-lee):

between names it is pronounced or written as "bin," as in Ali Shi'ites who disagreed with the main body of Shi'a over the bin Abi Talib. "Ibn" is oftentimes abbreviated in English as identity of the seventh Imam. The Isma'ilis followed Ja'far al-"b." as in Ali b. Abi Talib.

Sadiq's eldest son Isma'il, while the majority (called the Imamis or Twelvers) followed his younger son Musa al-

Id al-Adha (Ar., eed-ul-ahd-hah): Kazim.

Because of the split over the identity of the Seventh

"Feast of Sacrifice." This celebration marks the end of the Imam,

the Isma'ilis are also called Seveners, and the Agha Khan is hajj (pilgrimage) when pilgrims sacrifice an animal as part of the current head of the Nizari sect of the Isma'ilis. Isra (Ar., is-rah): Khan is their hajj ritual, and which Muslims also do all over the world (and donate a portion of it to the poor). It falls on the 10th of Muhammad's Night Journey (al-Isra wal-Mi'raj); see mi'raj. the month of Dhu-l-Hijja, and is also called al-Id al-Kabir (the big Feast) or Bayram. Jahiliyya (Ar., ja-hi-lee-yah): Isra (Ar., "Time of Ignorance." The Arabic and Muslim way of referring to pre-Islamic history in the Arabian peninsula. Id al-Fitr (Ar., eed-ul-fit-r): Jami (Ar., "Feast of Fast-breaking." This occasion marks the end of the month of Ramadan, the month of fasting. Special Id prayers are offered in the morning, and children and adults often get congregational mosque for Friday prayers, as opposed to a new clothes. Also called al-Id al-Saghir (the smaller Feast). masjid or a musalla. Jami's are usually quite large in order to

Islam and the Muslim World

751

Glossary

hold the entire population who will pray and listen to the kunya (kun-yah): Kunya khitab or sermon of an imam. Another name by which a person is known, which is often the more commonly used and well-known than the person's Jihad (Ar., ji-haad): A given name. In many cases the kunya will be the "Father of," "Struggle." Over time, the concept of a "jihad" has developed "Son of," "Mother of," or "Daughter of" construction. For to include both the greater jihad, or the struggle by the example, the 11th century Persian scientist Abu Ali al-Indivdual to be a righteous Muslim, and the lesser jihad, or Husayn ibn Abdallah ibn Sina is referred to only as Ibn Sina the struggle to fight oppression and defend the Muslim and the ninth century writer Abu Uthman Amr b. Bahr alcommunity. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Asia Fuqaymi al-Basri is known as al-Jahiz (the bug-eyed). and Africa witnessed reform movements that embarked on jihads to reform the Muslim communities and to fight colonial rule. More recently, certain groups have interpreted the concept of jihad to mean to fight non-Muslims. Madhhab A school

in law and theology. Among Sunni Muslims, four schools of Jinn (or Jinni) (Ar., jin): law are recognized, named after the eminent scholars whose Invisible, supernatural creatures, mentioned in the Qur an, juridical works they were based on: Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali, and who can be good or bad. Shafi i.

The Shi ites follow the Ja fari school, named after the sixth Imam, Ja far al-Sadiq, along with the ijti had of living Jum a (Ar., joo-mah): scholars of eminence.

“Friday.” The word also is used to describe the Jum a mosque of a particular city (see Jami) or salat al-jum a (Friday prayers). Madrasa (Ar., ma-dra-sa):

“School.” Historically a madrasa refers to a Sunni Muslim Ka ba (Ar., kah-bah): college

where shari a and other Islamic sciences were taught, The name of the sacred, cube-shaped building located in the while currently a madrasa refers to any school, religious or secular, Haram in Mecca. The Black Stone is set in a silver frame in private or public.

one of the lower corners and the whole building is covered by an embroidered cloth (kiswa). Muslims pray towards the Maliki (Ar., maa-lik-ee):

Ka ba and circumambulate it during hajj. Muslims believe One of the four Sunni schools of law, named after Malik Ibn that the Ka ba was constructed by Abraham and Isma il (see Anas (715–795).

Q.2: 127–129).

Masjid (Ar., mas-jid, pl., Masajid) :

Kalam (Ar., ka-laam): Mosque.

“Theology.”

Maulid (Mawlid) (Ar., mau-lid):

Karbala (kahr-bah-lah):

A yearly birthday celebration for the prophet Muhammad or The burial site of Husayn bin Ali, the grandson of Muhama famous saint, common in Egypt and North Africa.

mad, located in southern Iraq, south of Baghdad, and a popular place of pilgrimage for Shi ites. Mi raj

(Ar., mi-rahj):

Khawarij (Kharajites) (Ar., kha-waa-rij): Part of the al-Isra wal-Mi raj, Muhammad’s night journey

An early sect of Islam that advocated a strict and puritanical (Q. 17:1) that took him to the seven heavens.

interpretation of religious dogma. They believed that any

Mihrab (Ar., mih-rahb):

Muslim was qualified to lead the community (in antithesis to The recessed arched niche in the mosque indicating direction

Shi'a beliefs), but also held that mortal sins had the effect of making a Muslim into a non-believer and deserving of death. of
 prayer towards Mecca. It is often highly decorated.
 A group of Kharajites murdered Ali, thereby inadvertently Minaret:
 facilitating the rise to power of the Umayyads, who sup-
 The tower or raised section of a mosque from where the
 pressed them. Although largely wiped out, a major branch of
 muezzin gives the call to prayer. Historically, these towers
 the Kharajite movement, the Ibadiyya, continue to exist today
 have staircases inside so that the muezzin could climb the
 in Oman and east Africa.
 stairs and issue the call to prayer from a balcony. Today, most
 Al-Khulafa al-Rashidun (The Rightly-guided Caliphs, Ar., al- calls to
 prayer are broadcast from loudspeakers attached to
 khu-la-fa ar-raa-shi-doon): the
 minaret.
 Sunni Muslims call the first four Caliphs who led the Muslim
 community the Rightly-guided Caliphs: Abu Bakr, Umar, Muezzin
 (Moo-az-zin, Ar., mu adh-dhin):
 Uthman, and Ali. After these men, who were selected by the The
 person who gives the call to prayer (adhan). Men or boys
 community, rule was taken over by the Umayyad dynasty are
 chosen for this position for a variety of reasons, among
 who assumed hereditary rule. Shi'a and Ibadis do not use the them
 because of the quality of their voice; as an honor to that
 term "al-khulafa al-rashidun."
 person for their service; or as a means of employment.

Khutba (Ar., khut-bah): Mufti
 (Ar., muf-tee):
 The sermon during Friday prayers that is often delivered by Chief
 Islamic jurist and a scholar who can issue fatwas or legal
 an imam.
 opinions.

752

Islam and the Muslim World

Glossary

Muhajirun (Ar., mu-haa-ji-roon): mores in
 order to achieve the best society. Originally coined
 The Muslims who immigrated to Medina with Muhammad by Muhammad
 Abduh in the late 19th century, the term
 in 622 C.E., and who were helped by the Ansar, the Medinans initially
 was meant as a reform movement to end corruption
 who aided them and became part of the fledgling Muslim in society
 and to address the issues of the modern world.
 community. However, the

term “Salafi” has come to have a much more extreme and coercive meaning, particularly as Wahhabi and Mujtahid (Ar., muj-taa-hid): other groups have forced their own definitions of Salafi ideals

A religious scholar who practices independent legal judgment and reasoning (ijtihad) to form a legal opinion. en masse on their populations (and others).

Salat (Ar., sah-laht):

Muslim (Ar., mus-lim):

“Prayer.” Prayer is one of the pillars of Muslim devotional life.

A follower of Islam.

Muslims pray five times a day, a practice which takes a few minutes

Nabi (Ar., na-bee): and can be done in a mosque or any clean place.

In order to pray, Muslims must be in a state of cleanliness, A prophet of God. In Islam, this includes the prophets from achieved by doing wudu (ablutions).

the Judeo-Christian tradition, such as Moses, Abraham, Jesus, among many others. Saum (Sawm)

(Ar., saum, pl., Siyam):

PBUH: See S.A.W.

“Fasting.” For Muslims a fast from food and liquids takes place from sunrise to sunset, and occurs for a month during

Qadi (Ar., kah-dee): Ramadan as well as other special occasions and recommended

A judge whose responsibilities are in the areas of religious times. See Ramadan.

law.

Shafi i (Ar., sha-fi-ee):

Qibla (Ar., kib-la): One of the four schools of Sunni law, named after the Imam

The direction of prayer, i.e., the direction of Mecca. The al-Shafi i (d. 820).

direction is often marked in a mosque by a mihrab, which traditionally takes the shape of an arched niche in the qibla Shahada

(Ar., sha-haa-da):

wall.

“Profession of faith.” The shahada is the major pillar of Muslim doctrine and must be said with intention in order to

Qiyas (Ar., kee-yas): become a

Muslim: “There is no god but God and Muhammad

Analogical reasoning used in Islamic law. is the messenger of God.”

Qur an (also written as Koran) (Ar., kuh-rah-n): Shari a

(Ar., sha-ree-a):

The Muslim Holy Book. Muslims consider the Qur an to be “Islamic law.” The Qur’an, Hadith (sayings of the Prophet),

the divine revelation of God to humankind and the basis for the Sunna (practices) are the basis for scholars and judges living a right and just life as a Muslim. As the word of God, it is untranslatable and is only the Qur'an in the language of revelation (Arabic). Muslims recite portions of the Qur'an in their prayers. The Qur'an consists of suras (chapters) which school (taqlid), and instead promote ijtihad (independent reasoning and legal judgement) as a means to best understand shari'a at any particular time and situation. While Ramadan (Ar., rah-mah-dahn): Shi'ites follow their own Ja'fari school, they do not follow a fixed canon of law because Shi'ite theologians continue to practice ijtihad to this day. Among the Shi'a, there are a number of living scholars of eminence among whom the laity until sunset. It falls on the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar, and ends with the Id al-Fitr.

current problems.

Rasul (Ar., rah-suhl):

Shaykh (Sheikh, Ar., shaykh):

A messenger of God.

Used as a title of respect, shaykh can refer to a religious S.A.W. (Sahl-allah ah-lay-he wa-sal-lam): scholar, the leader of a Sufi order, the head of a tribe or "Prayers and peace of God be upon him." Muslim invocation village, or an old man.

after writing or mentioning the name of Muhammad. Also Shi'ite (she-ite):

rendered in English as PBUH (Peace be upon Him).

Derived from their name, shi't Ali, or "the party of Ali", the Sahaba (Ar., sah-hah-bah): Shi'a are one of the major groups of Muslims; the other being

See Companions. Sunni. The Shi'ite believe that rule of the community (led by an Imam) should be through Ali and the descendants of the Salafi (Ar., sa-la-fee): Prophet

through his daughter Fatima who was married to Ali. They

A term used by Muslims to denote a thinker or a movement split into smaller divisions, over disagreements about the

who idealizes the time of the Prophet and thinks that contem-

inheritance of the office of imam (see Isma'ili).

porary Muslim societies must return to those standards and Today they
make up about 15% of the Muslim population

Islam and the Muslim World

753

Glossary

and predominate or have significant minorities in Iran, Iraq, Ulema
(uh-lah-ma Ar., sing. Alim, pl., Ulama):

Lebanon, Yemen, and other Arabian Gulf states. A scholar or
learned person in the Islamic sciences, such as
fiqh and shari'a.

Sufism (Ar., Tasawwuf):

An understanding of Islam that emphasizes mystical or spiri- Umma (Ar.,
um-mah):

tual practice. A Sufi is a practitioner of Sufism, and different The
community of Muslim believers.

groups or tariqas ("paths") have different relationships with

Umra (Ar., um-ra)

orthodox practices, varying in time and place. Traditionally,

A visit to Mecca outside of the hajj period, and thought of as a

Sufi orders have been run by a shaykh (Ar.) or a pir (Per.),

"lesser pilgrimage."

whom students (murids) follow closely. Also associated historically with Sufism

are khanqas, zawiyas, and ribats, resi- Wali (waa-lee):

dences and centers of spiritual practice. "A friend

of God." The term is used by Shi'ites to describe

Ali. Sunnis also use the term when talking about Muslim

Sunna (Ar., sun-nah):

holy men and women who they believe have intercessional

The practices, actions, and behavior of the prophet Muham- powers with

God, a popular practice and condemned by the

mad. These are stories about him recorded by his compan- orthodoxy.

ions and family in the same style as the hadith. The Sunna,

along with the Hadith and Qur'an, comprise the main sources Waqf (Ar.,

wahkf):

of Islamic law. "Sunna" is also a legal term used to describe a An

endowment from which revenues from a particular prop-

Muslim practice that is recommended (but not required), as erty or

business are allotted for a specific public service or

in it is sunna to hold a celebratory feast (walima) for a building,

often set up by an individual or his or her family.

wedding.

Many medieval

mosques, madrasas, hospitals and other buildings had endowments associated with

them that provided

Sunni (Ar., sun-nee):

their running

expenses, salaries, etc., and the practice contin-

The largest group of Muslim adherents, the Sunni emphasize ues to this day.

the Sunna (actions of Muhammad), the hadith (sayings of the Prophet) and the Qur'an. Through these sources they have

Wazir/Vizir/Vizier (Ar., wah-zeer, Per., vah-zeer)

developed four schools of law (madhhabs). They are the The advisor

to a ruler, and usually a person with great power.

largest percentage of Muslims, making up approximately 85 Wudu (Ar., wu-doo):

percent of worshippers today.

"Ablutions." Before prayer, Muslims must complete ablu-

Sura (Ar., soo-rah): tions,

cleaning their hands, feet, face, ears, mouth, and nose

(in a prescribed process). Being in a state of wudu can carry

A chapter of the Qur'an. Each chapter is referred to by a

over from prayer to prayer if nothing takes place to break the

number (114 total), and by a name, as in Surat al-Qamr (the

state of cleanliness, such as going to the bathroom, passing

Sura of the Moon) or Surat Maryam (the Sura of Mary), and

gas, or sexual relations, among other things. Following sexual

contains any number of ayat (verses), ranging from 3 to 286.

relations, menstruation, and childbirth, believers must per-

Tafsir (Ar., taf-seer): form ghusul,

which requires the whole body to be cleaned.

Interpretation of the Qur'an. Zakat (Ar., za-kaat):

"Tithe or alms." Another of the five pillars required of

Tahara (Ar., tah-hah-rah):

Muslims, zakat is a tithe that is to be paid each year by all

"Purification," and can also refer to circumcision.

Muslim adults in the amount of 2.5% of their income and

Tariqa (ta-ree-ka): wealth.

Shi ites also pay a khums or one-fifth on all excess

wealth.

"Path or way." A term used in Sufi practices, to refer to a

spiritual path or a specific discipline of Sufi thought following Ziyara

(Ar., Per., zee-yah-rah):

a particular master. Visits to a

holy shrine, particular tombs of walis and holy

people.

Ta ziyeh (Per., ta-zee-yah) (Ar., ta ziya):

Performances conducted among the Shi ites commemorat-

zuhd): Zuhd (Ar.,

ing the martyrdom of Husayn ibn Ali at Karbala. Asceticism, a

Sufi practice.

Islam and the Muslim World

Appendix

Genealogies

Umayyad Caliphs

Tribe of Qaraysh (5th–8th centuries, C.E.)

Early Tariqas (Sufi brotherhoods) and their Founders

Isma'ili Imams

Shi'a Imams

Timelines

Islam in Central and East Asia 600–2003 C.E.

Islam in Europe and Africa 600–2003 C.E.

Islam in South and Southeast Asia 700–2003 C.E.

Islam in Southwest Asia 570–2003 C.E.

Life of Muhammad 570–632 C.E.

Genealogies

Umayyad Caliphs

Umayyah

Harb

Abu l- As

Abu-Sufyan (c. 565–653; Meccan chief)

Affan

al-Hakam

Yazid 2. Mu'awiya I r. 661–680

Umm-Habibah? Muhammad

(Gov. of Syria, 639)

(Gov. of Syria, 639–661)

the Prophet

(d. 632)

3. Yazid I r. 680–683

4. Mu'awiya II r. 683

Umm-Kulthum and Ruqayyah?1.

Uthman r. 644–656

5. Marwan I

(figurehead)

r. 683–685 (chief aide

to Uthman, 644–656;

never generally recognized

as caliph

Muhammad

6. Abd-al-Malik r. 685–705

Abd-al- Aziz

(generally recognized from 692)

(Gov. of Egypt)

7. al-Walid I r. 705–715

8. Sulayman r. 715–717

10.

Yazid II r. 720–724

11. Hisham r. 724–743

15. Marwan II

Umar II
 r. 744–750 13. Yazid III r. 744 14. Ibrahim r.
 744 12. al-Walid II r. 743–744
 r. 717–720
 Mu awiyah

Abd-al-Rahman I
 (emir at Córdoba;
 ancestor of the
 Spanish caliphs)

Claimants to the caliphate or caliphs are set in bold type, and are sequentially numbered.

SOURCE: Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Genealogies

The Tribe of Quraysh (5th–8 th centuries, C.E.)

Qusayy (founder of Quraysh)

Abd-Manaf

Hashim (clan) Muttalib
 Abd-Shams (clan) Nawfal (clan)
 (clan associated
 with Hashim)
 Abd al-Muttalib
 Umayya

Abu Talib Abu Lahab Abdallah?Amina
 Abbas Hamza Abu 'l- As
 Harb

Muhammad ?Khadjah b. Khuwaylid Abdallah
 Affan al-Hakam

? A isha b. Abu-Bakr b. Abu Quhafa of Taym clan
 Abu Sufyan?Hind

?Hafsa b. Umar b. al-Khattab of Adi clan
 ?Umm Habiba b. Abu Sufyan

Ja far al-Tayyar Ali? Fatima Zaynab
 Umm-Kulthum and Ruqayyah? Uthman Marwan
 Mu awiya

Hasan Husayn
 Abd al-Malik Yazid

People influential in Muhammad's life, or who later became influential figures,

are set in boldfaced type. Most of the men in the genealogy had sons not mentioned here due to space considerations.

SOURCE: Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

758

Islam and the Muslim World

Genealogies

Early tariqas (Sufi brotherhoods) and their founders

al-Junayd, d. 910

Ahmad al-Ghazali (d. 1126)

Abdallah al-Ansari Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani
Abd al-Qahir al-Suhrawardi
(d. 1089), Herat (d. 1166), Baghdad;
(d. 1168)

Qadiriyya

Abu-Hafs Umar

al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234)

Suhrawardiyya

Yusuf al-Hamadani Ahmad b. al-Rifa'i
Najm al-Din
(d. 1140), "khwajagan," (d. 1182), Iraq;
Kubra (d. 1221)

Transoxania Rifa'iyya
Kubrawiyya

Abu 'l-Hasan

Abd al-Khaliq

al-Shadhili

Ghujdawani (d.
1258); Jalal al-Din
(d. 1220)

Shadiliyya Rumi (d. 1273);

Mevleviyya

Ahmad al-Yasavi (d. 1166) Ahmad al-Badawi
Yasaviyya; infl. on (d. 1276), Egypt;
Turkish Sufism Badawiyya

Mu'in al-Din Chishti

(d. 1236), Ajmer; Chishtiyya

Baha' al-Din

Naqshband

(d. 1389); Hajji Bektash (d. c. 1338);

Naqshbandiyya Bektashiyya

SOURCE: Hodgson, M. G. S. Venture of Islam. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. Quoted in Lapidus, Ira M. A History of Islamic Societies. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Islam and the Muslim World

759

Genealogies

Isma ili Imams

Ali (d. 661)

Hasan (d. 669) Husayn (d. 680)

Zayn al- Abidin (d. 714)

Muhammad al-Baqir (d. 731)

Ja far al-Sadiq (d. 765)

Isma il (d. 760)

Muhammad al-Mahdi and
Concealed Imams

Fatimids Ubaydallah al-Mahdi (d. 934)

al-Qa im (d. 946)

al-Mansur (d. 953)

al-Mu izz (d. 975)

al- Aziz (d. 996)

al-Hakim (d. 1021)

al-Zahir (d. 1036)

al-Mustansir (d. 1094)

Assassins

Hasan al-Sabbah (da i) (d. 1124) Nizar

 Muhammad al-Musta li (d. 1101)

Buzurg Ummid (d. 1138)

Number of al-Hafiz (d. 1149) al-Amir
(d. 1130)

Muhammad (d. 1162) successors

uncertain al-Tayyib

(disappeared 1130)

Hasan II (d. 1166)

al-Zafir (d. 1154)

Muhammad II (d. 1210)

al-Fa iz (d. 1160)

Hasan III (d. 1221)

al- Adid (d. 1171)

Muhammad III (d. 1255)
Tayyibis, hidden imams
Khwurshah, surrendered 1256

to present

modern Nizari imams

SOURCE: Hodgson, M.G.S. The Order of Assassins. New York: AMS Press, 1995.
Quoted in Lapidus, Ira M. A History of Islamic Societies. New
York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

760

Islam and the Muslim World

Shi i Imams

Ja far

1. Ali
al- Abbas

(d. 661)

Abdallah

Abdallah

(by Fatima)

Fatima)

2. Hasan

Husayn

(d. 669)

680)

Ali

Mu awiya

(by

(by Hanafi woman)

3.

Muhammad b. al-Hanifiyya

(d.

(d. 700)

Islam and the Muslim World

4. Ali (Zayn al-‘Abidin)

Abu Hashim

(d. 714)

(d. 716)

Zayd

Hasan

Muhammad

Abdallah

Ibrahim

Abdallah

5. Muhammad al-Baqir

Zayd

b. Mu awiya

(d. c. 758)

(d. 731)

(d. 740)

(d. 746)

Ibrahim

al-Saffah

al-Mansur

(d. 748)

(d. 754)

(d. 775)

Yahya

Ibrahim

Muhammad

Idris

(d. 763)

al-Nafs

6. Ja far al-Sadiq

Yahya

Isa
al-Zakiya (d. 765) (d. 743)
(d. 783)
(d. 762)

The Abbasid Caliphs

Ibrahim Tabataba

Ahmad
(d. 860)

Muhammad 7. Isma'il
7. Musa al-Kazim
b. Tabataba al-Qasim (d. 760)
(d. 799)
(d. 815) (d. 860)

8. Ali al-Rida
(d. 818)

Zayd
Muhammad
Husayn al-Mahdi
9. Muhammad al-Jawad
(d. 835)

Hasan Muhammad
(d. 884) (d. 900)

The Qarmatians 10. Ali al-Hadi
(d. 868)

Yahya al-Hadi Ubaydallah
(d. 911) (d. 934)

Zaydi Imams
11. Hasan al-Askari
of Tabaristan (d. 874)

12. Muhammad al-Mahdi
Zaydi Imams The Fatimid
of the Yemen Caliphs

The "Twelver" or Imami Shi'a

Genealogies

SOURCE: Peters, F. E. Allah's Commonwealth. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973.
Quoted in Lapidus, Ira M. A History of Islamic Societies. New York: Cambridge
University Press, 1988.

Shi'a imam lineage.

Timelines

ISLAM IN CENTRAL AND EAST ASIA 600–2003 C.E.
Death of the Khan in Tukharistan.

Tang begin to unite China.			
Fall of the Western Turkish empire.			
664	741		
Arab conquest of Kabul.		Sogdians	
restored to their native land.			
671	742		
Arab armies cross Oxus (Amu Carya).			
Congregational mosque built in Balkh.			
681	743		
Arabs cross into Transoxania and spend winter.		Partisans of	
Ali revolt in Khurasan.			
683	745		
Civil war in Khurasan.		Foundation of	
Uighur Empire in Central Asia (Chinese			
Turkestan, to 840).			
Eastern Turks invade Transoxania.		747	
Abu Muslim arrives in Khurasan.			
Umayyad rule restored in Khurasan.		748	
Chinese destroy Suyab.			
Qutayba ibn Muslim marches into Khurasan.			
Defeat of Tang Chinese by Arab forces at battle of Talas			
711	River; end of		
Arab advances in Central Asia.			
Eastern Turks conquer western Central Asia.			
712	Prince of		
Ushrusana sends embassy to China.			
Arabs conquer Khwarizm; Eastern Turks take Samarkand.		753	
713	Walls and		
defensive towers constructed at Samarkand.			
Qutayba ibn Muslim reaches Ferghana; first mosque built in		763	
Bukhara.	Tang China is		
invaded by Tibetans.			
725	766		
Restoration of Balkh.		Qarluqs	
occupy Suyab.			
729	783		
Muslim rule restored in Bukhara.		Defensive	
walls constructed near Bukhara.			
733	792		
Famine in Khurasan.		Qarluqs	
expelled from Ferghana.			
Timelines			
794	1090		
Subjugation of Ushrusana; new congregational mosque built		Shi a Ismailis	
(of Alamut, Assassins) emerge as major force in			
in Bukhara.	North Persia (to		

1256).

806	1123	
Rafi bin Layth revolts in Samarkand.	Rubaiyat	
(quatrains) of Omar Khayyam; also his Algebra, for which he is more celebrated in his homeland, Persia.		
Famine in Khurasan.	1188	
Nizami's Layla and Majnun, a Persian recasting of perennially popular pre-Islamic love story in verse.		
Founding of Samanid dynasty in Khurasan and Transoxania (to 1005).	1206	
Mongols united by Temujin, proclaimed Genghis Khan; The Great Yasa, law code of the Mongols promulgated by Genghis Khan;		
The Tughuzghuz take Ushrusana.		
Mongols begin conquest of Central Asia.		
830	1211	
Tahirids proclaim independence at Khurasan.	Mongols begin conquest of northern (Jin) China.	
867	1219	
Founding of Saffarid dynasty in east Persia (to 1495).	Mongol invasion of Khwarizm Empire.	
868	1227	
The Diamond Sutra, world's oldest surviving printed work.	Death of Genghis Khan.	
907	1229	
End of the Tang dynasty in China, Arab disruption of trans-Asian trade.	Ogodai elected Great Khan.	
1231		
916	Mongols reconquer resurgent Empire of the Khwarizm Shah.	
Foundation of Khitan Empire.		
1233		
947	Mongols take Jin capital, Kaifeng.	
Khitans invade northern China, establishing Lao dynasty at Beijing.	1235	
Walled city built at Karakorum as fixed Mongol capital.		
Foundation of Afghan Ghaznavid dynasty.	1237	
Start of Mongol conquest of Russia.		
Paper money introduced in China.	1253–1255	
William of Rubruck crosses Asia to Karakorum.		
Song dynasty unites China.	1256	
Il-Khanate established in Persia, successor state to Mongols		
992	(to 1353); Hulegu	

crosses Oxus.

Establishment of Qarakhanid dynasty in Transoxania (to
1211). 1258

Sa di's Gulistan, major popular classic of Persian literature.
1020

Firdowsi's Shahnameh—Book of Kings, Persia's national epic. 1259

Great Khan Mongke dies.

1038

Beginning of Seliuk dynasty, the first major Turkish Muslim 1264
empire (to 1194). Kublai defeats

rival for title of Great Khan, ending civil war.

c. 1040

1265

Seliuk Turks conquer Afghanistan and East Persia.

Death of Hulegu.

c. 1045

1271–1295

Movable type printing invented in China.

Marco Polo

travels throughout Asia, returning by ship through
Persian Gulf.

1077

Seljuk governors in Oxus region establish separate state of 1274

Khwarizm Shah (to 1231).

First Mongol

attempt to invade Japan defeated.

764

Islam and the Muslim World

Timelines

1275

1443

Marco Polo reaches Kublai Khan's summer palace at Shangdu
at Herat, Persia founded.

Great Library

(Xanadu).

1499

1279

Rise to power

of Safavids in Persia.

Foundation of Yuan dynasty, Yuan take over Southern Song.

1500

1281

Shaybanid

dynasty, of Mongol descent, assumes control of

Second failed Mongol invasion of Japan.

Transoxania (to

1598).

1292

1501

Marco Polo given task of escorting Mongol princess to
Shah Isma il I; beginning of Safavid dynasty in

Accession of

Hormuz.

Persia (to

1732) .

1294

1534–1535

Death of Kublai Khan.

Safavid war

with Ottomans, who capture Tabriz and Baghdad.

1295	1553–1555	
Conversion of the Il-Khan Ghazan to Islam. with Ottomans.		Safavid war
1320	1557	
Outbreak of plague in Yunnan province. Portuguese colony at Macao.		Foundation of
1320–1330	1578–1590	
Mongol armies help spread plague throughout China. with Ottomans.		Safavid war
1330		
1581		
Plague reaches northeastern China. Yermak begins Russian conquest of Siberia.		
1335		
1598		
Rebellions against Mongol rule in China. Anthony and Robert Sherley travel to Persia, where they 1335 meet Shah Abbas. Mongol wazir Ghiyath al-Din in Tabriz commissions an 1603 illustrated Shahnameh, a fine example of a Persian illuminated Foundation of Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan. manuscript (called the Demotte Shahnameh). 1627 1346 Herbert's travels in Persia. Plague reaches coast of Black Sea.		
1368	1636	
Establishment of the Ming dynasty. establish Qing imperial rule at Mukden.		Manchus
1379	1644	
Timur marches on Urgench. enter Beijing.		Qing forces
1395	1689	
Sack of New Sarai, capital of Golden Horde. Nerchinsk agrees Russian and Chinese spheres of influence in East Asia.		Treaty of
1405		
Beginning of Ming admiral Zheng He's seven voyages to Indian Ocean (to 1433). Afghans by Persia.	1722–1736	Subjugation of
1405	1730–1734	
The Rigestan, Samarkand, built by Timur and one of the Khazaks by Russia.		Suppression of

glories of his capital; End of Ming campaign against Mongols.

1736

c. 1433 Nadir Shah

becomes Shah of Persia.

Construction of ocean-going junks banned by Ming.

1747

1439 Foundation of

Afghanistan by Ahmad Khan Abdali.

Poggio Bracciolini records Asian journeys of Niccolo Conti.

1751

1449 Tibet,

Dzungaria, Turkestan, and the Tarrm Basin overrun

Mongols defeat Chinese and capture the emperor. by Qing

Chinese.

Islam and the Muslim World

765

Timelines

1758–1759 1945

Qing campaigns against Kalmyks. Stalin begins
transfer of ethnic-minority peoples to labor
camps in Siberia.

1786

Start of Qajar dynasty in Persia. 1946–1949

Chinese Civil War between Nationalists and Communists.

1839–1842

Afghans under Dost Muhammad defeat British in First Afghan War. 1955

government supports movement for separation of
Pakhtunistan from Pakistan.

1840–1842

1962

Opium War, British attacks force trading concessions from
China. Land reform in

Iran reduces power and influence of religious
establishment.

1850s

1973

Widespread Muslim rebellions against Qing rule in China.

Rebellion in Afghanistan.

1855–1873 1979

Jihad of Yunnan Muslims, ends 1873. Islamic
revolution in Iran, deposition of shah, proclamation
of Islamic republic.

1863–1873

Northwest uprising in Uighur domains of Qing empire, 1979
largest Muslim jihad in East Asia. Deposition of

monarchy in Afghanistan, Soviet invasion and civil war.

1864

Establishment of Russian control in Kalmykia (Semipalatinsk) . 1989

Crushing of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing.

1868–1870

Suppression of Muslim states of Bukhara and Samarkand by Russia. 1989
Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan.

1878–1879

1990–1891

Second Afghan War, British attempt to invade Afghanistan, Collapse of U.S.S.R. creation of Central Asian republics; Islamic revival throughout region.
which is coming under Russian influence.

1909

1995

Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later British Petroleum) founded Taliban militia reignites Afghan civil war.

in Iran.

1996

1911

Taliban forces

capture Kabul.

Qing dynasty overthrown by Sun Yat Sen's nationalists and Republic of China declared. 2001

Saudi millionaire Usama bin Ladin identified as mastermind behind al-Qa ida attacks on New York and Washington on 1925

11 September; U.S. demands his extradition from Afghanistan.

Reza Shah deposes last Qajar shah and is proclaimed ruler of Iran. He introduces Western-style reforms. 2001

U.S.-led coalition declares "war on terrorism," coalition

1941 forces attack

and overthrow Taliban regime in Afghanistan in

Abdication of Reza Shah, his son, Muhammad Reza Shah response to al-Qa ida terrorist attacks.

Pahlavi, succeeds him.

2001

1945

Reformist

Iranian President Mohammad Khatami is relected

Atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki force Japanese with 77.4 percent of the votes, running on an Islamic democsurrender in World War II.
racy platform against hard-liners and conservative clerics.

1945

2002

(August) U.S.S.R. declares war on Japan.

Chechen

independence movement continues attacks on Russia; seizes theater with 700 hostages.

1945

(August) Atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima. 2002
 Afghani Loya Jerga, or grand council, elects Hamid Karzai as
 1945 interim head
 of state; he selects an administration to serve
 (September) Japanese surrender. until 2004.

766

Islam and the Muslim World
 Timelines

2003 789
 Thousands fill the Iranian streets in wide scale anti-government Idrisids
 establish power in Northwest Africa (Morocco, to
 protests of political and economic conditions. 926).
 Adapted from: Lunde, Paul. Islam: Faith, Culture, History. 790
 New York: DK Publishing, Inc., 2002. Beginnings of
 Viking raids on western Europe.

ISLAM IN EUROPE AND AFRICA 600–2003 C.E. Start of
 Aghlabid dynasty in Tunis.

c. 800

624 Emergence of
 trading towns such as Manda and Kilwa on
 Visigoths expel last Byzantine garrisons from southern Iberia. East African
 coast.

626 800
 Constantinople besieged by Sassanids, Avars, and Slavs. Charlemagne
 crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Leo
 III in Rome.

635–642
 Conquest of Egypt by Arabs. 827
 Crete and Sicily attacked by Aghlabids.
 Foundation of Fustat (Egypt) and Great Mosque by Amr ibn 830
 al- As. Foundation of
 Great Mosque at Kayrawan.

647 839
 Arab invasion of Tripolitania. Swedes travel
 through Russia to Constantinople, opening of
 river trade from Baltic to Black Sea.

Byzantine Emperor Constans II invades Italy and sacks Rome. 844
 Vikings attack Seville.

Arab conquest of North Africa extended beyond Tripoli to 847
 the West. Muslim
 raiders burn outskirts of Rome.

670 862
 Annexation of Tunisia, founding of the city of Kayrawan. Novgorod
 founded by Rurik the Viking.

680	863	
Arab armies reach Atlantic at Morocco.		Saints Cyril and Methodius sent as Orthodox Christian missionaries to Moravia.
Invasion of Iberian Peninsula by Tariq, conquest of Visigothic kingdom (by 714).	868	Ahmad Ibn Tulun founds the Tulunid dynasty in Egypt (to 905), control spreads to Syria.
Muslim capture of Toledo.	876	
Building of mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo, based on Great Mosque at Samarra.		
South and Central Spain effectively under Muslim control.		
718		Kiev becomes capital of new Russian state.
Christian victory at battle of Covadonga temporarily halts Muslim advance in Iberian Peninsula.	896	
Magyars start to settle in Danube basin.		
Arab armies halted at Poitiers, France.	899–905	
Abbasid campaign against Egypt.		
Revived Umayyad dynasty established at Cordoba by Abd al-Rahman (to 1031).		c. 900
(sailing ships) begin to ply the coastal routes of East Africa, as far south as Sofala.	Arab dhows	
Foundation of Great Mosque at Cordoba, extended in four phases (832–848, 929–961, 961–976, 987).	c. 900	
sighting of Greenland by Viking seamen.	First	

Islam and the Muslim World

767

Timelines

905	1076	
Abbasids take over Egypt.		King of Ghana converts to Islam.
910	1085	
Shi'ite Fatimids expel Aghlabids from Tunis, extend power to Egypt and Syria and claim caliphate (to 1171).		Christian forces under Alfonso VI of Leon take Toledo.
1086		
928		Almoravids enter Spain.
Ruler of Cordoba, Abd al-Rahman III, takes title of caliph.		
1091		
936		Completion of Norman conquest of Sicily.
Cordoba palace complex of Madinat al-Zahra begun.		

1094

969 Christian
warlord El Cid takes Valencia.
Fatimids conquer Egypt, founded city of Cairo.

1095

970 Byzantine empire
appeals for aid to pope, who preaches in
Al-Azhar University established in Cairo. France to raise
support.

972 c. 1110
Zirid dynasty, of Berber origin, rule Tunisia and E Algeria, Onset of serious
desiccation of Sahel region.
based at Kayrawan (to 1148).

1126

976–1009
Birth of Muslim philosopher Averroes (Ibn Rushd) in Cordoba.
Decline of Arab power in Iberia.

1128
Almohad religious revival order starts takeover of Almoravid
Ghana captures Berber town of Awdaghost, gaining control
dominions in North Africa and Iberia (1130–1269).
of southern portion of trans- Saharan trade route.

1132

c. 1000
Palatine Chapel at Palermo, unique blend of Romanesque,
Arab merchants begin to set up trading states in Ethiopian
Byzantine, and Islamic architectural elements.
Highlands.

1136

1015
Independence of Russian state of Novgorod.
Hammadids, offshoot of Zirids, rule East Algeria (to 1152).

1137

1025
Union of Aragon and Catalonia.
Death of great Byzantine emperor, Basil II (the Bulgar
Slayer). 1147

1031 Almohads
established in Morocco and southern Spain.

Beginning of Christian reconquest (Reconquista) of Spain. 1147

1041 Second Crusade;
Lisbon taken from Moors; Holy Roman
Zirids of Ifriqiya gain independence. Emperor Conrad
defeated by Turks at Dorylaeum.

1048 1154
Fatimids lose control of Ifriqiya (Tunisia). Building of

Chartres Cathedral.

1050	1169	
King of Takkur converts to Islam.		Shi ite Fatimid
dynasty in Egypt suppressed by Saladin.		
1054	1171	
Final schism between Roman and Orthodox churches.		Founding of
Ayyubid sultanate in Egypt (to 1260).		
1066	1172	
Battle of Hastings, Norman conquest of England.		Great Mosque at
Seville, intended to be the largest in the		
world, and the Giralda, a great square minaret.		
1071		
Completion of St. Mark's basilica, focus of public religious	1174	
life in Venice.	Saladin becomes	
Ayyubid sultan of Egypt and Syria (to 1193).		
1076	1184	
Ghana falls to Almoravids.		Completion of
citadel at Cairo.		

768

Islam and the Muslim World

Timelines

1189	1261	
Start of Third Crusade.		Michael
Palaeologus recaptures Constantinople and restores		
Byzantine Empire.		
1189		
Succession of Richard I the Lionheart.	1269	
Marinids inflict final defeat on Almohads in Morocco.		
1194		
Emperor Henry VI crowned King of Sicily.	1270	
Death of Louis IX outside walls of Tunis.		
1196		
Marinids take control of Morocco (to 1485).	1273	
Foundation of Alhambra Palace at Granada.		
1200		
Emergence of Hausa city-states, which come to dominate	1282	
sub-Saharan trade.	French driven	
from Sicily, which passes to Aragon.		
1200	1306–1310	
Rise of Mali in West Africa.		Hospitallers
conquer Rhodes, which becomes their base.		
1204	1312	
Fourth Crusade never reaches Holy Land; Crusaders sack		Knights

Templar Order accused of heresy and suppressed by Constantinople; Venetian gains in Adriatic and Peloponnese.	Pope.
1208	1324
Crusade against Cathars, or Albigensians, in southern France.	Pilgrimage to Mecca by Mansa Musa of Mali.
1212	1325
Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, decisive defeat of Almohads by Battuta's first pilgrimage to Mecca.	Ibn
Christians in Iberia.	
1331	
1226	Ibn
Battuta's voyage to the Swahili cities of East Africa.	
Creation of the Golden Horde, Mongol state in south Russia (to 1502).	1347
Marinids take Tunis.	
1228	
Start of collapse of Almohad Empire in North Africa.	1348–135
Black Death reaches Europe and North Africa.	
1228	
Hafsid dynasty established at Tunis (to 1574).	1352
Ibn Battuta's travels to the Mali Empire.	
1230	
Establishment of Nasrid kingdom of Granada Muslim strong- hold in southern Spain (to 1492).	1354
conquests in Southeast Europe at Gallipoli, Ottomans advance into Europe.	First Ottoman
1230	
Establishment of the Mali Empire.	1366
Capture of Edirne (Adrianople) by Ottomans.	
1236	
Christian reconquest of Cordoba.	1378
Beginning of Great Schism in Catholic church (to 1417).	
1241	
Mongols invade Poland and Hungary.	1381
Peasants' Revolt in England.	
1248	
Christian reconquest of Seville.	1389
Battle of Kosovo, Ottomans gain control of Balkans.	
1250–1254	
First of Louis IX's crusades; Invasion of Egypt ends in defeat at Mansura; Louis captured and ransomed.	1393
conquest of Bulgaria.	Ottoman
c.1250	1396
Building of stone mosques in Swahili city-states.	Bayazid
defeats crusader army at Nicopolis.	
1250	1415

Mali Empire at its greatest extent. Portuguese
capture Ceuta in Morocco.

Islam and the Muslim World

769

Timelines

1430	1529	
Sultans of Kilwa begin grand building program.	Unsuccessful	
Turkish siege of Vienna.		
1442	1538	
Al-Maqrizi writes detailed topographical survey of Egypt.	Holy League against the Turks formed.	
1453	1540	
Constantinople falls to Ottoman sultan Mehmed II.	Portuguese come to the aid of Ethiopia against Ahmad Gran.	
1459	1543	
Annexation of Serbia by Ottomans.	Death of Ahmad Gran, shot by a Portuguese musketeer.	
1464	1546	
Beginning of Songay expansion under Sunni Ali.	Songhay destroys Mali Empire.	
1469	1547	
Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, acknowledges Ottoman control of most of union of Castile and Aragon (1479).	Negotiated peace Hungary.	
1480	1562	
Muscovy throws off Mongol yoke.	After inconclusive skirmishes, Ottomans gain Transylvania.	
1484	1565	
Ottoman Turks capture Akkerman at mouth of Dniester.	Ottoman siege of Malta fails.	
1492	1571	
Columbus, in search of Asia, reaches Caribbean.	Ottomans take Cyprus from Venetians, at battle of Lepanto	
1492	Ottoman navy	
defeated by united Christian fleet off Greek coast.		
Muslim Granada falls to Spain.		
1578		
1494		
Treaty of Tordesillas divides western hemisphere between Spain and Portugal.	Moroccans crush invading Portuguese.	
1502	1580	
Union of Spanish and Portuguese crowns.		
First slaves taken to the New World.	1588	

1505	English defeat	
Spanish Armada.		
First Portuguese trading posts in East Africa.	1591	
1511	Moroccan invaders	
destroy Songhay Empire.		
Sa dian dynasty comes to power in Morocco (to 1659).		
1618		
1517	Thirty Years War in	
Europe (to 1648).		
Ottomans conquer Mamluks in Egypt.		
c.1660		
1519	Collapse of Mali	
Empire.		
Charles V elected Holy Roman Emperor.		
1664		
1519–1522	Turkish advance	
on Vienna turned back at battle of St.		
Magellan begins and del Cano completes first global	Gotthard.	
circumnavigation.		
1682		
1521	Peter the Great	
becomes czar of Russia.		
Sulayman takes Belgrade.		
1683		
1521	Siege of Vienna	
ends in Ottoman defeat.		
Siege of Rhodes under Knights of St. John by Ottomans.		
1698		
1526	Arabs from Oman	
capture Mombasa.		
Battle of Mohacs, Ottoman invasion of Hungary.		
1699		
1529	Peace of Karlowitz	
confirms Austrian conquests from		
Ahmad Gran leads jihad against Ethiopia.	Ottomans.	
770		
Islam and the Muslim World		
Timelines		
1701	1852	
Start of Asante's rise to prominence.	Umar Tal	
conquers the Senegal valley.		
1705	1853	
Foundation of Husaynid dynasty in Tunis, which rules until	Russians	
defeat Turkish navy at Sinop.		
1957.		

1854–1856

1716–1718 Crimean War, French and British support Ottoman Turks

Further Austrian victories, including capture of Belgrade against Russia.

from Ottomans.

1861

1729 Umar Tal's forces conquer Segu.

Portuguese leave East Africa following attacks from Oman.

1861

1730 Abolition of serfdom in Russia.

Revival of Bomu Empire in central Africa.

1863

c. 1730 Al-Hajj Umar Tal clashes with French in Senegal Valley and

Emergence of Fulbe confederation of Futa Jallon. creates a Muslim empire, invades Timbuktu.

1757 1864

Muhammad III becomes Sultan of Morocco. Umar Tal is killed attempting to suppress Fulani rebellion.

1768 1869

War between Russia and the Ottomans. Opening of Suez Canal.

1776 1877–1878

Abd al-Qadir leads Muslims in jihad along the Senegal River. Russia, Serbia, and Montenegro at war with Turkey.

1798 1878

Occupation of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte, defeat of Treaty of San Stefano negotiated by Russia and Turkey.

Egyptians at battle of the Pyramids Battle of the Nile, British fleet defeats French. 1878

Berlin Congress independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and

1804 Romania from Ottomans.

Fulani leader, Uthman dan Fodio declares jihad and conquers Hausa city-states.

1881

Tunisia occupied by French.

1804

Muhammad Ali becomes Viceroy of Egypt. 1882

Revolt in Egypt, occupation by British.

1804

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor of France. 1882

Beginning of major Jewish emigration from Russian Empire.

1807

Hausa kings replaced by Fulani emirs. 1884

Berlin Conference on Africa; Samory Toure proclaims his
1816 Islamic
theocracy in West Africa.

Inspired by Uthman dan Fodio, Amadu Lobbo launches
jihad in Masina. 1885

Bulgaria granted Eastern Rumelia.
1820

Egyptians invade Sudan. 1887

Bulgaria independent of Ottoman empire.
1820

Uthman dan Fodio establishes Sokoto Fulani Kingdom. 1893

French conquer Dahomey.
1821–1833

Greek War of Independence from Ottomans. 1904

French create federation of French West Africa.
1830

French invasion of Algeria, Algiers occupied. 1908

Bulgaria declares full independence.
1840

Ottoman Empire under threat from Egypt, saved by British 1908
and Austrian intervention.

Bosnia-Herzegovina annexed by Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Islam and the Muslim World
771

Timelines

1911 1954
Libya occupied by Italy. Algerian
uprising against French rule.

1912 1960
Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro form Balkan Fifteen African
countries gain independence.

League, First Balkan War.

1963
1912–1913 Foundation of
Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Balkan Wars. Ottomans lose most of their remaining European lands.
1974

Revised Yugoslav constitution grants Kosovo autonomy.
1914

Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo pre- 1981
cipitates start of World War I (to 1918). President Sadat
of Egypt assassinated by Islamic
fundamentalists.

1914
(Oct) Turkey closes Dardanelles. 1983

Islamic law imposed in Sudan.
1915
Gallipoli landings Establishment of Salonican front. 1986
U.S. bombs Libya in retaliation for terrorist attacks.
1917
U.S. declares war on Central Powers, Bolshevik revolution in 1987
Russia. Famine in
Ethiopia.
1918 1989
End of World War I. Fundamentalists
seize power in Sudan.
1919 1989–1990
Treaty of Versailles creates a new European order. Collapse of
Communism in Europe.
1920 1991
(Aug) Treaty of Sevres. Islamic
Salvation Front poised to win Algerian general election, army cancels second
round of voting.
1920
Inauguration of League of Nations. 1991
1922 Start of civil
war in Yugoslavia.
U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) is formed. 1991
1929 Unsuccessful
coup attempt in U.S.S.R., disintegration of
Soviet Union.
Wall Street Crash.
1991
1939
Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia declare independence from
(September) Invasion of Poland by Germany and Soviet
Yugoslavia.
Union, outbreak of World War II.
1941 1992
Germans and Italians advance into Egypt. Civil war in
Georgia, Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1942 1994
British defeat Germans at El Alamein. Russian troops
invade Chechnya.
1942 1995
Plans for Final Solution agreed at Wansee. Peace agreement
(Dayton Accord) ends the Bosnian war,
U.N. troops remain.
1945
(May) Germany surrenders. 1998

U.S. bombs Sudan and Afghanistan in retaliation for al-
1945 Qa ida bombing
of U.S. institutions in Kenya and Tanzania.

Yalta Conference, origins of Cold War.

1998

1949 Slobodan

Milosevic sends troops into areas controlled by

Formation of NATO. Kosovo

Liberation Army (KLA).

772

Islam and the Muslim World

Timelines

1999 1191–1193

Kosovo Peace talks collapse NATO begins bombing campaign. Afghan

Ghurids defeat Raiputs and seize Delhi and much of
North India.

2000

Milosevic forced to step down. c. 1200

Muslim Sufi saint, Mu in al-Din Chishti, founds first Sufi

2001 order in

North Indian subcontinent.

Milosevic arrested to face charges of war crimes in Bosnia and
Kosovo. 1206

Breakaway Mamluk (Slave) dynasty, under Aibak, establishes

2003 Delhi

Sultanate.

European reluctance to support attack on Iraq; only Britain
and Spain support the United States. 1258

First Mongol expedition to Annam.

2003

Turkish parliament votes against the use of its soil for U.S. c. 1280

attacks on Iraq, despite the offer of \$26 billion in aid and loan Mongol

invasions of Southeast Asia destroy Pagan and eclipse

guarantees. Dai Viet.

2003 1283

(March 19) United States launches massive air attack on Iraq; Expeditions
against Annam and Champa.

U.S., British and Australian troops enter Iraq.

1287

2003 Mongol

expedition to Pagan.

Enormous anti-war protests rock Europe reaching as high as

750,000 in London. 1288

Kublai Khan abandons attempt to subdue Annam and Champa.

2003

Liberian government and rebels sign a peace deal; outside forces enter the country to maintain stability and protect civilians. 1293 Failed
Mongol invasion of Java.

1295
Adapted from: Lunde, Paul. Islam: Faith, Culture, History. Conversion of Sultan of Achin (Sumatra) to Islam, which New York: DK Publishing, Inc., 2002. spreads over much of the East Indies.

1320
Muhammad ibn Tughluq succeeds to Sultanate of Delhi.
ISLAM IN SOUTH & SOUTHEAST ASIA 700–2003 C.E.
1334–1341
711–712 Ibn Battuta serves as qadi (judge) in Delhi.
Arab conquest of Sind introduces Islam to South Asia.

1336
c. 750 Rebellion against Tughluqs marks beginning of Vijayanagara Muslim merchants establish Islam in Kerala, southwest India. Empire.

c. 800 1345–1346
Arab ships sailing as far as China. Ibn Battuta visits Southeast Asia and China.

977 1345
Founding of Ghaznavid dynasty in North India (to 1186). Hasan Gangu, governor of Tughluq Deccani domains, revolts and founds Bahmani kingdom.
Mahmud of Ghazni extends rule into northwest India. 1398
Timur's invasion of India, sack of Delhi leads to fall of c. 1025 Tughluq dynasty.
Conquest of Punjab by Ghaznavids.

1445
1030 Conversion of Malacca (Malaya) to Islam.
Tower of Victory built by Mahmud of Ghazni, Muslim conqueror of North India. c. 1450
Islam spreads over much of East Indies.

1186
Raids by Muhammad al-Ghur herald decline of Ghaznavid dynasty, and of Buddhism, in North India. 1487–1489 Portuguese
Pero de Covilha sails through Red Sea to India.

Islam and the Muslim World

773

Timelines

1498	1728	
Vasco da Gama rounds Cape of Good Hope and reaches India.	Marathas defeat Nizam of Hyderabad and gain supremacy over Deccan with subsequent territorial expansion.	
1502	1739	
First published map to show correct general shape of India by Alberto Cantino.	Sack of Delhi by Persians and Afghans under Nadir Shah.	
1744–1763		
1507	Anglo-French (Camatic) wars, eclipse of French power in Portuguese victory over Ottoman and Arab fleet at Diu.	South Asia.
1509–1516	1749	
Portuguese voyages to Moluccas, Malacca, and Macao.	Mysore starts to become major power in southern North India.	
1510	Portuguese conquest of Goa; Goa made capital of all Portuguese possessions in Asia.	1757
	Expansion of Gurkha (Neiali) domains over much of Himalayas.	
1511–1512	Portuguese establish base in Malacca and reach Moluccas.	1757
1517	Battle of Plassey, British victors, over combined French and First Portuguese trading mission to China.	Mogul force establishes British power in Bengal.
1526	1761	
Babur conquers Delhi and founds Mogul Empire.	Defeat by Afghans temporarily ends Maratha hegemony over northern North India.	
1538		
Failure of Ottoman blockade of Portuguese at Diu.	1761	
British destroy French power in North India following seizure of Pondicherry.		
Akbar becomes Mogul emperor (to 1605); reign marked by territorial expansion and cordial Hindu-Muslim relations.	1767	
Appointment of James Rennell as first Surveyor-General of Bengal, beginning of Survey of India.		
1600		
Founding of British East India Company.		
1775		
1627	First	
Anglo-Maratha war (to 1782).		
Shah Jahan becomes Mogul emperor.		
1782		

c. 1647	Treaty ending first Anglo-Maratha war results in territorial losses for Marathas.	
1653	Completion of Atlas of India by Sadiq Isfahani.	
1658	Completion of Taj Mahal for Shah Jahan's wife. Delhi, Maratha territorial apogee, Mogul rulers become puppets of Marathas.	1788
	Aurangzeb becomes Mogul emperor; empire reaches maximum extent during his reign (to 1701).	1799
c 1660	Conquest of Mysore ends challenge to British power in southern North India.	
	Gujaratis make earliest known North Indian nautical charts.	1803
c. 1700	Second Anglo-Maratha war leads to British acquisition of Probable commencement of Mogul military mapping.	Delhi.
1707	Death of Aurangzeb heralds decline of Mogul power in Anglo-Gurkha war extends British possessions North India.	1815
	Victory in North India. into the Himalayas.	
c. 1720	Marathas start to expand over most of India.	1818
	Anglo-Maratha war ends in Maratha defeat.	Third
1724	Independent rule over Deccan by Nizam of Hyderabad of the British East India company, founds hastens disintegration of empire.	1819
	Stamford Raffles, Singapore.	
774	Islam and the Muslim World	
	Timelines	
1849	British annex Punjab after two Sikh wars.	1945
	Chi Minh declare independence for Indonesia and Vietnam respectively.	Sukarno and Ho
1857	Last Mogul emperor, the Maratha puppet Bahadur Shah II, dethroned and exiled by British.	1947
	India and Pakistan gain independence.	
1857–1859	Revolt (Mutiny) attempts to oust British from India May 30, dominions of India (Hindu) and Pakistan	1947
	1857: Lucknow mutiny. June 27, 1857 massacre of British	New independent (Muslim) are

born.

evacuees at Cawnpore.

1947

1858

Start of

Indo-Pakistani War fought over Jammu and Kashmir;

(March 22) British retake Lucknow after twenty-day siege. U.N. ceasefire line agreed in 1949.

1859

1949

Timor divided between Netherlands and Portugal.
independence from the Dutch.

Indonesia gains

1873

1952

Dutch attack on Achin sultanate in Sumatra.
general election won by Congress Party.

First Indian

1876

1954

Queen Victoria declared Empress of India, and a viceroy
abrogates union with Dutch and declares unitary
appointed as her representative.
Indonesia.

Sukarno
state of

1956

1885

Pakistan constituted as Islamic Republic.

Foundation of Indian National Congress.

1957

1904

Malaya granted independence from Britain, despite ongoing
Partition of Bengal; nationalist agitation in North India.
Communist insurrection.

1906

1958

Foundation of All-India Muslim League.
secessionist uprisings in Baluchistan, Pakistan.

Abortive

1918

1963

Indian contribution to World War I earns it membership in
Malaysia incorporates Singapore, Sarawak, and
League of Nations.
with Malaya.

Federation of
Sabah, along

1919

1965

Amritsar massacre leads to surge in North Indian nationalism.
inconclusive Indo-Pakistani war over Jammu and
Kashmir.

Second

1920

Mahatma Gandhi gains control of Indian National Congress.
Failed Marxist coup and military countercoup in Indonesia

1965

1920

ends Sukarno regime.

Start of civil disobedience campaigns by Gandhi in support of independence struggle. 1971
 Secession of East Pakistan leads to creation of Bangladesh; 1926–1927 Third
 IndoPakistani war as India intervenes.
 Rebellion against Dutch rule in Java and Sumatra.
 1975
 1942 Indonesia
 annexes East Timor.
 Indonesia, Indochina, Malaya, the Philippines, New Guinea, and Singapore seized by Japan. 1989–
 Revival of violent insurrection against Indian rule in Jammu and Kashmir.
 1942
 (February) Surrender of British forces to Japan in Singapore.
 1998
 1942 Economic crisis
 in Indonesia leads to overthrow of government.
 (March) Dutch surrender East Indies to Japan.
 1999
 1945 Referendum in
 East Timor produces overwhelming vote for
 India becomes U.N. charter member. independence.

Islam and the Muslim World

775

Timelines

2001 637
 Attack on North Indian parliament by Muslim terrorists Arab conquest
 of Mesopotamia.
 leads to increased tension between North India and Pakistan
 over Kashmir. 637
 Arabs capture Ctesiphon.
 2002
 East Timor officially declares independence from Indonesia. 637
 Arabs defeat Persians at al-Qadisiya; Jerusalem seized.
 2003
 Indian and Pakistan resume diplomatic, trade, and transportation ties. 638
 Foundation of
 first mosque in Kufa.
 Adapted from: Lunde, Paul. Islam: Faith, Culture, History. 641
 New York: DK Publishing, Inc., 2002. Arabs capture
 Nineveh and invade Armenia.

ISLAM IN SOUTHWEST ASIA 570–2003 C.E. Muslims
 invade Persia, Sassanid Empire falls.

570 Death of

Umar, Uthman appointed caliph.		
Birth of Muhammad in Mecca.		
595	Assassination	
of Uthman; Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad		
First marriage of Muhammad to Khadija, a merchant.		chosen as the
fourth caliph but struggles for control of		
610	caliphate (to	
661).		
Muhammad receives first revelation.	660	
611	Mu awiya	
proclaimed caliph in Damascus.		
Arabs invade Mesopotamia.	661	
611–626	Ali	
assassinated; beginning of Umayyad Caliphate (to 750).		
Sassanid armies capture Jerusalem and overrun Asia Minor.	670	
622	Reconstruction	
of mosque in Kufa.		
Muhammad's emigration with followers to Yathrib (Medina),	683	
the Hijra, and the start of the Islamic calendar.		
Anti-caliphate movement based in Mecca (to 693).		
Qibla oriented toward Jerusalem.		
Building of Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, completed 692.		
Muhammad's rejection of links with Judaism.		
Burning of the Ka ba; anti-caliph executed.		
Muhammad's pilgrimage to Mecca.		
Great Mosques of Damascus and Medina built, al-Aqsa		
630	Mosque in	
Jerusalem.		
Orientation of qibla is altered toward Ka ba in Mecca.		
632	Abbasid	
Caliphate established in Baghdad.		
Death of Muhammad in Medina, sucession of Abu Bakr (to		
634), beginning of Arab expansion in Arabian peninsula.		
Umayyad Caliphate is overthrown in Damascus, succeeded		
633–637	by the	
Abbasid Dynasty (to 1258).		
Muslims conquer Syria.		
634	Al-Mansur	
becomes caliph in Baghdad (to 775).		
Caliphate of Umar (to 644), conquest of Palestine and Syria.		
635	Under Abbasid	
Caliphate, new interest in seafaring, focused		
Arab armies cross Euphrates.	on Persian Gulf	
routes.		
636	762	
Byzantine army routed by Muslims on Yarmuk River.	Abbasid capital	

moved to Mesopotamia; founding of Baghdad.

776

Islam and the Muslim World

Timelines

786

Harun al-Rashid becomes caliph; Baghdad becomes center of arts and learning.

950

Death of

809

Al-Masudi's

major historical/geographical work The Meadows of Gold.

Death of Harun al-Rashid, start of civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun (ends 813).

813

Fatimids

establish control of Damascus.

Reign of al-Ma'mun, development of sciences and math in the Arab and Islamic world.

Seljuk Turks enter lands of caliphate.

Death of al-Shafi.

Byzantine forces threaten to take Jerusalem.

1005

Baghdad terrorized by Turkish slave troops. Abbasid Caliph Al-Sufi's Geography, (now in St. Petersburg) probably oldest extant illustrated Arabic manuscript.

848

1009

Foundation of Great Mosque at Samarra with monumental spiral minaret.

Destruction of

1055

860

Seljuks capture

Baghdad, ruling in the name of the Abbasid

Zaidi Imams rise to power in Yemen; rule intermittently to 1281.

1069

862

Seljuks take

Konya (Iconium).

Qubba al-Sulaybiya mausoleum, Samarra; first monumental Islamic tomb.

1071

Seljuks under Alp Arslan defeat Byzantines at Manzikert.

Byzantines annihilate Arab forces to stem Muslim advance in Anatolia.

Seljuk province

established in Anatolia with capital first at

Nicaea and then Konya, dynasty comes to be known as the

869

Seljuks of Rum

(to 1307).

Revolt of black slaves in southern Iraq.

1078

892 Seljuks take

Damascus.

Capital of Abbasid Caliphate shifts back from Samarra to Baghdad.

1079

Seljuks take Jerusalem.

1084

Shi'ite Qarmatians establish power base in central Arabia.

Fall of Antioch to Seljuks.

1092

Shi'ite Buwayhids (Buyids) establish power base in Persia, Abbasid wazir Nizam al-Mulk murdered by Isma'ili assassin.

Iraq; rule in name of Abbasid Caliphate (to 1082).

1094

Seljuk dynasty of Syria founded with capital at Aleppo.

Final text of Qur'an codified.

1096

First Crusade.

Turkic troops in pay of Buwayhids take effective control of Abbasid Caliphate.

1098

Crusaders take Antioch.

Persian Buwayhids conquer Baghdad but allow caliph to reign as figurehead.

1099

Jerusalem

captured by crusaders, Godfrey of Bouillon elected King of Jerusalem.

Hamdanids establish power base in Syria and Lebanon (to 1004).

c. 1118

Crusading order

of Knights Templar founded in Jerusalem.

Islam and the Muslim World

777

Timelines

1124

1204

Crusaders capture Tyre.

Maimonides'

The Guide to the Perplexed.

1127

1206

Zangid dynasty of Seljuk governors control Syria and Damascus completed.

Citadel of

Mesopotamia to 1222, initiate Muslim counteroffensive against crusaders.

1225

Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II inherits Kingdom of c. 1130

Jerusalem.

Hospital of St John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers) becomes military order.

1229

Frederick negotiates agreement which wins back control

1144

over

Jerusalem.

Edessa conquered by Zangi, governor of Mosul.

1229

1145 Rasulids

control Yemen (to 1454).

The Friday Mosque at Isfahan.

1237

1148 Huand Khatun

Mosque, mausoleum, madrasa, and baths at

Crusaders abandon siege of Damascus. Kayser,

central Turkey; major complex endowed by Seljuk

noblewoman.

1151

Last Christian stronghold in County of Edessa falls to Nur al- 1250

Din. Mamluks,

military caste from Caucasus, take over Syria,

Egypt, and Hejaz (to 1517).

1163

Iplici Mosque at Konya, probably the first to have a campa- 1256–1257

nile (tower) minaret. Assassins'

stronghold at Alamut falls to Hulegu.

1174 1258

Saladin takes Damascus. Sack of

Baghdad and fall of Abbasid Caliphate, Hulegu

founds Il-Khanate.

1183

Saladin takes Aleppo. 1260

Hulegu invades Syria; Mongols suffer first major defeat at

1187 Ayn Jalut.

Saladin defeats crusader armies at Hattin, takes Jerusalem

and Acre. 1268

Mamluks capture Antioch from crusaders.

1188

Saladin completes conquest of Latin kingdoms in Levant, 1281

Christians reduced to coastal enclaves. Succession of

Osman I, beginning of Ottoman dynasty (to

1924) and first phase of expansion.

1188

The Mosque at Rabat, like Seville, intended to be the largest c. 1302

in the world. Last Christian

territory in Levant falls to Mamluks.

1190 1314

Frederick I (Barbarossa) drowned in Anatolia on way to Holy Rashid

al-Din's Jami al-tawarikh, Persian history of Mongol

Land. conquest.

1191–1192	1326	
Third Crusade, Richard I of England recovers some of capture Byzantine city of Bursa and make it their territory taken by Saladin, including Jaffa and Acre, fails to take Jerusalem.		Ottomans capital.
1336		
1192	Birth of	
Timur.		
Richard I of England makes treaty with Saladin.		
1345		
1193	Ottomans annex	
Emirate of Karasi, empire reaches		
Death of Saladin.	Dardanelles.	
1197	1347	
Order of Teutonic Knights established in the Holy Land. reaches Baghdad and Constantinople.		Black Death

778

Islam and the Muslim World

Timelines

1370	1514	
Beginning of Timur's conquests, Timurid successors rule his defeats Safavids at Caldiran.		Selim
empire to 1506.		
1516–1517		
1372	Ottomans	
conquer Syria, Egypt, the Hijaz, and Yemen.		
Kitab hayyat al-hayyawan by al-Damiri, encyclopaedic collec-		
1517		
tion of tales traditions and scientific observations concerning		
Selim I orders construction of Ottoman fleet at Suez, Portuanimals.		
guese attack on Jedda repulsed.		
1378	1520	
Foundation of Ak Koyunlu, state based on Turkoman tribes-		Sulayman
the Magnificent becomes Ottoman sultan (to 1566).		
men in East Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Zagros mountains (to		
1508).	1525	
Ottomans defeat Portuguese fleet in Red Sea.		
c. 1380		
Foundation of Janissary corps by Ottomans.	1528	
Safavids take Baghdad from Kurdish usurper.		
1380		
1534		
Timur launches series of attacks on Persia.		
Sulayman retakes Baghdad from Safavids.		
1384		

1538		
Herat rebels, Timur suppresses ruling dynasty.		
Ottomans subjugate Yemen and Aden and occupy port of		
1387	Basra on	
Persian Gulf.		
Isfahan rebels, in reprisal, Timur kills 70,000 people, build-	1546	
ing towers with their skulls.	Ottomans	
retake Basra after revolt.		
1388–1391		
1551–1552		
Timur wages war against Mongol Khanate of the Golden	Ottomans	
fail to oust Portuguese from Hormuz.		
Horde.		
1566		
1389	Sulayman	
succeeded by Selim II.		
Accession of Bayezid I.		
1588		
1393	Abbas I	
(the Great) becomes Safavid shah.		
Sack of Baghdad by Timur.	1592	
1400	Zaydi	
imans regain control of Yemen, and rule until 1962.		
Sack of Aleppo and Damascus by Timur.	1598	
Isfahan becomes imperial Safavid capital.		
1401		
Sack of Baghdad by Timur.		
1603–1619		
Safavid war with Ottomans, in first year	Abbas recaptures	
1402	Tabriz.	
Ottomans defeated by Timur at Ankara.		
1604		
1405	Abbas	
conquers Erivan, Shirvan, and Kars.		
Death of Timur.		
1672		
1406	Greatest	
extent of Ottoman Empire.		
Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddima, the first attempt in any language		
c. 1750		
to elucidate the laws governing the rise and fall of civilizations.		
Emergence of Wahhabi reform movement in Arabia.		
1461	1774	
Ottomans take Christian city of Trebizond.	Ottoman	
decline follows Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca.		
1502	1806	
Italian Lodovico di Varthema visits Arabia disguised as an	Wahhabis	

take Mecca.

Arab.

1812

1512

Burckhardt first European to find Petra, ancient capital of

Accession of Ottoman ruler Selim I. Nabataea.

Islam and the Muslim World

779

Timelines

1812

1916–1918

Egyptian forces retake Mecca and Medina. Arab Revolt,

Saudi tribes supported by British rise against

Turks.

1814

Burckhardt visits Mecca. 1917

Balfour Declaration declares British support for creation of

1818 Jewish state in

Palestine; British take Baghdad; British take

Sadleir is first European to make east-west crossing of Ara- Jerusalem.
bian peninsula.

1918

1818 Battle of

Megiddo; Collapse of Ottoman Empire, Turkish

Wahhabi movement suppressed by Egyptian forces. surrender.

1839–1861 1919

Sultan Abd al-Majid I makes series of liberal Tanzimat Greek forces

land at Smyrna; Kemal Pasha breaks away from

decrees. authority of

Istanbul government.

1843 1920

Fortunes of Saud family restored by Faisal. Armenia cedes

half its territory to Turkey.

1853 1921

Richard Burton visits Mecca and Medina in Arab disguise. Turkish

Nationalist government established in Ankara.

1876–1878

1922

Doughty's Arabian journeys.

Turks recapture Smyrna.

c. 1880

1923

Birth of Abd al- Aziz ibn Saud in Kuwait.

Foundation of modern Turkey by Kemal Ataturk.

1887

1923

Riyadh taken by Rashidis, who dominate Najd.

(July) Treaty of Lausanne recognizes Turkish sovereignty
1888 over Smyrna and
eastern Thrace.

Publication of Doughty's classic Travels in Arabia Deserta.
1926

c. 1900 Ibn Saud crowns
himself King of the Hejaz and Sultan of
Baku oil fields in Azerbaijan producing half the world's oil. Najd.

1902 1927
Ibn Saud reclaims his patrimony by capturing Riyadh. Oil discovered
in Iraq.

1905 1932
Jewish National Fund established to buy land in Palestine. Kingdom of Saudi
Arabia proclaimed.

1908 1933
Ottoman sultan deposed in Young Turk Revolution. U.S. company,
Standard Oil of California, granted concession in Saudi Arabia.

1914 1936
Ottomans declare jihad, ally with Germany and Austria Arab revolt in
(Central Powers) against Allies. Arab revolt in
Palestine against British occupation and Jewish
immigration.

1915 1938
About one million Armenians massacred or deported by Turks. Commercial
quantities of oil discovered in Saudi Arabia.

1915 1944
(February) First Turkish attempt to capture Suez. Standard Oil
reformed as ARAMCO (Arabian American Oil
Company).

1916 1945
(February) Russians take Erzurum. Foundation of Arab League.

1916 1947
(April) British surrender to Turks at Kut al-Amara in Mesopotamia. U.N. partition
of Palestine.

780
Islam and the Muslim World

Timelines

1948 1990
Foundation of state of Israel leads to war, invading Arab (November 29)
U.N. resolution authorizes members to use
armies repulsed in Israel; some 725,000 Palestinians made "all

necessary means” against Iraq.

refugees.

1991

1956 (January) U.N.

deadline for Iraqi withdrawal passes, Opera-

Suez crisis, Israel, France, and Britain invade Egypt; fail to tion Desert

Storm begins with bombing of Iraqi troops and

block Egypt’s nationalization of Suez Canal.

installations.

1958

1991

Oil strikes in United Arab Emirates.

(February 24)

Allied land offensive in Iraq.

1961

1991

Foundation of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting

(February 28)

Ceasefire in war in Iraq.

Countries (OPEC).

1993

1967

Oslo Accords

between Israel and PLO based on principle of

Egypt closes Gulf of Aqaba to Israel; Israel defeats Egypt and “Land for Peace.”

other Arab nations in Six Day War; Israel occupies Sinai,

Gaza, Golan Heights, and the West Bank including Jerusalem. 1993

Islamic countries issue Cairo Declaration to curb

1973

fundamentalism.

Arab states fail to defeat Israel in Yom Kippur War.

1995

1973

Israeli-PLO

agreement extends Palestinian self-rule within

OPEC restricts flow of oil to world markets, raises price of the West Bank.

crude oil by 200%, oil crisis causes inflation and economic slowdown.

2000

Ariel Sharon’s visit to Dome of the Rock inflames Israeli-

1977

Palestinian

violence.

Start of Middle East peace process.

2001

1978

Sharon becomes

Israeli premier, violence continues.

Camp David summit between Egypt, Israel, and U.S.

2002

1979

(February 17)

Saudi Crown Prince Abdallah proposes full

Egypt and Israel sign peace treaty based on Camp David Arab

normalization with Israel in return for withdrawal to
accords. 1967
boundaries.

1979 2002
Islamic revolution in Iran, deposition of shah, proclamation of Islamic republic. Iraq allows
unconditional return of U.N. weapons inspectors.

2002
1980 Elections in
Morocco, dominated by the Socialist Union of
Start of Iran-Iraq War. Popular Forces
(USFP). The king appoints a non-party
figure, former interior minister Driss Jettou, as Prime Minister.

1981
Fifty-two American embassy staff held hostage in Tehran since 1979 are freed. 2002
Parliamentary
elections in Bahrain (the first in 30 years, and
the first with female enfranchisement) are boycotted by the
1982 four main
opposition parties, after amendment by Shaykh
Israel invades Lebanon. Hamad for an
appointed second chamber. The turn-out is 53
percent with disproportionately low Shi a representation.

1988
End of Iran-Iraq War. 2003
Turkish parliament fails to approve the use of its soil for U.S.
1990 attacks on
Iraq, despite the offer of \$26 billion in aid and loan
(August 2) Iraq invades Kuwait, U.N. demands Iraq's immediate withdrawal. guarantees.

2003
1990 Yasser Arafat
nominates Mahmud Abbas as Prime Minister in
(August 7) U.S. troops sent to Gulf. Palestine, who
is approved by the Palestine Legislative Council.

Islam and the Muslim World

781

Timelines

2003 615
(March 19) U.S. and British invade Iraq and appoint an interim government. Hamza accepts
Islam. First Muslim migration to Abyssinia. Umar becomes a
Muslim.

2003 616
Bush administration announces the "Roadmap" for "a Per- General

boycott of Banu Hashim. Return of the first emigrants.
 permanent Two-State Solution” between the Israelis and the
 Palestinians. 617
 Second migration of Muslims to Abyssinia.
 Adapted from: Lunde, Paul. Islam: Faith, Culture, History.
 New York: DK Publishing, Inc., 2002. 619
 Death of Abu Talib. Death of Khadija. Muhammad seeks
 tribal protection and preaches Islam in Ta'if.
 LIFE OF MUHAMMAD 570–632 C.E. 620
 Muhammad's engagement to A'isha bint Abu Bakr. First
 570 C.E. converts of Aws
 and Khazraj from Yathrib.
 Abraha, the Christian king in South Arabia, leads an abortive
 attack on Mecca, “The Year of the Elephant.” Death of 621
 Abdallah, the Prophet's father. Muhammad's birth (August First
 meeting of al-Aqaba. Al-Isra and al-Mi'raj (night
 20). journey and
 ascent to heaven).
 570–575 622
 Muhammad's nurture by Halima and residence at Banu Sa'd. Second
 meeting of al-Aqaba. Attempted assassination of the
 Persian conquest of Yemen. Expulsion of the Christian Prophet by the
 Meccans. July 16, the Hijra, the Prophet's
 Abyssinians. migration to
 Yathrib, henceforth called Medina, from madinat
 al-nabiyy (the city of the Prophet).
 575–
 Persecution of Christians in Yemen by the Jewish King Dhu 622 C.E.
 Nuwas. The Prophet
 builds a mosque and residence. Establishment
 of Islamic brotherhood as new social order. The Prophet
 575–597 founds the
 first Islamic state. The Covenant of Medina.
 Persian dominion in Yemen. Muhammad
 marries A'isha. The call to prayer (adhan) is
 instituted. Abdallah ibn Salam accepts Islam. The Jews
 576 attempt to
 split the Aws-Khazraj coalition.
 Death of Amina, the Prophet's mother.
 578 Hamza's
 campaign against the Meccans near Yanbu'. Cam-
 Death of the Prophet's grandfather, Abd al-Muttalib. Guardian-ship of the Prophet passes to his uncle Abu Talib.
 582 Campaign
 against Waddan. The incident of Fijl. Cam-

Muhammad's first journey to Syria. Meeting with Bahira, a paighn of
 Buwat. Campaign of al- Ushayra.
 Christian monk.
 586 Institution of
 Ka ba in Mecca as qiblah (direction of prayer).
 Muhammad's employment by Khadija. Campaign of
 Badr (first Muslim victory). Campaign of Banu
 Qaynuqa .
 Muhammad's second journey to Syria. Muhammad marries 624
 Khadija. Campaign of
 Banu Sulaym. Campaign of Dhu Amarr. Campaign of al-Qarada.
 Muhammad helps rebuild the Ka ba. 625
 Muhammad's marriage to Hafsa, widow, daughter of Umar.
 Beginning of the revelation of the Qur an and the call to 625
 prophethood. Khadija, Ali, and Abu Bakr accept Islam in that Campaign of
 Hamra al-Asad. Marriage of Ali to Fatima, the
 order. Prophet's
 daughter. Treachery against Islam at Bi r Ma una.
 Campaign of Banu al-Nadir.
 Muhammad begins publicly preaching Islam. Confrontation 626
 with the Meccans. Campaign of
 Uhud; martyrdom of Hamza.

782

Islam and the Muslim World Timelines

626 630
 First campaign of Dawmat al-Jandal. Campaign of
 Mecca. The Meccans accept Islam. Destruction
 of the idols and cleansing of the Ka ba. Conversion of the
 Arab tribes in the Hijaz. Campaign of Hawazin at Hunayn.
 Campaign of al Muraysi . Hadith al-Ifk (libel) against A isha. 631
 Campaign of al-Khandaq (The Ditch). Campaign of Banu Second Muslim
 pilgrimage (led by Abu Bakr).
 Qurayda.
 The Christian delegation of Najran (Yemen) visits Medina
 628 and is
 incorporated into the Islamic state as a constituent
 Second campaign of Dawmat al-Jandal. Campaign of Fadak. umma in that
 state. The Year of Deputations: the Arab tribes
 Campaign of Khaybar. Al-Hudaybiya Peace Treaty with enter Islam
 and pledge their loyalty.
 Mecca. The Prophet sends delegates to present Islam to the
 neighboring monarchs. 632
 Death of Muhammad's son Ibrahim. Last pilgrimage of the
 Prophet. Completion of the revelation of the Qur an.
 First Muslim hajj. Khalid ibn al-Walid and Amr ibn al- As 632

become Muslims. Death of the
 Prophet. The campaign of Mu ta.
 Adapted from: al-Faruqi, Isma'il R., and Lamyā' al-Faruqi ,
 629 Lois.
 Cultural Atlas of Islam. New York: Macmillan; London:
 Killing of Muslim missionaries at Dhat al-Talh. Collier:
 1986.

Islam and the Muslim World
 783

Index

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Boldfaced page numbers indicate main article on the subject. Italicized page
 numbers reference photos or illustrations.

A Abd al- Aziz (son of Muhammad b.
 Abdallah b. Ibrahim al-Najdi,
 Aaliyah, 45 Sa ud), 728
 Shaykh, 6
 Aaron, 37 Abd al-Baha (Abd al-Baha
 Abbas, Abdallah ibn Abbas, 672
 Abaqa, 701 also known as Abbas Effendi),
 1–2, Abdallah ibn Sa ud, 728
 99, 100, 101 Abdallah Khan, 135
 Abbas I, shah of Iran (Persia), 1,
 See also Baha allah; Baha i faith Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, Umayyad
 218, 437
 Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis (also known caliph
 See also Safavid and Qajar
 as Ben Badis), 2, 366 and Dome of the Rock, 74,
 118,
 Empires
 See also Reform: in Arab Middle 125, 183, 223, 315
 Abbas II, shah of Iran (Persia), 218 East and North Africa;
 Salafiyya monetary reforms of, 151, 195
 Abbasid Empire, 207–210 Abd al-Hamid II (Abdulhamid
 II), 5, silver box of, 78
 architecture of, 72–73 153, 172, 341, 342, 376, 464, 465,
 succession of, 223, 435
 caliphs of, 118–121, 654 505, 520, 653, 656, 678, 738,
 Abd al-Nasser, Jamal, 4
 Christianity under, 144–145 739, 740
 da wa network of, 173
 conversion during, 362 Abd al-Hamid Kishk (Shaykh), 2–3
 and foreign aid, 197
 decorative arts of, 79 Abd al-Haqq Dihlawi, 637
 influence on Arab League, 69

end of, 134, 207–208 Abd al-Jabbar (Qadi Abd al-Jabbar
 b. language use by, 61
 eunuchs of, 233 Ahmad al-Hamadani), 3, 247
 pan-Arabism of, 412, 465, 519
 monetary policy of, 151–152 See also Kalam; Mu tazilites,
 and political modernization,
 poetry and literature of, 65, 242 Mu tazila
 460, 538
 political organization under, Abd al-Karim al-Jili, 51
 Soviet support for, 156
 541–542 Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, 84
 youth support for, 741
 prosperity of, 98–99
 See also Nationalism: Arab; Pan-
 Abd al-Karim al-Qushayri, 455
 rise of, 132, 207, 591, 623
 Arabism
 Abd al-Karim Soroush (Hassan Haj-
 See also Byzantine Empire; Mahdi,
 Abd al-Qadir (al-Jilani), 4–5, 344,
 Faraj Dabbagh), 3–4, 279, 469,
 Sadiq al-; Rashid, Harun al-;
 638, 682
 471, 552, 578, 616, 628, 741
 Umayyad Empire
 See also Tasawwuf
 See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;
 Abd al- Aziz (d. 1801), 6 Khomeini, Ayatollah
 Ruhollah Abd al-Qadir al-Jaziri, 469
 Abd al- Aziz (d. 1823), 730 Abdallah, Shaykh Muhammad, 640
 Abd al-Qahir al-Baghdadi, 83
 Abd al- Aziz (d. 1824), 169, 170 Abdallah, king of Jordan, 347
 Abd al-Quddus Gangohi, 637
 Abd al- Aziz ibn Baz (1910–1999), 108 Abdallah II, khan of Bukhara,
 112 Abd al-Rahim, Shah, 730
 Abd al- Aziz ibn Sa'ud, 519, 609, 611 Abdallah al-Mahdi, 628
 Abd al-Rahman I (731–788), 46,
 Abd al- Aziz Khan (r. Abdallah b. Mas'ud, 563
 65, 362
 1645–1681), 135 Abd Allah b. Abbas, 36
 Abd al-Rahman II (788–852), 362
 Abd al- Aziz (son of Abd al- Abdallah b. Ahmad al-Nasafi, 9
 Abd al-Rahman III (891–961), 46,
 Rahman), 729 Abdallah b. Ali, 445
 362, 587
 Abd al- Aziz (son of Marwan), 435 Abdallah b. Ibad al-Tamim, 390
 Abd al-Rahman al-Awza'i, 406

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

- Abd al-Rahman al-Sa di, 694 Abu Abdallah al-Humaydi, 182
 Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, 8
Abd-al-Rahman b. Muljam, 36 Abu Abdallah al-Qurtubi, 673
 Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-
Abd al-Rahman Kawakibi, 5, 342, Abu Abdallah al-Shirazi, 105
 Sarifini, 8
469, 503, 577 Abu Abdallah Muhammad al-
 Abu Ja far, 591
See also Modernization, political: Khwarazmi, 139
 Abu Ja far al-Mansur, 97
Administrative, military, and Abu Abdullah al-Basri, 3
 Abu Jafar al-Tusi, 674
judicial reform; Modernization, Abu Ahmad Nasr, 443
 Abu Ja far Muhammad ibn Musa alpolitical: Authoritarianism and Abu Ala
al-Ma arri, 455 Khwarazmi, 130, 469
democratization; Modernization, Abu al- Abbas (Abu 'l-Abbas al-Saffah),
 Abu 'l- Abbas, 591
political: Constitutionalism; Abbasid caliph, 97, 207
 Abul- Abbas al-Qalanisi, 83
Modernization, political: Abu al-Faraj Runi, 528
Participation, political
 Abu 'l-Fayz Khan, 135
Abu Ali al-Farmadhi, 275
movements, and parties
 Abu 'l-Fazl, 33
Abu Ali al-Jubba i, 82
Abd al-Rahman (r. 1889–1902), 729
 Abul-Fida of Hama, 659
Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi, 9
Abd al-Raziq, Ali, 319, 470, 551, 577,
 Abu 'l-Ghazi Khan, 135
Abu al-Mu ayyad Muhammad b.
614, 668
 Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ash ari, 82
Mahmud al-Khwarizmi, 9
Abd al-Razzaq al-San ani, 286,
 Abu 'l-Hasan al-Bahili, 83, 105
Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd, 38
287, 288
 Abu 'l-Hasan Ali ibn al-Nu man al-
Abu al-Tabarsi (d. 1153), 674
Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri, 5–6, 461
 Qayrawani, 92
Abu Bakr (Abu Bakr b. Abi

See also Law; Modernization, Quhafa), 7–8
 Abu 'l-Hasan al-Rustughfeni, 443
 political: Constitutionalism
 Abu 'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr, 9–10, 357
 as father of A isha, 7, 33
 Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn, 6, on hijra, 299
 See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;
 108, 389, 452, 468, 483, 536, 575, succession of, 35, 117, 422, 481,
 Revolution: Islamic revolution
 580, 610, 676, 706, 727–728 548, 573, 585, 621, 654, 667
 in Iran
 See also Wahhabiyya See also Caliphate; Succession
 Abu 'l-Hassan al-Amiri, 225
 Abduh (Abdu), Muhammad, 6–7 Abu Bakr al-Asamm, 10
 Abu 'l-Hudhayl al- Allaf (Muhammad
 and dialectical method, 385 Abu Bakr al-Baqillani, 83
 b. al-Hudhayl b. Ubaydallah alfollowers of, 5 Abu
 Bakr al-Jassas, 409 Abdi), 10, 247
 fundamentalism of, 262 Abu Bakr al-Khwarizmi, 297
 See also Mu tazilites, Mu tazila
 on hadith, 286 Abu Bakr b. Mas ud al-Kasani, 9
 Abu 'l-Husayn al-Basri, 3
 on Islamic unity, 342
 Abu Bakr Gumi, 8 Abu 'l-Khattab, 369
 modernism of, 83, 433, 456, 609,
 See also Modern thought; Political Abu 'l-Khayr Khan, 135
 668, 674, 676
 Islam; Wahhabiyya Abu 'l-Mal ali al-Juwayni, 274
 on nationalism, 503
 Abu Bakr Ibn Abd al-Rahman, 406 Abu 'l-Muin al-Nasafi, 443
 political philosophy of, 551,
 575–577 Abu Bakr ibn Umar, 475
 Abu 'l-Qasem Kashani, 10–11
 as publisher, 7, 13 Abu Bakr Muhammad, 443
 See also Feda iyan-e Islam; Iran,
 on Qur anic interpretation, Abu Bakr Qaffal al-Shashi, 139
 Islamic Republic of; Majlis;
 267–268 Abu Bilal Mirdas b. Hudayr b.
 Mossadeq, Mohammad
 reforms advocated by, 104, Udayya, 390
 Abu 'l-Qasim al-Balkhi (al-Ka bi), 443
 172, 345 Abu Bishr Matta, 182
 Abu 'l-Yusr al-Pazdavi, 443
 on welfare, 440 Abu Dawud, 286
 Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, 83
 See also Afghani, Jamal al-Din; Abu Dharr Ghifari, 35
 Abu Mansur ibn Tahrir al-

Reform: in Arab Middle East Abu Dulama, 321
 Baghdad, 181
 and North Africa; Rida, Rashid; Abu Hafs al-Bukhari, 139
 Salafiyya
 Abu Ma shar al-Balkhi, 86, 139
 Abu Hanifa (Abu Hanifa al-Nu man b.
 Abdulaziz, 376, 738
 Abu Musa al-Ash ari (Abu Musa
 Thabit b. Zurti), 8–9, 11, 92, 406,
 Abdulhamid II. See Abd al-Hamid II
 Ash ari), 36, 405
 407–408, 417, 586–587, 734
 Abdullah b. Yasin, 475
 Abu Mushir al-Ghassani, 449
 See also Law; Madhhab
 Abdullahi ibn Muhammad (Khalifa
 Abu Muslim, 132, 207, 223, 591
 Abu Hashim al-Jubba i, 3
 Abdullahi), 422–423
 Abu Muti al-Balkhi, 9
 Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. 1023),
 Abdul Qadir Bedil, 643 209, 225
 Abu Naddara, 342
 Abida Parveen, 304 Abu Ishaq al- Ayyash, 3
 Abu Nasr Al-Farabi, 248
 Abortion rights, 227–228, 228, 566 Abu Ishaq al-Isfara ini, 83
 Abu Nuwas, 65, 209, 523
 Abraha, Abbyssinian ruler of Arabia, Abu Ishaq al-Kazaruni, 680
 Abu Rashid al-Nisaburi, 3
 55, 381 Abu Ishaq al-Mu tasim, 208
 Abu Rayya, Mahmud, 286, 668
 Abraham. See Ibrahim (Abraham) Abu Ishaq al-Nazzam, 10
 Abu Sa id al-Khudri, 286
 Abu Abbas Ahmad al-Farghani, 139 Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi, 11, 226
 Abu Sa id al-Sirafi, 182
 786
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Abu Sa id b. Abil-Khayr, 140 See also Pan-Islam; Reform:
 in Ahl al-kalam (speculative
 Abu Sa id b. Abu l-Khayr, 141, 680 Arab Middle East and North
 theologians), 667
 Abu Sayyaf, 648 Africa
 Ahl al-kitab (people of the book),
 Abu Sufyan (Sakhr ibn Harb ibn Afghan Interim Government

27–29, 144, 162, 381, 452,
 Umayyah), 477 (AIG), 490
 534, 584
 Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani, 282 Afghanistan
 See also Christianity and Islam;
 Abu Tammam, 65 mujahidin in, 490–491
 Islam and other religions;
 Russian occupation of, 108 Judaism and Islam; Minorities:
 Abu Turab (Father of Dust), 37
 use of Arabic language in, 62 dhimmis
 Abu Uthman Amr ibn al-Jahiz, 182
 women in, 509–510 Ahl al-ra y (people of considered
 Abu Walid Hisham, 78
 See also Taliban opinion), 27, 406, 667
 Abu Ya la, 286
 Afghan Service Bureau Front (maktab Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama at, 389,
 390
 Abu Ya la b. al-Farra , 548–549 al-khidma li-l-mujahin
 al- arab, Ahl al-sunna wal-jama a, 82, 668
 Abu Ya qub al-Shahham, 10 MAK), 559
 Ahl-e Hadis (Ahl-al Hadith, Ahl-i
 Abu Yazid al-Bistami, 455, 685 Aflaq, Michel, 106, 460, 503, 519
 Hadith), 26–27, 176
 Abu Yusuf, 9, 406, 408, 542, 654 “Afrabia,” 252
 See also Deoband;
 Abu Zaid, Nasr, 178, 534 Africa, Islam in, 13–19, 15, 16,
 20, 21 Fundamentalism
 Abu Zakariya ibn Masawayh, 295 See also Ahmad ibn Ibrahim
 al- Ahl-e haqq, 453
 Abu Zayd, Nasr Hamid, 298, 319 Ghazi; Ahmad Ibn Idris;
 Hajj Ahl-e Qur an (people of the
 Aceh (Indonesia). See Aceh Salim Suwari, al-; Suyuti,
 al-; Qur an), 668
 Aceh (Indonesia), 507–508, 644 Tariqa; Zar
 Ahmad, Bashir al-Din Mahmud, 30
 Adab (pl., udaba), 12 African culture and Islam, 19–24
 Ahmad, Jalal Al-e (Al-i), 529, 733
 as “belles lettres,” 66 See also Africa, Islam in;
 Bamba,
 Ahmad, Khurshid, 174
 development of, 225, 282 Ahmad; Timbuktu; Touba
 Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam, 30, 32,
 as ideal court behavior, 47, 48 (Senegal); Zar
 172, 453
 and moral pedagogy, 225–226 Afro-Islamic literature, 24
 See also Ahmadiyya
 multiple meanings of, 63 Afsaneh (Romance), 528

Ahmad, Mirza Tahir (Hazrat Mizrza
 See also Arabic literature; Ethics Aga Khan, 24–25, 26
 Tahir Ahmad Khalifatul Masih IV),
 and social issues See also Khojas; Nizari
 31, 31
 Ada (custom), 11–12, 651 Aga Khan III (Sir Sultan
 Muhammad
 Ahmad, Nazir, 716
 See also Africa, Islam in; American Shah), 24–25, 25, 393, 629
 Ahmad, Qazi Husain, 371, 372, 372
 culture and Islam; Law; South Aga Khan I (Imam Hasan Ali
 Asia, Islam in; Southeast Asian
 Ahmad al-Ahsa i, Shaykh, 95, 620
 Shah), 24
 culture and Islam
 Ahmad al-Badawi, 533
 Aga Khan II (Shah Ali Shah), 24
 Adalat Party, 156
 Ahmad al-Bakka i, 402
 Aga Khan IV (Shah Karim al-
 Adam, 50, 50, 51 Husayni), 25, 511, 629
 Ahmad al-Radhkani, 274
 Adhan (call to prayer), 13, 71, 178, Aga Khan Development Network, 25
 Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Quduri, 9
 179, 428, 494, 708 Aghajari, Hashem, 743
 Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tahawi, 9
 See also Devotional life; Ibadat; Agha Khan, Karim Khan, 351
 Ahmad b. Musa (Shah Cheragh), tomb
 Masjid Agha Muhammad Khan, 387
 of, 351
 Adivar, Halide Edib, 470 Agriculture, 194, 195
 Ahmad Baba, 308
 Adoption, 229 Ahaba (sahaba, Companions), 8, 231
 Ahmad-e Jam, 140
 Adud al-Dawla, Buwayhid ruler of Ahbash movement, 690
 Ahmad Gran (Ahmad ibn Gran; “the
 Iraq, 65
 left-handed”). See Ahmad ibn
 Ahl al-bayt (“people of the house”),
 Adud al-Din al-Iji, 83
 Ibrahim al-Ghazi
 25–26, 37, 121, 349, 624, 654
 Adultery, 33, 270
 Ahmad ibn Abi Ya qub al-Ya qubi, 130
 See also Hadith; Imam; Imamate;
 Afaq Khwaja, 136 Karbala; Mahdi; Sayyid;
 Sharif; Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Abu l-Qasm al-

Affliction, rites of, 600 Shi a: Imami (Twelver);
Shi a: Khayqani, 125
Afghani, Jamal al-Din, 13 Isma ili
Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (Ahmad
Ahl al-dhimma (people of the Gran; Ahmad ibn Gran), 14,
fundamentalism of, 262, 341
protective covenant), 144, 162, 361, 29, 231
influence on Abduh, 7
modernism of, 155, 456, 638, 733 362, 381
See also Africa, Islam in; Ethiopia;
and pan-Islam, 520 Ahl al-Hadith (people of the
Jihad
political philosophy of, 551 traditions), 27, 334, 406, 668
Ahmad Ibn Idris, 29–30
reforms advocated by, 172, 578 See also Ibn Hanbal; Kalam;
See also Africa, Islam in; Tariqa;
revivalism of, 467, 609, 616 Mu tazilites, Mu tazila;
Tasawwuf; Wahhabiyya
social philosophy of, 252 Traditionalism
Ahmad ibn Nasr al-Khuza i, 449
Islam and the Muslim World
787
Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
Ahmadiyya, 30–32, 31, 46, 172, Akhundzada, Mirza Fath Ali, 614
Al-Busa idi, Sayyid Sa id b. Sultan b.
453, 708 Akiba, Rabbi, 53
Sa id, 664
See also Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam; Akram, Wali, 709
Al-Busiri, 177
Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; Aksaray (Turkey), 666
Al-Bustani, Butrus, 342
South Asia, Islam in Aksum (ancient Abyssinia), 14, 55
Alchemy, 613
Ahmadiyya Anjuman-e Isha at-e Ala, Husayn, 256
Alcohol, prohibition of, 181
Islam, 30 Ala al-Din Khalji, 660
Al-Dahhaq b. Ways al-Fihri, 435
Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid, 32 Al- Abbas b. al-Ahnaf, 65
Al-Darimi, 286, 337
in Aligarh, 38, 39, 304, 469 Al- Abbas (uncle of Muhammad), 224
Al-Dhahab, Suwar, 347
on ethnic identity, 343
Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din, 8, 9
Al-Adab (periodical), 67
on hadith, 286

Al- Adil, 658
 modernism of, 155, 433, 456,
 Aladza Mosque (Foca), 103
 581, 609, 638, 668, 676, 716
 Al-Afghani, Abd al-Hakim, 9
 on rationalism, 468
 See also Aligarh (India);
 Al-Din, Tahir Jalal, 582
 Education; Liberalism, Islamic;
 Alem-i Nisvan (Women's world), 265
 Modernism; Modern thought;
 Alexander the Great, 54, 391, 526
 Pakistan, Islamic Republic of;
 Alexis, Byzantine emperor, 145
 South Asia, Islam in; Urdu
 Al-Farabi, 35, 307, 550, 612
 language, literature, and poetry
 Al-Farra , 280
 Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani, 638
 Al-Faruqi, Isma il, 174
 Ahmad Shah Masud, 676
 120, 259 Al-Fatiha, 562
 Ahmed Niyazi Bey, 739
 Brown), Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage
 Ahmed, Qazi Husain. See Ahmad, Qazi
 Foundation, 694
 Husain
 Al-Gama a al-Islamiyya (The Islamic
 AIG (Afghan Interim
 Group), 365, 466
 Government), 490
 Algeria
 Aini, Sadridin, 528
 economy of, 634
 AIOC (Anglo-Iranian Oil Company),
 independence of, 425
 476, 504
 Islamic reformist movement in, 2,
 A isha (A isha bint Abu Bakr), 32–33
 314, 315 365–366, 417, 461, 466, 616
 on character of the Prophet,
 nationalism in, 2
 Al-Asad, Bashar, 347, 461
 225, 320
 political represion in, 463
 Al-Asad, Hafiz, 347, 460
 and gender constructs, 269, 734

Al-Din, Ahmad Hamid, 350
 Al-Din, Khwaja Kamal, 30
 Al-Din, Maulvi Nur, 30, 32
 Al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya (The
 ordinances of government), 548
 Al-Afghani, Jamal al-Din. See Afghani,
 Jamal al-Din
 Al-Ahmadnagri, Abd al-Nabi, 225
 Al- Ali Ayyub, 658, 659
 Al- Allama al-Hilli, 34
 Al-Amin, caliph (r. 809–813),
 Al-Amin, Imam Jamil (H. Rap
 44, 45
 Al-Amin bin Ali Mazrui, 445
 Al-Amir, 628
 Al- Amir, Fatimid caliph, 152
 Al-Amjad Bahramshah, 659
 Al-Aqsa Intifada, 740
 Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade, 355
 Al-Aqsa Mosque (Jerusalem),
 365–366, 417, 461, 466, 616

resistance to French colonialism
 Al- Ashmawi, Muhammad Sa'id, 319
 married to the Prophet, 7,
 in, 4–5
 Al-Ashraf Khalil, 166 socialism in, 633
 33, 479
 Al- Attar, Issam, 346 Sufism in, 682
 opposition to Ali from, 35,
 Alavi, Bozorg, 528 veiling in, 722
 260, 621
 See also Ali; Bukhari, al-; Fitna; Alavid Shi'ism, 619
 waqf of, 731
 Muhammad; Shi'a: Early; Sunna Alawid dynasty (Morocco), 26
 See also Islamic Salvation Front;
 Al-Awza'i, 417 Reform: in Arab Middle East
 A'isyah ("way of A'isha"), 735
 Al- Ayn, Qorrat (Tahereh, "the Pure and North Africa
 Aja'ib ("wondrous") literary
 One"), 96 Algerian Muslim Congress, 2
 tradition, 129
 Al- Aziz Billah, Fatimid caliph, 92 Al-Hadi, 207, 429
 Ajami (written) literature, 15
 Al-Azmeh, Aziz, 307 Al-Hadi ila al-Haqq al-Mubin, 630
 Akbar (Jalal al-Din Akbar), 33–34, 73,
 Al-Babuya al-Qummi, 286 Al-Hafiz, 628
 213, 303, 342–343, 363, 637
 Al-Baghdadi, 297 Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, 312, 390, 429
 See also Mogul Empire; South
 Asia, Islam in Al-Balkhi, Abu Zayd Ahmad ibn Sahl,
 Al-Hakam, 30
 130–131 Al-Hakam II, 414, 415
 Akhbariyya, 34, 627, 717–718
 Albania Al-Hakim, 71, 203, 414, 452
 See also Law; Mu'tazilites,
 Mu'tazila; Shi'a: Imami independence of, 102, 103
 Al-Hakim al-Shahid al-Marwazi, 409
 (Twelver) Muslim population of, 103, 236
 Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, 454, 607, 685
 Akhlaq (khuluq, manners, ethics), Al-Bashir, Omar, 348
 Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, 453
 34–35, 225 Al-Battani (Albategnius), 612
 Al-Hallaj (d. 922), 176, 685
 See also Adab; Ethics and social Al-Bishri, Tariq, 577
 Al-Hallaj ibn Yusuf, 130, 151
 issues; Falsafa Al-Bitar, Salah al-Din, 503
 Alhambra (al-Hamra'), 47, 47, 74, 376
 Akhund (Persian, "religious Al-Buhturi, 65

Al-Haqq, Sami , 374
leader"), 473 Al-Busa idi, Ahmad b. Sa id, 664
Al-Haqqani, Shaykh Nazim, 44

788

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Al-Haraka al-Islamiyya, 172 Aligarh Zenana Madrasa (later
Aligarh Al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn
Al-Haramayn al-Juwayni, imam, Women's College), 39
Qalawun, 662

83, 717 Ali ibn al- Abbas al-Majusa, 295

Al-Malik al-Salih, 165, 166, 662

Al-harb al-muqaddasa (holy war), 158 Ali ibn Abi Talib. See Ali
Al-Manar, 7, 577, 597, 631

Al-Harbiyya, 658 Ali ibn Talib. See Ali

Al-Mansur (Abu Ja far al-Mansur), 97,

Al-Hariri, 79 Ali Jalayiri, 308
97, 120, 130, 207, 295, 408,

Al-Hasan, Maulana Mahmud, 391 Al- Iji, 307
591, 678

Al-Hasanat, Abu, 375 Ali Jurjani, 139

Al-Maqrizi, 130, 389

Al-Hasan b. Zayd, 630 Al-ilah ("the god"), 39

Al-Mas udi, Abu 'l-Hasan Ali ibn al-

Al-Humaydi, 286 Alim, emir of Bukhara, 113
Husayn, 130

Al-Hurr al-Amili, 34 Alim Khan, 136

Al-Mawardi, 121–122, 444, 449, 548,

Al-Husri, Sati , 503, 518 Ali Mohammad, 95
588, 652, 654–655

Al-Husri al-Qayrawani, 320 Ali Muttaqi, 637

Almohad dynasty (Almohades), 47, 362

Ali, Muhammad (Cassius Clay), 44 Ali Pasha, 678, 738

Almoravid dynasty. See Moravids

Ali, Noble Drew, 708 Ali Riza Bey, 88

Alms, collecting of, 95

Ali, Chiragh, 433, 668 Al-Isbahani, 370

Al-Mu azzam, 658

Ali, Hajji Mirza Sayyed, 96 Al-Isfahani (d. 967), 66

Al-Mubarrad, 280

Ali, Maulana Muhammad, 30 Ali-Sher Nawa i, 222

Al-Muhallab, 390

Ali, Muhammad (Albanian, Al-Islam (Malaya), 582

Al-Mu izz li-Din Allah, Fatimid caliph,

1769–1849), 60, 66, 196, 204,

92, 130
 Al-Istakhri, Abu Ishaq ibn Muhammad
 485–486, 575, 728 al-Farisi, 130, 131
 Al-mulk lillah (dominion belongs to
 Ali, Muhammad (Indian, brother of
 God), 81
 Ali Suavi, 738
 Shaukat Ali), 39, 391
 Al-Muntaqid (The critic), 2
 Al-Jahiz, 66, 209, 320
 Ali, Shaukat, 39, 391 al-Jami al-sahih (The sound
 Al-Muntazar (“the Awaited One”), 625
 Ali (Ali ibn Talib; Ali ibn Abi Talib), collection), 114
 Al-Muqaddasi, Abu Abdallah
 35–38, 36 Al-Jazeera, 463, 508
 Muhammad, 131
 as ahl al-bayt, 26, 350 Al-Jazuli, 177
 Al-Muqanna , 429
 followers of, 35, 117, 171, 390, Al-Jilani, Abd al-Qadir, 177, 588, 682
 Al-Muqtadir, 208
 427, 585, 624
 Al-Muslimin, 631
 al-Junayd (Junayd; of Baghdad), 275,
 grave of, 141
 Al-Mustansir, 628
 290, 685
 images of, 36
 Al-Mutanabbi, 65, 211
 Al-Kamil, Ayyubid sultan, 152, 658
 monetary policy of, 151
 Al-Kassas, Sa d, 711 Al-Mu tasim, 152, 428, 448
 opposition to, 33, 35–36, 223,
 Al-Kazimayn mosque (Baghdad), 209 Al-Mutawakkil, caliph of Baghdad,
 72,
 259–260
 Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad, 280 84, 208, 387, 428, 449, 587
 succession of, 573, 621–628
 tomb of, 26, 36, 88 Al-Khansa , 64, 734
 Al-Nabulsi, 185
 See also Caliphate; Imamate; Shi a: Al-Khu i Foundation, 393
 Al-Nadim, 429
 Early; Succession Al-Kulini, 286, 369
 Al-Namara (Syria), inscription
 Ali al-Karaki, 511 Al-Kunduri, Seljuk wazir, 83
 from, 58
 Ali al-Naqi, imam, 88 Allah, 39–41
 Al-Nasa i, 286

Ali b. Abdallah, 445 attributes of (sifat
 Allah), 83 Al-Nasir, Mamluk sultan, 336
 Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Marghinani, 9 future vision of (ru yat
 Allah), 83 Al-Nasir li-Din Allah (Al-Nasir,
 Ali b. Ibrahim al-Qummi, 455 images of, 40, 78
 Caliph, li-Din Allah; r. 1180–1225),
 Ali b. Mitham Bahrani, 38 pre-Islamic worship of, 55
 120, 134, 264, 658
 Ali b. Muhammad al-Yunini, 114 in Qur an, 565
 Al-Nasir Muhammad b. alspeech of (kalam Allah), 83
 Qalawun, 338
 Ali b. Musa al-Rida, 427, 623
 See also Asnam; Qur an; Shirk Alp Arslan, 665
 tomb of, 26, 436–437
 Al-Lakani, 83 Al-Qadi al-Nu man, 628
 Al-Idrisi, al-Sharif, 129
 al-Laknawi, Abd al-Hayy, 228 Al-Qadir, 120, 122, 449
 Aligarh (India), 30, 38–39, 469, 581
 Allat, 84, 85 Al-Qahira. See Cairo (Egypt)
 See also Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid;
 Education; Modernism; Al-Latif, Qadi Abd, 374
 Al-Qa im, 120, 449
 Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; Alliance Israelite Universelle, 205
 Alqamah Ibn Qays, 406
 South Asia, Islam in; Urdu All-India Khilafat Committee, 374
 Al-Qaradawi, Yusuf, 286
 language, literature, and poetry All-India Muslim League, 343
 Al-Qasim b. Ibrahim al-Rassi, 630
 Aligarh movement, 155 Al-Maghili, 17
 Al-Qushayri, wife of, 734
 Aligarh Muslim University, 39, 304 Al-Mahdi (r. 775–785), 207, 429
 Al-Rabita al-Qalamiyya (The Pen
 Aligarh Scientific Society, 32, 38 Al-Malik al-Kamil, 164
 Club), 67

Islam and the Muslim World

789

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Al-Razi (al-Rhazes), Abu Bakr Amelikites, 52
 Antiochus III, Seleucid king of
 Muhammed ibn Zakariyya, 295, American culture and Islam,
 Syria, 54
 446, 523 41–45, 245
 Anvari, 525
 Al-Sabah, Shaykh Jaber al-Almed, 466 See also Americas, Islam in
 the; Aoun, Michel, 412

Al-Sa di, 308
 Apollo (periodical), 67
 Al-Sahili, 430
 Aql (intellect), 38, 142, 398
 Al-Salimi, 185
 Aquino, Corazon, 648
 Al-Sanhuri, Abd al-Razzaq. See Abd
 Arab (arab), definition of, 51, 107
 al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri
 Arabesque designs, 20–21, 79–80
 Al-Sattar, Abd, 375
 Arabia, definition of, 51
 Al-Sayyid, Ridwan, 160
 Arabia, pre-Islam, 50–58, 52, 144
 Al-Sha bi, 8
 43, 44, 712, 713
 See also Arabic language; Arabic
 Al-Shadhili (Al-Shadili), Abu 'l-Hasan,
 literature; Asabiyya;
 178, 682
 Americas
 Muhammad; Sassanian Empire
 Al-Shafti, Muhammad Baqir, 310
 Islam in the, 45–46
 Arabian Nights, 66, 68, 292, 523, 572
 Al-Shahid al-Thani, 511
 use of Arabic language in, 62
 Arabic alphabet, 124
 Al-Sharif al-Murtada, 717
 See also American culture and
 Arabic language, 58–63
 Al-Shaykh al-Mufid, 549, 717
 Islam; United States, Islam
 calligraphy in, 123–125
 Al-Shihab (The meteor), 2
 in the
 development of, 51, 53, 57, 58,
 Al-Shiqaqi, Fathi, 365
 Amin, Qasim, 470
 278–279, 591
 Al-Siba i, Mustafa, 346
 Amir al-mu minin (commander of the
 diglossia in, 61–62
 Al-Siddiq (“the truthful”), 7
 faithful), 4, 38, 113, 663
 dominance in Islam, 13, 51,
 Al-Sila, 189
 Amirshahi, Mahshid, 529
 60–61, 340, 586
 Ammar b. Yasir, 36
 and ethnic identity, 232
 Al-Siyalkuti, 83
 Islamic modes of thought
 Al-Sumatrani, Samsuddin, 651
 Ammiyya (darija, Low Arabic), 60
 expressed in, 23
 Al-Tabarani, 286
 Amr b. al- As (Amr b. As), 36,
 115
 Jewish use of, 60
 Al-Tabarsi (d. 1158), 351
 Amr b. al- As al-Sahmi, 402
 in North Africa, 17

Al-Taftazani, 655 Amr b. As. See Amr b. al- As
spread of, 58–60, 118, 223
Al-Tahtawi, Rifa a Rafi , 66, 318, 342, Amr b. Dinar, 287
as symbol of Arab nationalism,
551, 575 Amr b. Luhayy, 84–85
60–61
Altaic (Turkic) languages, and ethnic Amr ibn al- As, 36, 115
used by Jews in al-Andalus, 48
identity, 232
as world language, 62
Amr Makki, 290
Al-Ta if, women of, 256
See also African culture and Islam;
Amu Darya delta, 132
Al-Tawhidi (d. 1010), 320
Arabic literature; Grammar and
Amulets (talismanic charms), 18–19,
Al-Tawwabun (the penitents), 623
lexicography; Identity, Muslim;
20, 22, 51 Pan-Arabism; Persian language
Al-Tayalisi, 286
Anas b. (ibn) Malik, 8 and literature; Qur an;
South
Al-Thani, Shaykh Hamad bin
Andalus, al-, 46–49, 65–66, 235–236, Asian culture and
Islam; Urdu
Khalifa, 463
282, 362 language, literature, and
poetry
Al-Tibb al-Nahawi (Medicine of the
See also European culture and Arabic literature, 56–57, 63–68,
Prophet), 446
Islam; Judaism and Islam 320–321
Al-Turmidhi, 286
Anecdotes (nawadir), 320 See also Arabic language;
Al-Tusi, al-Shaykh, 286, 351, 717
Angels, 49–51, 50, 584 Biography and
hagiography;
Al- Umari, 429
See also Mi raj; Religious beliefs Historical writing; Persian
Al- Urwa al-wuthqa (“The firmest
language and literature; Qur an
grip”), 7, 13, 597 Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC),
476, 504 Arab-Israeli conflict, 198–199
Al- Uzza, 84, 85
Aniconism, 78 Arab-Israeli War (1948–1949),
Al-Walid I, caliph, 72, 79, 118, 450

105, 460
 Al-Walid II, caliph, 653 Anis, 715
 Arab-Israeli War (1973), 197
 Al-Waqa i al-Misriyya (Egyptian Anjuman-e Sipahan-e Sahaba, 374
 Arab League, 68–69, 290, 503
 events), 7 An-Na im, Abdullahi, 471, 590
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal;
 Al-Wathiq, 428, 448–449 Anqarawi, Isma il, 359
 Jami at al-Duwal al- Arabiyya
 Alya iyya, 36 Ansar al-Islam, 173
 (League of Arab States);
 Al-Ya qubi, 233 Ansar (helpers), 35, 340, 422, 719
 Organization of the Islamic
 Al-Zahrawi, Abu 'l-Qasim, 295, 447 Ansari, 685
 Conference
 Al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 509, 559 Antiapartheid, 292–293
 Arab nationalism. See Nationalism:
 Al-Zuhri, 287, 406 Antioch, Principality of, 163, 166
 Arab
 790
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Arabshahid dynasty, 135–136 Askari, Hasan, 174
 Augustus, Roman emperor, 52
 Arab Socialist Union (Egypt), 4, Askiya Muhammad (Muhammad b.
 AUMA (Association des Uléma
 465, 633 Abi Bakr Ture, also known as
 Musulmanes Algériens), 2, 366, 609
 Arab Summit, 69 Askiya al-Hajj Muhammad), 17,
 84 Aurangzeb (Awrangzib), 213, 303, 304,
 Arafat, plains of, 312 See also Africa, Islam in;
 African 343, 637 culture and Islam
 Arafat, Yasir, 355 Austro-Hungarian Empire, 102
 Austro-Hungarian Empire, 102
 Aramaic language, 48 ASM (American Society of Muslims),
 Autobiography of Malcolm X, 426
 43, 44, 712, 713 Averroes. See Ibn Rushd
 Archimedes, 494
 See also Nation of Islam Avicenna. See Ibn Sina
 Architecture, 69–75
 Asnam (“idols”), 84–85 Awami (People’s) League,
 90–92,
 basic components of, 69, 70, 70
 indigenous African, 20 See also Allah; Shirk
 91, 640

of madrasa, 418 Assassins (Nizari Isma'ilis), 85–86
 See also Pakistan, Islamic Republic
 in mosques, 70–73, 72, 440–441 See also Crusades; Shi'a:
 Isma'ili of; South Asia, Islam in
 in Muslim Balkans, 103 Association des Uléma Musulmanes
 Awrangzib (Aurangzeb), 213, 303, 304,
 in North America, 42, 42, 43 Algériens (AUMA), 2, 366, 609
 343, 637
 residential, 75 Association for the removal of
 A'yan-amir system, 292
 secular, 74–75, 78–79 innovation and the establishment
 of Ayat al-Kursi (Verses of the
 in shrines and mausoleums, 73–74 the sunna, 8
 Throne), 563
 in South Asia, 643–644 Association for the Union of
 Ayatollah (Ar., ayatullah), 92
 See also Adhan; Art; Dome of Ottomans, 739
 See also Hojjat al-Islam;
 the Rock; Holy cities; Jami'; Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah;
 Manar, manara; Mashhad (Association des Uléma
 Marja' al-taqlid; Shi'a: Imami
 (mausoleum); Masjid; Mihrab; Musulmanes Algériens, AUMA), 2,
 (Twelvever)
 Minbar (mimbar); Religious 366, 609
 Ayat (verses), 95
 institutions Association of Muslim Social
 Ayn al-Qudat al-Hamadani, 226, 433
 Aref, 528 Scientists, 712
 Ayoub, Mahmoud, 174
 Aretas III, 53 Association of Scholars of India
 Ayyub, 657
 Arabi tribe, 58 (Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e Hind,
 JUH),
 Ayyubid sultanate, 74, 116, 164, 543,
 Aristotle, 35, 48, 234, 249, 252, 397, 177, 371, 374, 390, 443, 638
 608, 657–660, 659
 399, 401, 494, 612, 695 See also Jam'iyat-e Ulama-e
 See also Cairo; Caliphate;
 criticism of, 359 Islam; South Asia, Islam in
 Crusades; Delhi sultanate;
 Arkoun, Mohammed (Mohamed), Astarabadi, Muhammad Amin al-
 Education; Ghaznavid sultanate;
 286, 327 (Muhammad Mu'min), 34, 317,
 Mamluk sultanate; Saladin;
 Army of Islam, 344 717–718
 Seljuk sultanate; Sultanates:

Army of Pure (Lashkar-e Taiba
 Modern
 [Tayyiba]), 27, 490
 Ayyuqi, 526
 Ar-Raniri, Nuruddin, 651
 Azad, Abu 'l (Abul) Kalam Maulana,
 Art, 75–82, 77, 78, 214, 302, 398, 400
 299–300, 391, 639–640
 612–613
 See also Architecture; Calligraphy;
 Azad, Muhammad Husain, 716
 Mihrab
 See also Astrology; Biruni, al-;
 Azal, Subh-e. See Mirza Yahya
 Hijiri calendar; Science, Islam
 Arya Samaj, 304
 Azalis, 96, 100, 453
 and; Translation
 Asabiyya (tribal loyalty), 82, 107,
 Azari, Farah, 627
 Ata b. Abi Rabah, 8
 335, 699
 Azhar, al- (Cairo), 92–93, 115, 171,
 Ata b. Rabah, 287
 See also Ibn Khaldun
 205–206, 414, 416
 Atabat (exalted thresholds), 88
 Asad, Muhammad, 471
 See also Education; Madrasa;
 See also Holy cities; Mashhad
 Asadi of Tus, 526
 Zaytuna
 (mausoleum)
 Asante, Kingdom of, 18–19, 21
 Azzam, Abdallah, 108, 559
 Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal, 88–90, 89,
 Asas (foundation), 37
 103, 150, 205, 342, 419, 459, 505,
 Ash ab, 320–321 512, 614, 690, 733
 B
 Ashab al-hadith, 667
 See also Nationalism:
 Turkish; Baba Farid Shakarganj, 303
 Ash arites, Ash aira, 82–84, 105, 696
 Revolution: Modern;
 Babangida, Ibrahim, 8
 See also Kalam; Mu tazilites,
 Secularism, Islam; Young Turks
 Baba Qasim, tomb of, 40
 Mu tazila
 Athman ibn Affan. See Uthman ibn
 Baba Taher, 524

Ash at b. Qays Kindi, 36 Affan
 Bab ("gate"), 95
 Asim, 432 Auda, Abd al- Aziz, 365
 Babiyya (Babi movement), 1, 95–96,
 Asim Degal, 386 Augustine, Saint, 248, 251
 99, 100, 101, 453

 Islam and the Muslim World
 791
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

 See also Bab (Sayyed Ali Bamba, Amadou, 21
 Bazargan, Mehdi, 106–107, 413,
 Muhammad); Baha allah; Baha i Bambara Kingdom of Segu, 17
 459, 578
 faith Bangladesh, independence of, 91,
 See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;
 Babri Masjid, 305, 640–641 581, 640
 Liberation Movement of Iran;
 Bab (Sayyed Ali Muhammad), 96–97, Bangladesh Farmers, Workers, and
 Reform: in Iran; Revolution:
 99, 100, 453 People's League (Bangladesh
 Islamic revolution in Iran
 See also Babiyya; Baha allah; Krishak Sramik Awami League,
 Bedouin, 107, 161, 279, 699
 Baha i faith BAKSAL), 91
 See also Arabia, pre-Islam;
 Babur, Zahir al-Din Muhammad, 135, Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami
 Asabiyya; Ibn Khaldun
 212–213, 222, 637 League (BAKSAL), 91
 Begin, Menachem, 605
 Badayuni, Abd al-Hamid, 375 Bangladesh National Party (BNP), 91
 Behbehani, Simin, 528
 Baghdad, 97–99, 98 Banna, Hasan al-, 104–105, 172,
 262, Bek, 134
 Arabization of, 59 276, 345, 346, 433–434, 468, 537,
 Bektashiyya, 26, 103, 682, 708
 capture by Safavids (1623), 1 551, 577
 Belhadj, Ali, 366
 development of, 208 See also Ikhwan al-Muslimin
 Bell, Catherine, 598
 establishment of, 207
 Bello, Ahmadu, 8, 664
 Banu Hashim, 25, 273, 585
 inner city of, 98
 Banu Nadir, 361 Bello, Muhammad, 664
 Mongol invasion of (1258), 99

Banu Qaynuqa , 361 Ben Ali, Zine el Abidine, 112
 See also Abbasid Empire;
 Caliphate; Revolution: Classical Banu Qurayza, 361
 Ben Badis. See Abd al-Hamid Ibn
 Islam; Revolution: Islamic Baqi Billah (billah), Muhammad,
 Badis
 revolution in Iran; Revolution: 632, 637
 Bengali language, 90
 Modern Baqillani, al- (Qadi Abu Bakr
 Benjedid, Chadli, 366, 417
 Baghdad Pact (Central Treaty Muhammad b. al-Tayyib b.
 Berber tribes, 161, 223, 232
 Organization, CENTRO), 517 Muhammad), 105–106
 Bergson, Henry, 250
 Baha al-Din al- Amili, 320 See also Ash arites, Ash aira;
 Bernard, Calaude, 447
 Baha allah (Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri), Kalam
 Bethlehem, 148
 96, 97, 99–100, 100, 101, 453 Baqir al-Bihbihani, 718
 Bharata Janata Party (BJP), 640–641
 See also Abd al-Baha ; Bab Baqt (pact), 17
 Bhutto, Benazir, 518, 735, 735
 (Sayyed Ali Muhammad); Bara Gumbad mosque (Dehli), 73
 Bhutto, Zulfiqar (Zulfikar; Zulfiker)
 Baha i faith Baraka (blessing), 18, 22, 81, 254
 Ali Khan, 90, 375, 517
 Bahadur Shah II Zafar, 214, 638, 715 Barelwi, Sayyid Ahmad. See Khan,
 Bid a, 6, 34, 107–108, 329, 533, 575,
 Baha i faith, 100–101, 310, 453 Reza of Bareilly (Ahmad Reza
 727–728
 See also Abd al-Baha ; Babiyya; Khan Barelwi)
 See also Religious institutions;
 Baha allah Barelwi (Bareilly) movement, 389–390,
 Sunna
 Bahar, Mohammad Taqi, 528 672, 683
 Bidel of Patna, 528
 Bahira, 143 Barforush, Molla Mohammad Ali
 Bikar al-anwar (The oceans of
 Bahmani dynasty, 636 (Qoddus, “the Most Holy”),
 96 lights), 626
 Bahrain Bari, Maulana Abdul, 391
 Bilad al-Sudan (land of the blacks), 16
 economy of, 199, 201 Bar Kochba, Simon, 53
 Bilal, 7
 independence of, 425
 Bilqis, queen of Sheba, 269
 Bashani, Maulana, 90

Bahram I, 428
 Bin Ladin, Usama, 365, 491, 509, 559,
 Bashir, Hasan Umar, 700
 Bahrani, Shaykh Yusuf al-, 718
 609–610, 674, 677–678
 Basri, Hasan (al-), 106, 685
 Bahshamiyya, 3
 See also Fundamentalism; Jihad;
 See also Kalam; Tasawwuf
 Bahu, Sultan, 303
 Qa ida, al-; Qutb, Sayyid;
 Bastami, Molla Ali, 95
 BAKSAL (Bangladesh Krishak Sramik
 Terrorism; Wahhabiyya
 Ba th Party, 106, 156, 460–461, 503,
 Awami League), 91
 Biography and hagiography, 109–110
 519, 595, 633
 Balkans, Islam in the, 101–104, 102,
 See also Arabic literature;
 See also Nationalism: Arab Genealogy; Historical writing
 236, 239
 Battle of the Camel (656 C.E.), 33, 260, Birth control (contraception),
 228, 229
 See also Europe, Islam in;
 Ottoman Empire 435, 621, 734
 Birth rituals, 332
 Balkhi, Jalal al-Din Mohammad-e, See Bawa Muhaiyuddin, tomb of, 683
 Biruni, al- (Abu 'l-Rayhan Muhammad
 Rumi, Jalaluddin Baybars, 166, 662
 ibn Ahmad al-Biruni), 87, 110, 129,
 Bälz, Kilian, 535 Bayezid I, Ottoman sultan, 222
 139, 303, 523, 635
 Bamba, Ahmad, 21, 104, 694 Bay Khatun, 734
 See also Astronomy; Historical
 See also Africa, Islam in; Bayt al-hikma (house of wisdom), 145,
 writing; Knowledge; Science,
 Colonialism; Tariqa; Touba 203, 281, 282, 295, 414, 612
 Islam and
 (Senegal) Bayt al-mal (Treasury), 424
 Bishr b. al-Walid, 9
 792
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Bishr b. Ghiyas al-Marisi, 10 Burial, 175

See also Biruni, al-; Ibn Battuta;
 Bitar, Salah al-Din al-, 106 Burqa, 556, 677
 Ibn Khaldun; Persian language
 BJP (Bharata Janata Party), 640–641 Bush, George W., 44, 509, 692
 and literature
 Black Muslim movement, 241 Buyid (Buwayhid) dynasty, 121,
 207, “Cassette preachers,” 2–3
 The Blind Owl, 529 474, 542, 584, 587
 Caussin de Perceval, Armand-
 Blyden, Dr. Edward Wilmot, 696
 Pierre, 515
 Buyid family, 120
 BNP (Bangladesh National Party), 91
 Center for the Propagation of Islamic
 Buyuk Millet Mejlisi (Grand National
 Truths, 619
 Body, significance of, 110–111 Assembly, Turkey), 425
 Central Asia, Islam in, 132–138
 See also Circumcision; Gender; Byzantine Empire, 210–211
 Ibadat
 See also Central Asian culture
 architecture of, 70
 and Islam; Communism;
 Bolkiah, Hassanal, 647 decorative arts of, 79
 Reform: in Muslim communities
 Bookmaking, 76 See also Christianity and
 Islam;
 of the Russian Empire
 Bopp, Franz, 515 Expansion, of Islam
 Central Asian culture and Islam,
 Bori (spirit possession) cult, 19, 21–22
 138–141
 Bornu, state of, 17 C
 See also Central Asia, Islam in;
 Borujerdi, Grand Ayatollah, 255 Cairo (al-Qahira, Egypt), 26, 92,
 Maturidi, al-; Pilgrimage:
 Bosnia 115–116, 116, 663
 Ziyara; Tasawwuf
 after the Dayton Peace See also Ayyubid sultanate;
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
 Accords, 103 Ghaznavid sultanate; Mamluk
 covert funding of al-Qa ida
 civil war in, 103 sultanate; Seljuk sultanate
 by, 559
 Islam in, 102–103, 104
 Iranian coup organized by,
 Cairo Genizah, 53

Bourghiba, Habib, 111–112, 327–328
 592, 741
 Calendrical rituals, 331–332, 599–600
 See also Modernization, political:
 support of Afghan resistance
 See also Hijri calendar
 Constitutionalism; Secularism,
 by, 108
 Islamic Caliphate, 116–123, 474, 584–587,
 Central Treaty Organization
 651–656
 Bouteflika, Abd al- Aziz, 366
 (CENTRO), 517
 functions of, 121–122
 Bowen, John, 178
 Ceramics, 77–78, 78,80–81
 genealogy of, 119, 484
 Brahmo Samaj, 304
 Cevdet Pasha, Ahmad (Jevdet Pasha,
 universal, 153
 Brelwi, Ahmad, 344
 Ahmet), 270, 376–377
 See also Abbasid Empire;
 British East India Company, 304, 638
 See also Modernization, political:
 Kharijites, Khawarij; Monarchy;
 Brown, H. Rap. See Jamil al-Amin,
 Administrative, military, and
 Ottoman Empire; Umayyad
 Imam (H. Rap Brown)
 judicial reform
 Empire
 Brunei
 Chador, 556
 Calligraphy, 59, 123–126, 124,
 independence of, 647
 Chaghatay, 134, 212, 222
 441, 673
 Islam in, 644
 Chagri Beg, 665
 in books, 76, 125
 prayer in, 179
 Chalcedonian Christianity, 143, 144
 in mosques, 73, 74, 191
 sultanate of, 474, 664–665
 Chand, Prem, 716
 in Qur an, 59, 123, 125

Buddhism

- Charlemagne, 572
- styles of, 81–82
- in Central Asia, 139 See also Arabic language; Arabic
- Charles Martell, 46
- in South Asia, 641 literature; Art
- Chehab, Fouad, 412
- Bukhara, khanate and emirate of,
- Childhood, 141–142
- Camel (dromedary), 52, 54, 58, 107
- 112–114, 133
- See also Circumcision; Education;
- Camp David peace accords, 69,
- See also Central Asia, Islam in;
- Gender; Marriage
- 290, 605
- Central Asian culture and Islam
- China, People's Republic of
- Capitalism, 126–128, 214
- Bukhari, al- (Muhammad b. Isma'il al-
- Islam in, 136, 187–189, 188,
- Bukhari), 114, 139, 261, 268, 286, See also Communism; Economy
- 190, 244
- 294, 370, 390, 668 and economic institutions;
- Sufism in, 682
- Globalization
- See also Hadith
- See also East Asia, Islam in
- Capital punishment (death penalty),
- Bulgaria
- Chinese Communist Party, 188–189
- 175, 227
- independence of, 102
- Chishtiya, 632, 682
- Muslim population of, Caravanseries, 74–75
- Chisti, Mu in al-Din, 682
- 103–104, 236 Carlyle, Thomas, 516
- Chosroes, Sassanian emperor
- Bulleh Shah, 303 Carnap, Rudolf, 400
- (Khosrow), 143
- Buraq, 49, 79, 114 Carpet pages, in manuscripts, 80
- Christianity and Islam, 142–148
- See also Mi raj; Tasawwuf Carpet weaving, 76–77
- in al-Andalus, 47, 362
- Burhan al-Din Ali al-Marghinani, 139 Carter, Jimmy, 592, 605
- in Arabia, 55
- Burhan al-Din al-Zarnuji, 202 Cartography and geography,

128–132 in Central Asia, 139

Islam and the Muslim World

793

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

in Ethiopia, 14 Constitutionalism, 463–465,

See also Dar al-islam

in Nubian kingdoms (Egypt), 17 470–471, 595

Dar al-hijra (abode of migration), 729

respect between, 27–28 See also Majlis

Dar al-hiyyad (land of neutrality), 231

See also Balkans, Islam in the; Contraception. See Birth control

Dar al-ilm (house of knowledge), 415

Crusades; European culture and Conversion, 41, 160–163

Dar al-islam, 28, 158, 161, 169–170,

Islam; Islam and other religions;

339, 361, 377, 379, 638

of Christians and Jews, 47,

Judaism and Islam; Religious

102, 362 See also Dar al-harb

beliefs

of Hindus, 303–304 Dar al-kufr (realm of disbelief),

Christian missionaries, 1, 146, 379 of Turkic peoples, 133

18, 713

Chubak, Sadeq, 529 See also Da wa; Expansion, of

Dar al-salam (Abode of Peace),

Chuck D. (rapper), 45 Islam; Minorities: dhimmis;

97, 376

CIA. See Central Intelligence Agency Tasawwuf

Dar al-suhl (territory of peaceful

(CIA) Copernicus, Nicolas, 613

covenant), 160, 378

Celler, Tansu, 224, 574, 735 Corbin, Henry, 359, 656

Dar al-Ulum Deoband, 176, 206, 304

Circumcision (khitan), 148–149, 330, Cordoba (al-Andalus), 46, 47,

414 Dara Shikoh (Dara Shukoh; Dara

332, 436 Council for American-Islamic

Shokuh), 213, 303, 363, 528, 637

See also Ada; Body, significance Relations, 712, 713

Darius I, Archaemenid king of

of; Gender; Law Council for Cultural Revolution, 742

Persia, 54

Cisneros, Cardinal, 415 CPU (Committee for Progress and

Darul Arqam movement, 690

Cloning, 230 Union), 739–740

Darul Islam, 373

Clothing, 45, 111, 149–151, 150, 150, Crusade for Reconstruction, 522
 Dasht-e Qipchaq, 132
 441, 677 Crusades, 17, 85, 145, 163–167,
 165, Dashti, Ali, 483
 See also Art; Body, significance of; 362, 382, 608, 657–658
 Da ud b. Ajabshah, 629
 Khirqa; Veiling See also Christianity and Islam;
 Da ud b. Khalaf, 417
 Coca-Cola logo, 278 Saladin
 Da wa, 161, 170–174, 451, 538
 Coinage, 118, 151–152, 152, 195, 424 Cultural Revolution Council
 (Iran), 3 See also Conversion; Expansion, of
 See also Economy and economic Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican
 Islam; Jama ate-e Islami; Shari a
 institutions; Law; Networks, People’s Party), 89, 459
 Da wah Academy (Pakistan), 173
 Muslim CUP (Committee for Union and
 Dawat al Islam movement, 390
 Colonialism, 21, 152–155, 508, 645 Progress), 521, 595, 739
 Dawla, 174–175, 551, 590
 See also Fundamentalism; Currency. See Coinage
 See also Hukuma al-islamiyya, al-
 Orientalism Custom. See Ada
 (Islamic government); Ibn
 Color, use of, 80–81 Cyprus, use of Arabic language
 in, 62 Khaldun; Political organization;
 Commerce. See Capitalism; Trade
 Shari a
 Commission of the International
 Dawla Islamiyya (“Islamic state”), 175
 D
 Crescent, 278
 Dawud al-Isfahani, 410
 Da Afghanistan da Talibano Islami
 Committee for Progress and Union
 DDII (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah
 Tahrik (The AFghan Islamic
 (CPU), 739–740
 Indonesia), 646
 Movement of Taliban). See Taliban
 Committee for (of) Union and
 Death, 175–176, 565, 649
 Dabir, 715
 Progress (CUP), 521, 595, 739
 See also Ibadat; Jahannam; Janna;
 Dagh, 715
 Communication, rites of, 598

Pilgrimage: Ziyara
 Dahlan, Ahmad, 487, 582
 Communion, rites of, 600
 Death penalty. See Capital punishment
 Daily rituals, 332
 Communism, 155–157
 (death penalty)
 See also Salat
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal;
 Declaration on Human Rights in Islam
 Dajjal (“the Deceiver”), 261, 421
 Ba th Party; Political
 (Cairo, 1990), 278–279, 318
 organization; Political thought; Dakwah movement, 647
 Decorative themes, in Islamic art,
 Socialism Dalang (shadowplay puppeteers), 649
 78–82, 441
 Confederation of the Iranian Students Damascus, 144, 313
 Deedat, Ahmed, 173
 in the United States and See also Umayyad Empire
 Delhi sultanate, 73, 243, 303, 474,
 Europe, 741 “Damascus Covenant,” 53
 636, 660–661
 Conflict and violence, 157–160 Daneshvar, Simin, 529
 See also Ghaznavid sultanate;
 See also Fitna; Ibadat; Jihad; Dante Alighieri, 455
 Mamluk sultanate; Seljuk
 Political Islam Daqiqi, 139, 525
 sultanate
 Constantine I (“the Great”), Byzantine Darabi, Sayyed Yahya, 96
 Democracy movements, 462–463
 emperor, 28, 53, 183, 314 Dar al-harb (“house of war”), 28,
 Democratic Front for the Liberation
 Constantinople, 210, 211, 223 158, 169, 210, 339, 361,
 377–378, of Palestine (DFLP), 156
 Constantinus Africanus, 296 452, 581
 Democratic Party (DP), 459, 512, 513
 794
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Deoband (India), 30, 176–177, 227, Dome of the Rock (al-Haram al-
 political modernization in, 460,
 371, 420, 581, 638, 677 Sharif), 70, 74, 118, 125, 183,
 462, 575
 See also Education; Jam iyat 183–185, 184, 223, 315, 332

Sufism in, 690
 Ulama-e Islam; Law; South See also Architecture; Holy cities
 use of Arabic language in, 61
 Asia, Islam in; Tablighi Jama at Domestic architecture, 75
 veiling in, 723
 Descartes, René, 248, 397 Double-truth theory, 249, 337
 See also Fatimid dynasty; Mamluk
 Dowlatabadi, Mahmoud, 529 sultanate
 Destour (constitutionalist)
 movement, 112 DP (Democratic Party), 459, 512, 513
 Egyptian Communist Party, 156
 Destourian Socialist Party, 112 Dreams, 185
 Egyptian Feminist Union, 276
 Devine Styler (rapper), 45 Druze religion, 453, 707–708
 Egyptian Land Reform Law of
 Du a, 185–186, 332, 598 1952, 196
 Devotional life, 177–179, 178, 179
 See also Devotional life; Ibadat Elahi, Imam, 712
 See also Adhan; Dhikhj; Du a;
 Dupuis, Joseph, 18 Elahi nameh, 527
 Ibadat; Tasawwuf
 Durkheim, Émile, 597 El-Bizri, Nader, 400
 Devsirme (forced recruitment), 102
 Durrani, Ahmad Shah, 136 El-Fadl, Khaled Abou, 261
 Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia
 (DDII), 646 Dustour Party, 609
 El Zein, Abdul Hamid, 178
 DFLP (Democratic Front for the Dutch East India Company, 426
 Emir, 134
 Liberation of Palestine), 156
 Empires, 207–224
 Dhikr (chant) practices, 22, 687 E
 Abbasid (See Abbasid Empire)
 Byzantine (See Byzantine Empire)
 Dhikr (remembrance), 173, 178, Early North Arabic language, 58
 Mogul (See Mogul Empire)
 179–180, 389, 495, 673, 681, East Africa, Islam in, 14–16, 20,
 244
 Mongol and Il-Khanid (See
 687, 688 East African Muslim Welfare
 Mongol and Il-Khanid Empires)
 See also Devotional life; Ibadat; Society, 25
 Ottoman (See Ottoman Empire)
 Tasawwuf East Asia, Islam in, 187–190
 Safavid and Qajar (See Safavid and
 Dhimmi (protected) status, 28, 144, See also East Asian culture
 and Qajar Empires)

219, 340, 361, 378, 382–383, Islam; South Asia, Islam in;
 Sassanian (See Sassanian Empire)
 451–452 Southeast Asia, Islam in
 Timurid (See Timurid Empire)
 See also Minorities: dhimmis East Asian culture and Islam, 190–193
 Umayyad (See Umayyad Empire)
 Dhu al-Nun, 685 See also East Asia, Islam in
 Empiricism, 469
 Dhu l-Qarnayn, 391 Eastern Christianity, 143
 Engineering Association of Iran, 106
 Dhu Nuwas, Yusuf, 55 Economy and economic institutions,
 Ennahda (Renaissance Party, hizb al-
 Dietary laws, 180–181 193–202
 nahda), 273
 See also Fatwa; Ijtihad; Madhhab; See also Capitalism; Coinage;
 Enver Bey, 739
 Mufti; Shari a Riba; Waqf
 Enver Pasha, 344, 521
 Dikka (platform), 71 Edessa, County of, 163, 164
 Iraqi, 528
 Dinar, Islamic, 152 Education, 202–206, 206
 Erbakan, Necmeddin, 224, 238, 466,
 Din-e Ilahi (Universal Religion of musical, 495
 512, 574
 of women, 22, 25, 39, 741
 God), 637
 See also Modernization, political:
 See also Azhar, al-; Deoband;
 Diocletian, Roman emperor, 53
 Participation, political
 Knowledge; Madrasa;
 Diop, Sokna Magat, 22
 movements, and parties;
 Modernization, political:
 Dirar b. Amr, 10
 Political Islam
 Administrative, military, and
 Disciplinary Force (Niru-ye
 Esack, Farid, 471
 judicial reform; Science,
 entezami), 402
 Esen Buqa, 134
 Islam and
 Dishonor killings, 257–258 Egalitarianism, 469–470
 Eshqi, Mirzadeh, 528
 Disputation, 181–182, 282 Egypt
 E tesami, Parvin, 528

See also Christianity and Islam; Arab nationalism in, 503
Ethics and social issues, 34–35, 44,
Kalam British occupation of, 7
224–231, 565–567

Dissimulation. See Taqiyya communism in, 156
See also Fatwa; Futuwwa; Ghazali,
constitutionalism in, 464, 470 al-; Homosexuality; Ibn

Diversity. See Ethnicity
economy of, 199, 200 Khaldun; Law; Shari a

Divorce (talaq), 182–183, 266

education in, 205–206 Ethiopia

See also Gender; Law; Marriage

freed from Ottoman rule, 66 Christianity in, 231

Diwan Dawat al-Islam (Indonesia), 173

Islamic jihad movement in, 29

independence of, 425, 458

Diwan group (poets), 67 Islam in, 13, 14, 17

Islam in, 14, 24, 231–232

Diwan (military register), 117, music in, 493

See also Africa, Islam in; Ahmad

118, 272 native courts in, 7

ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi; Ottoman

Diya al-Din Barani, 303 political Arabism in, 342, 595

Empire

Islam and the Muslim World

795

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Ethnicity (ethnic identity), 232–233, See also American culture

and See also Africa, Islam in;

340, 533–534, 706 Islam; Malcolm X; Muhammad,

Sultanates: Modern

See also Pluralism: Legal and Elijah; Nation of Islam; United

Fida is (devotees), 85–86

ethno-religious; Tribe States, Islam in the

Figural imagery, 78–79

Euclid, 612, 695 Farrokhi, 525

Fiqh, 226–227, 397, 405, 613–614,

Eunuchs, 233–234 Farrokhzad, Forugh, 529

618, 703, 704, 728

See also Gender; Harem Farsi language, 522

Fiqh al-nafts (discernment of the

Europe, Islam in, 235–239, 237, Faruqi dynasty of Kandesh, 636

soul), 226

238, 245 Fasi, Muhammad Allal al-, 254, 705

Fiqh Council of North America, 712

See also European culture and Islam 581
 Firangi Mahal (Lucknow), 581
 Islam East and North Africa; Salafiyya
 Firdawsi, 139, 343, 661
 European culture and Islam, 234–235 FATAH (harakat al-tahrir al-watani al-Firoz Shah Tughlaq, 660
 See also Andalus, al-; Balkans, filastini), 291, 355
 FIS (Front Islamique du Salut), 238,
 Islam in the; Europe, Islam in Fateh Ali Khan, Nusrat, 689
 365–366, 417, 461, 466
 Euthanasia, 230 Fath Ali Shah, 24
 See also Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis;
 Everlast (rapper), 45 Fatima, 254–255
 Madani, Abbasi
 Exchange, rites of, 600 as ahl al-bayt, 26, 349
 Fitna (civil war), 33, 117, 158,
 Expansion, of Islam, 58, 75, 142, 161, descendants of, 611
 259–261, 453, 590, 621, 693
 237, 239–245, 243, 277 titles of, 92, 254
 Fitrat, Abdalrauf (Abd al-Ra uf
 See also Conversion; Da wa; Jihad; tomb of, 26, 254
 Fitrat), 469
 Tasawwuf on transmission of Prophet's
 FitzGerald, Edwqard, 524
 tradition, 734
 Expediency Council (Iran), 294
 Five Percenters, 45
 See also Abu Bakr; Ali; Biography
 Ezra (prophet), 28
 Five Pillars, 142
 and hagiography; Hasan;
 Husayn; Shi a: Early; Succession Fiver Shi a. See Shi a: Zaydi (Fiver)
 F Fatima al-Ma suma (Fatimah al-
 Fleischer, Heinrich L., 515
 Fadlallah (Fadl Allah), Ayatullah Ma sumah), tomb of, 26, 351, 562
 FLN (Front de Libération Nationale),
 Muhammad Husayn, 227, 228–229, Fatimi, Husayn, 256
 156, 366, 417, 461, 633
 247, 309–310 Fatimid dynasty, 115, 121, 171, 542,
 Focolare movement, 712
 See also Political Islam 587, 628
 Foi et pratique, 238
 Faidherbe (French governor in eunuchs of, 233
 Folklore, folk Islam. See Vernacular
 Senegal), 17 Fatwa al-qalb (dictates of the
 Islam
 Faith (iman), 703 heart), 226

Folk medicine, 294
 Faiz, Ahmad Faiz, 716 Fatwa (legal opinion), 255
 Forqan, 476
 Fakhita bt. Abi Hashim, 435 against Babi heretics, 95
 Fosterage, 229
 Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (Fakhr al-Din See also Law; Mufti;
 Religious Foucault, Michel, 457
 Razi), 83, 249, 673 institutions; Rushdie, Salman
 Four-iwan mosque, 73
 Fakhr al-Din Gorgani, 526 Faysal, king of Saudi Arabia, 173,
 293, Francis of Assisi, 145
 Fakhr al-Islam Ali b. Muhammad al- 515, 521
 Frankincense, 54
 Pazdawi, 139 Faysal b. Husayn, 99
 Franks (ifranj), 164
 Fakhreddin, Rizaeddin bin (Rida al-din Fazilet Party. See Virtue (Fazilat)
 Party Frederick I, emperor of Germany, 164
 bin Fakr al-din), 469 Feda iyan-e Islam, 11, 255–256
 Frederick II, emperor of Germany,
 Falsafa, 247–253 See also Fundamentalism;
 Political 164, 658
 See also Ibn Rushd; Ibn Sina; Islam
 Freedom Movement of Iran, 742
 Kalam; Law; Tasawwuf; Wajib Fedaiyan Organization, 742
 Free Officers movement (Egypt), 5,
 al-wujud Fedayin-e Islam (Devotees of
 346, 460, 538, 569, 595
 Falsafatuna (Our philosophy), 606 Islam), 594
 Free Verse movement, 67
 Family planning, 227, 229 Federation of Islamic Association,
 709 Freud, Sigmund, 597
 Fannon, Franz, 516 Feminism, 256–258, 276
 Front de Libération Nationale (FLN),
 Faraj, Muhammad Abd al-Salam, 365 See also Gender
 156, 366, 417, 461, 633
 Fard, W. D., 709 Ferdausi of Tus, 525
 Front Islamique du Salut (FIS, Islamic
 Farghana valley, 132 Ferdinand II, king of Aragon, 47
 Salvation Front), 238, 365–366,
 Farid al-Din Attar, 455, 527, 603 Ferhat Pasha Mosque (Banja
 417, 461, 466
 Farisi, 281 Luka), 103
 See also Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis;
 Farrakhan, Louis (Louis Eugene Ferqeh-ye Komunist-e Iran, 156
 Madani, Abbasi
 Walcott), 44, 253–254, 505, 707, Fez (headgear), 89, 150
 Fuat Pasha (Fuat Pasas), 678, 738

710, 713 Fez (Morocco), 258–259
 Fulfulde language, 697

796
 Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Fundamentalism, 147, 155, Ghaliyun, Burhan, 319
 Ghulams (military slaves), 1, 218,
 261–263, 536 Ghana
 542, 661

See also Abduh, Muhammad; Islamic architecture of, 21
 Ghunaimi, Muhammad al-, 160

Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-; Islam in, 18
 Ghurak, Sogdian king, 132

Banna, Hasan al-; Ghazali, Ghannoushi, Rashid al- (Ghannouchi,
 GIA (Groupe Islamique Armé), 366
 Muhammad al-; Ghazali, Rachid al-), 273, 577, 616
 Gibb, H. A. R., 696

Zaynab al-; Ibn Taymiyya; See also Political Islam
 Gibb, Hamilton, 515

Ikhwan al-Muslimin; Jama at-e
 Ghassanids, 55 Girls' Secrets, 459

Islami; Khomeini, Ayatollah
 Ghayba(t), al- (the hiding), 273–274 Glassware, 77–78
 Ruhollah; Maududi, Abu l-A la ;

Political Islam; Qutb, Sayyid; See also Imamate; Shi a: Imami
 Globalization, 147, 235, 276–279, 615

Rida, Rashid; Salafiyya; Tablighi (Twelver)
 See also Internet; Networks,

Jama at; Velayat-e Faqih; Ghazali, al- (Abu Hamid Muhammad
 Muslim

Wahhabiyya bin Muhammad al-Ghazali),
 Gnawa (spirit possession) cult, 19

Fusha (al- arabiyya, High Arabic), 60 274–275

Gnosticism, 397, 428, 620, 673

Futuh al-Haramayn (The conquests of accusations against ahl
 al-kitab

God-Worshiping Socialists, 619
 the holy sites), 129 by, 28

Gokalp, Ziya, 505, 740
 Futuwwa, 120, 263–264, 740 biography of, 109
 on birth control, 229 Gok Tepe, massacre at, 137

See also Youth movements
 Golestan, 527–528
 on conversion, 160
 criticism of Ibn Sina and al-Farabi Gordianus III, Roman emperor, 55

G by, 249, 274

Gordon, Gen. Charles, 422

Gabriel (Jibra il, Jibril), 49, 170, 455 criticism of philosophy by, 248 Government, Islamic. See Hukuma al-Islamiyya, al- (Islamic government)

Gagnier, John, 516 on disputation, 182

Galawdewos, Ethiopian emperor, 29 ethical tradition of, 35, 226 Grammar and lexicography, 279–281

Galen, 294, 446, 612 on hadith, 286 See also Arabic language; Arabic

Gallus, Aelius, 52 on hell, 370, 502 literature; Qur an

Gandhi, Mohandas K. (Mahatma on knowledge, 397, 399–400

Granada (al-Andalus), 47, 236

Gandhi), 39, 304, 305, 391, on medicine, 296

Grand Mosque, floorplan of, 532

458, 640 on political legitimacy, 122

on renewal, 675 Grand National Assembly, Turkey

Garad Abun, amir of Adal, 29

respect for, 310 (Buyuk Millet Mejlisi), 425

Gharbzadegi, 529

on self, 250 Great Mosque (Jami Masjid) of Delhi,

Gasprinskii (Gaspirali), Isma il Bay 73, 439

strict interpretation of shari a (Bey), 265, 469, 579, 609, 676

by, 270 Great Mosque of Basra, 72

See also Education; Feminism

on succession, 655 Great Mosque of Cordoba, 71

Gazi Husrevbegova Mosque

on Sufism, 685–686 Great Mosque of Damascus, 70, 72, (Sarajevo), 103

on sunna, 667, 668 79, 118, 376

GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council), as teacher, 83, 665

tomb of John the Baptist in, 144

201, 519 on ulema, 704

Great Mosque of Djenné, 73

Gehenna. See Jahannam and Usuliyya, 717

Gender, 22–23, 42–43, 265–272, Great Mosque of Fatehpur Sikri, 73, on welfare, 440 710–711 74, 213

See also Ash arites, Ash aira;

See also Divorce; Feminism; Falsafa; Kalam; Law; Tasawwuf

Great Mosque of Isfahan, 73

Ghazali, Zaynab al-; Marriage; Ghazali, Muhammad al-, 275–276,

Great Mosque of Kufa, 72
 Masculinities 388, 523, 577
 Great Mosque of Samarra, 72–73
 Genealogy, 272–273 See also Political Islam
 Great National Assembly (Turkey), 89
 See also Biography and Ghazali, Zaynab al- (Zaynab al-
 Greece
 hagiography; Historical writing; Ghazali al-Jabili), 110, 178, 271,
 independence of, 102
 Tariqa 276, 735
 Muslim population of, 104
 Genghis (Chinggis) Khan, 112, 134, See also Banna, Hasan al-;
 Ikhwan Greek civilization, 281–283, 396, 427,
 211, 236 al-Muslimin; Political Islam
 612, 695
 Genizot (religious treasures), 53 Ghazi, Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-. See
 See also Africa, Islam in; Americas,
 Geography. See Cartography and Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi
 Islam in the; Falsafa; Islam
 geography Ghaznavid sultanate, 243, 528, 543,
 and other religions; South Asia,
 Geometric decorations, 79–80 635–636, 661–662
 Islam in; Southeast Asia,
 Gerard of Lombardy, 296 See also Persian language,
 Islam in
 Ghadiri of Medina, 320 literature, and poetry;
 Seljuk Green Book, 557
 Ghadir Khumm, 37, 621 sultanate
 Gregorian calendar, 89
 Ghalib, 528, 689, 715 Ghiyas al-Din Balban, 660
 Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA), 366
 Islam and the Muslim World
 797
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Grunebaum, Gustave von, 515 Halevi, Judah, 48
 Hasan al- Askari, 88, 274, 625
 Guilds, rise of, 195 Hali, Altaf Husayn (Husain), 457,
 716 Hasan (Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib),
 Guinea, Islamic architecture of, 20 Halk Firkasi (People's Party),
 89 26, 254, 293, 619, 621
 Gulen Community movement, Hallaj, al- (Husayn ibn Mansur al-
 See also Ahl al-bayt; Imamate;
 512–513 Hallaj), 51, 289–290
 Shi a: Early; Succession
 Guler, Fethullah, 512 See also Heresiography;

Kharijites, Hasan Sabbah, 85
 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Khawarij; Mahdi; Muhasibi,
 al-; Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar, 294,
 201, 519 Tasawwuf
 358, 402
 Gumi, Abu Bakr. See Abu Bakr Gumi HAMAS (Hamas; harakat al-
 See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;
 Gunbad-e Qabus, 74 muqawamat al-Islamiyyah, Islamic
 Revolution: Revolution in Iran
 Gundissalinus, Domenicus, 296 Resistance Movement), 290–291,
 Hashim, Yahya, 309
 Guru Nanak, 303 355, 365, 366, 732, 741
 Hashimite dynasty (Iraq and
 Gwandu, emirate of, 664 See also Arab League;
 Jordan), 26
 Fundamentalism; Intifada; Hashish, 85–86
 Lebanon; Majlis; Martyrdom; Hashishi (“low-class rabble”), 85
 H
 Terrorism
 Hachani, Abdelkader, 366
 Hashwiya (promoters of farce), 695
 Hamdullahi, state of, 17
 Hadarat al-Islam, 631
 Hassan b. Thabit, 64
 Hamid al-Din Kirmani, 248
 HADI (Human Assistance and
 Hassan Haj-Faraj Dabbagh. See Abd
 Development International), 354 Hamilton, Charles, 638
 al-Karim Sorush
 Hadith (traditions of the Prophet), Hammad b. Abi Sulayman, 9
 Hathout, Maher, 712
 285–288 Hammad Ibn Abu Sulayman, 406
 Hatim al-Ta i, 317
 calligraphy of, 81 Hammams (public baths), 69, 76
 Hausaland (Nigeria), Islam in, 19,
 and education, 202 Hamza, use of, 58
 21–22
 as history, 307 Hanafi, Hassan (Hasan), 471, 577
 Hausa language, 62, 697
 history of, 109, 286–288 Hanafi school, 8, 9, 11, 408, 410,
 417, Haykal, Muhammad Husayn, 67, 483
 reliance on, 27, 285–286, 418, 534, 588, 686
 Hazarawi, Ghauth, 374
 338–339, 668 in Central Asia, 138, 139, 140
 Hazhir, Abd al-Husayn, 11, 255
 systematic collection of, 120, 139,
 Ha-Nagid, Shmuel, 48 Hazrat Ali, shrine of, 731

286, 335, 336–337, 496
 Hanbali school, 27, 410–411, 417, 450, Healing, 22, 294–296,
 650–651, 724
 transmission of, 33, 285, 286–287,
 534, 588, 668, 686 See also Medicine; Miracles;
 South
 496, 631–632
 See also Succession Hanim, Sefika, 265
 Asian culture and Islam;
 Hadramawt, kingdom of, 54 Haqq al- arab, 535
 Southeast Asian culture and
 Hafez of Shiraz, 527 Harakat al-Ansar (Movement of the
 Islam
 Hafizi Isma ili, 628–629 Ansar—Helpers of prophet
 Hebrew language, and ethnic
 Muhammad in Medina), 490 identity, 232
 Hafsa, 734
 Harakat al-ittijah al-islami (Islamic Hedayat, Sadeq, 529
 Hagar (Haggar), mother of Ishmael,
 Tendency Movement), 273 Heidegger, Martin, 250, 400, 401
 24, 299, 311, 312
 Hagia Sophia (Constantinople), 73 Harakat al-jihad al-Islami
 (Islamic Heraclius, Byzantine emperor,
 Jihad Movement), 365 143, 314
 Hagiography. See Biography and
 hagiography Harakat al-muqawamat al-Islamiyyah
 Heresies. See Heresiography;
 (HAMAS, Islamic Resistance Kharijites, Khawarij
 Haidar, Qurratulain, 716
 Movement). See HAMAS Heresiography, 296–299
 Haifa (Israel), Baha i Shrine of the Bab
 in, 101 Harakat al-tahrir al-watani
 al-filastini See also Bid a; Hadith; Hallaj, al-;
 (FATAH), 291, 355 Historical writing; Islam and
 Haile Selasse, Ethiopian emperor, 231
 Harakat-e Inqilab-e Islami (Islamic other religions; Kalam;
 Qur an;
 Haji Hassanatul Bolkiah Mu izzidin
 Revolutionary Movement), 490 Shari a
 Waddaulah, 664–665
 Haram (coverd sanctuary), 71 Herodotus, 52
 Hajj. See Pilgrimage: Hajj
 Hajj Salim Suwari, al-, 18, 289 Harem (haram), 74, 233, 291–292
 Hezbollah (Hizb Allah, Hizbullah,
 See also Africa, Islam in; Islam See also Gender; Marriage; Purdah
 “party of God”), 247, 263,
 and other religions; Networks, Harith al-Muhasibi, 83, 226, 275

309–310, 412, 522, 741

Muslim Harith b. Hakam, 435

Hicks, Col. William, 422

Haj Umar al-Tal, al-, 289 Haron, Abdullah, 292–293

Hijab (veil). See Veiling

See also Africa, Islam in; See also Africa, Islam in; Modern

Hijazi love poetry, 65

Caliphate; Ibadat thought

Hijra, 299

Hakki, Izmirli Ismail, 83 Hasan, Maulana In amu l, 672

first, 14, 231, 479

Halabi, Mahmood-e, 310 Hasan, Riffat, 271

of Muhammad, 7, 299

798

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

night journey (isra) of Hizb (litany), 178

Husayn, Taha, 67, 325–326

Muhammad, 74, 114, Hizb Tahrir (Liberation Party), 713

See also Arabic literature; Modern

454–455, 673 Hizbullah (Hezbollah, Hizb Allah,

thought

See also Astronomy; Mi raj; “party of God”), 247, 263,

Husayn Bayqara, Timurid sultan, 135

Muhammad 309–310, 412, 522, 741

Husayn (Husayn b. Ali b. Abi Talib),

Hijri calendar, 299–300, 300 Hodgson, Marshall, 364–365,

584 322–325

See also Astronomy Hojjat al-Islam (“Proof of Islam”),

as ahl al-bayt, 26

Hikma, bayt al-. See Bayt al-hikma; 92, 310

birth of, 254, 322

Education See also Ayatollah (Ar.,

ayatullah); martyrdom of, 317, 331, 433,

Hikmat al-ishraq (The wisdom of Shi a: Imami (Twelver)

435, 574, 599, 623, 624–625,

illuminationist dawning), 626 Hojjatiyya Society, 310–311

643, 679, 691

Hilli, Allama al- (Hasan b. Yusuf al- See also Baha i faith;

Revolution: succession of, 118, 223, 260, 322

Hilli), 301, 359, 510, 679, 717 Islamic revolution in Iran

tomb of, 26, 88, 293, 387, 728

See also Hilli, Muhaqqiq al-; Law;

See also Imamate; Martyrdom;

Holidays, 43–44

Shi a: Imami (Twelver)
 Shi a: Early; Shi a: Imami
 Holy cities, 311–316
 (Twelver); Succession
 Hilli, Ibn Idris al-, 717 See also Caliphate; Dome of
 the
 Husayni, Hajj Amin al-, 325
 Hilli, Muhaqqiq al- (Muhaqqiq al-Hilli Rock; Ibadat; Mi raj;
 Husayn, Saddam. See Hussein, Saddam
 Ja far b. al-Hasan), 301, 510, 549, Muhammad
 679, 717
 Husayn Va ez Kashfi. See Hosayn Vaez
 Homosexuality, 230, 316–317
 Kashifi
 See also Hilli, Allama al-; Law; See also Eunuchs; Gender
 Shi a: Imami (Twelver)
 Husayn Wa iz al-Kashifi. See Hosayn
 Hosayn, Safavid shah of Iran, 218, 219
 Vaez Kashifi
 Hilm (propriety), 320 Hosayniyya, 317
 Hussain, Zakir, 39
 Hind bint Utba, 734 See also Rawza-khani; Ta ziya
 Hussayn, Shah, 637
 Hindu architecture, 73 (Ta ziye)
 Hussein, King of Jordan, 347,
 Hinduism and Islam, 27, 301–306, Hosayn Vaez Kashifi (Hosein
 Va ez-e
 466, 475
 342–343, 363, 640–641, 641–642 Kashefi), 527, 574, 626, 691
 Hussein (Husayn), Saddam, 26, 393,
 See also Akbar; South Asia, Islam Hospitality and Islam, 317–318
 460, 472, 501
 in; South Asian culture and Housing, 75
 See also Ba th Party;
 Islam Hoxha, Enver, 103
 Modernization, political:
 Hindu Mahasabha, 304 Hudud laws, enforcement of,
 257–258 Administrative, military and
 Hip-hop culture, 45 Hukuma al-Islamiyya, al- (Islamic
 judicial reform; Nationalism:
 Hirawi, Muhammad Sharif, 359 government), 318
 Arab; Pan-Arabism
 Hisba (“reckoning”), 306, 490 See also Political Islam
 Huwayra, 734
 See also Ethics and social issues; Hulegu (Hulagu; Il Khan), 134, 212,
 Huxley, Julian, 597
 Law; Political organization 549, 701

Hisham b. Abel al-Malik, 151 Human Assistance and Development
I
Hisham b. al-Hakam, 369 International (HADI), 354
Ibadat, 177, 327–333
Historical writing, 306–309 Human rights, 277, 278–279,
See also Devotional life; Law;
See also Arabic literature; 318–319, 567
Shari a
Biography and hagiography; See also Ethics and social issues;
Ibadis, 390, 453
Heresiography; Ibn Khaldun; Gender; Law; Organization of
Iblis (Satan), 51, 584
Tabari, al- the Islamic Conference;
Ibn Abbas, 280, 455
History (ta rikh). See Historical writing Secularism, Islamic; Shari a
Ibn Abd Rabbih, 320
Hitti, Phillip, 515 Human sexuality, 230
Ibn Abi al-Wafa , 8
HIV/AIDS virus, 229 See also Homosexuality
Ibn Abi Amr, 336
See also Political Islam Humayun, 213, 637
Ibn Abi Du ad, Ahmad, 448, 449
Hizb Allah. See Hezbollah Hume, David, 250, 401
Ibn Abi Shayba, 286
Hizb al-Mojahidin (Party of Humor, 319–322
Ibn Abi Usaybi a, 307
Mojahidin), 490, 491 Hunayn ibn Ishaq, 145, 185, 295, 695
Ibn Abu Zayd al-Qayrawani, 105
Hizb al-nahda (Renaissance Party, Huq, Shamsul, 90
Ibn al- Adim, 307
Ennahda), 273 Hurgronje, Snouck, 178
Ibn al- Arabi (Ibn Arabi; Muhammad
Hizb al-watani, al- (“National” or Hurriyet (Freedom), 387, 738
ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-
“Patriotic” Party), 342 Husain, Abdullah, 716
Arabi al-Ta i al-Hatimi), 28, 48,
Hizb-e Islami (Party of Islam), 490 Husain, Intizar, 716
213, 303, 333–334, 339, 391, 607,
Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islam-ye Afghanistan Husain, Sayyid Nazir, 27
683, 686, 727
(Islamic Unity Party of Husayba, 734
See also Falsafa; Kalam; Tasawwuf;
Afghanistan), 490 Husayn, amir, 221
Wahdat al-wujud

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

- Ibn al-Athir, 164
 ethical tradition of, 35
- Ibn al-Bawwab, 76
 impact on European culture,
- Ibn al-Farid, 689
 248–249
- Ibn al-Hajib, 717
 on knowledge, 398, 400–401
on medicine, 295, 447, 613
- Ibn al-Hajj, 203
 mi raj, 455
- Ibn al-Hanafiyya, 260
 political philosophy of, 550
- Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen), 613
 as scientist, 203
- Muhammad b. al-Hasan), 335–336
- Ibn al-Jawzi, 320, 673
 on self, 250
on Bedouin, 107
- Ibn al-Mi mar, 264
 and theory of universals, 249, 338
on dawla, 174
- Ibn al-Muqaffa , 66, 400, 408,
 on wajib al-wujud, 729–730
on ethics, 226
523, 654
 writing in Persian, 523
on folk medicine, 294
- Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli, 549
 See also Falsafa; Wajib al-wujud
on history, 307, 469
- Ibn al-Nadim, 125, 131, 181, 612
 Ibn Sirin, 185
and maps, 129
- Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (Ibn
550–551
 political philosophy of,
 Ibn Taymiyya (Taqi al-Din Ahmad
Qayyim al-Jawziyya), 226, 370, 410,
 political thought of, 82
 Ibn Taymiyya), 338–339
446, 468
 reputation of, 236
 on caliphate, 122, 655
- Ibn al-Zubayr, Abdallah (Ibn Zubayr,
59
 criticism of Ibn Sina by, 249,
Abdallah), 118, 223, 260, 311–312,
 on succession, 655
339, 686
- Ibn Jinni, 281
- Ibn Jurayi, 287
- Ibn Juzayy, 334
- Ibn Kathir, 370, 555
- Ibn Khaldun (Abd al-Rahman [aron
Rahman] b. Muhammad b.
Muhammad b. Abu Bakr

332, 435 unitarian views of, 251
criticism of philosophy by, 248
Ibn Arabi (Ibn al- Arabi; Muhammad See also Asabiyya; Falsafa
on dhimmi, 452
ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al- Ibn Khallikan, 307
fundamentalism of, 262
Arabi al-Ta i al-Hatimi), 28, 48, Ibn Killis, Ya qub, 92
on intercession by shaykhs, 306
213, 303, 333–334, 339, 391, 607,
neo-Hanbali doctrines of, 6, 410,
Ibn Kullab, 83
683, 686, 727
450, 668
Ibn Maja (Abu Abdallah Muhammad
on “oneness,” 727
See also Falsafa; Kalam; Tasawwuf; b. Yazid), 286, 336–337
opposition to bid a, 108
Wahdat al-wujud See also Hadith
political views of, 549
Ibn Ata Allah, 688 Ibn Mansur al-Hajjaj, 433
reforms advocated by, 172
Ibn Babuya, 369 Ibn Manzur, 281
revivalism of, 468, 675
Ibn Badis, Abd al-Hamid. See Abd al- Ibn Mas ud, 406
traditionalism of, 695
Hamid Ibn Badis Ibn Mattawayh, 3
See also Fundamentalism; Law;
Ibn Bahdal, 435 Ibn Miskawayh, 35
Reform: in Arab Middle East
Ibn Bajja, 48, 550, 612 Ibn Mujahid al-Ta i, 83, 105
and North Africa;
Ibn Battuta (Abu Abdallah Ibn Nubata, 395
Traditionalism
Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Ibn Nujaym, 9
Ibn Tufayl, 48, 249
Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Shams al- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (Ibn al-
Ibn Tulun, mosque of, 115
Din al-Lawati al-Tanji), 17, 109, Qayyim al-Jawziyya), 226, 370, 410,
Ibn Tumart, 696
141, 162, 259, 334, 507, 696 446, 468
Ibn Yasin (Abdallah Ibn Yasin al-
See also Cartography and Ibn Qudame, 410
Jazuli), 475
geography; Travel and travelers
Ibn Zubayr, Abdallah (Ibn al-Zubayr,
Ibn Qutayba(h), 185, 320, 474, 672
Ibn Ezra, Moshe, 48 Ibn Rushd (Averroes), 337

Abdallah), 118, 223, 260, 311–312,
 Ibn Furak, 83
 332, 435
 commentaries on works of
 Ibn Hanbal (Ahmad b. Muhammad Aristotle by, 48, 234, 249,
 337 Ibrahim (Abraham), 25, 37, 80, 184,
 Ibn Hanbal), 27, 82, 286, 334–335, impact of Ibn Sina on, 249
 311, 312
 370, 410, 417, 448, 450, 489, 538, impact on European culture, 234
 circumcision of, 149
 587, 668, 694–695 reputation of, 236
 hospitality of, 317
 See also Ahl al-Hadith; Hadith; as scientist, 203, 612
 as imam, 349
 Kalam; Law; Mu tazilites, and Sunni theology, 83
 and monotheism, 84, 85, 530
 Mu tazila See also Falsafa; Law
 Ibrahim al-Nakha i, 8, 406
 Ibn Hawqal, Abu al-Qasim Ibn Sab in, 433
 Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, 449
 Muhammad, 131 Ibn Sa d, 109, 272, 307, 455, 554, 610
 Ibrahim b. Zibriqan, 286
 Ibn Haytham, 295 Ibn Shaddad, 307
 Ibrahim Lodi, 212, 637
 Ibn Hazm of Córdoba, 28, 297–298, Ibn Shahin, 185
 Ice Cube (rapper), 45
 345, 410, 717 Ibn Sina (Abu Ali ibn Sina,
 Avicenna), ICMI (Indonesian Muslim
 Ibn Hisham, 286, 287, 455 337–338
 Intellectuals' Association), 646
 Ibn Ishaq, Muhammad (d. 767), 120, on angels, 51
 ICP (Iraqi Communist Party), 156
 286, 287, 307, 432, 455, 482, 672 in Central Asia, 139
 ICSC (Islamic Center of Southern
 Ibn Jama a, 549 on dreams, 185
 California), 713
 800
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Id al-Adha, 599–600 See also Falsafa; Shi a:
 Isma ili Shi a Nizari Isma ili Muslims
 Identity, Muslim, 339–344 Ilbars, sultan, 392
 in, 26
 See also Abd al-Qadir, Amir; Ilham (inspiration), 37
 spread of Islam in, 122–123, 552

Abduh, Muhammad; Afghani, Il-Khanid Empire. See Mongol and Il-
 veneration of saints in, 724
 Jamal al-Din al-; Ataturk, Khanid Empires
 waqf of, 732
 Mustafa Kemal; Balkans, Islam
 See also Ahmadiyya; Mogul
 Ilkhanid Sultaniya mausoleum
 in the; Dar al-harb; Dar al-
 Empire
 (Iljeytu), 74
 Islam; Ethnicity; Kemal,
 Indian Congress of Islamic Scholars.
 Ilm al-akhlaq (science of innate
 Namek; Pan-Islam;
 See Association of Scholars of India
 dispositions), 225
 Secularization; Shaykh al-Islam;
 (Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Hind, JUH)
 Ilm al-jadal (science of
 Umma; Wahhabiyya; Young
 Indian National Congress (INC)
 disputation), 181
 Ottomans; Young Turks
 allies of, 177, 640
 Idolatry, 78, 84–85 Ilm al-kalam (science of
 theology),
 formation of, 305
 385, 611
 Idris b. Abdallah, 258
 opposition to, 32, 39, 343
 Ilm al-rijal (science of the men),
 Idris b. Idris, 258
 Indo-European languages, and ethnic
 109, 611
 IFM (Iran Freedom Movement), 413
 identity, 232
 Ilm (knowledge), 202, 397, 566,
 Ifranj (“Franks”), 733
 Indonesia
 611, 703
 Iftar (meal at the end of the fasting
 colonization of, 645
 See also Knowledge
 day), 44
 independence of, 645–647
 Itizam (political commitment), 67
 Ihy al-sunna, 668

Islam in, 161, 507–508, 644
 Iltutmish, 660
 IIIT (International Institute of Islamic
 money-changing in, 128
 Thought), 174 Iltuzer, Inaq, 392
 music in, 493
 Ijma (consensus), 11, 387, 407, 409, Ilyas, Mawlana (Maulana) Muhammad,
 pancasila ideology of, 147
 534, 535, 613 172–173, 641, 671
 reform in, 582–583, 645
 Ijtihad (independent legal judgment), Ilyas Shahi dynasty, 636
 socialist movements in, 470
 344–345 Imam, Muhammad Jumat, 22
 Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals'
 and Arab revivalism, 5, 155, 608 Imama (leadership), 3
 Association (ICMI), 646
 of ayatollah, 92 Imamate, 37–38, 350–351
 Industrialization, 194–195,
 criticism of, 34, 171–172 See also Ghayba(t), al-; Mahdi;
 196–197, 214
 and Islamic reform, 6, 172, 577, Shi a: Imami (Twelver); Shi a:
 Industrial Revolution, 234
 580, 619, 675, 718, 728 Zaydi (Fiver)
 Inheritance, 127, 142
 and legal pluralism, 534 Imami Shi a. See Shi a: Imami
 See also Genealogy
 in Libya, 557 (Twelver)
 Insan-i kamil (perfect man), 33
 needed in present, 7
 Imamiyya, division of, 34 International Association of
 and rationalism, 468–469
 See also Law; Madhhab; Reform: Imam (leader), 37, 42, 349–350, 624
 Sufism, 683
 in Arab Middle East and North Imamzadah, 351–352
 International Covenant on Civil and
 Africa; Shari a See also Devotional life; Dreams;
 Political Rights, 279
 Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Ikhwan al- Imam; Pilgrimage: Ziyara;
 International Institute of Islamic
 Muslimun; Muslim Brotherhood), Religious beliefs; Religious
 Thought (IIIT), 174
 345–348 institutions
 International Islamic Law
 affiliates of, 290 Iman Mahfuz, amir of Zaila, 29
 Commission, 278
 and Arab nationalism, 519 Imdadullah, Hajji, 638
 International Islamic University of

and da wa, 172
 Malaysia, 278
 in Egypt, 4, 471, 537
 International Labor Organization,
 founding of, 104, 105
 UN, 348
 fundamentalism of, 262, 676
 International Monetary Fund (IMF),
 politicization of, 466
 Imru al-Qays, "King of the Arabs," 58
 purpose of, 105
 Inalcik, Halil, 664
 in Sudan, 700
 INC. See Indian National Congress
 women in, 276
 youth in, 741
 India
 See also Globalization; Networks,
 See also Banna, Hasan al-;
 Muslim
 Fundamentalism; Qutb, Sayyid;
 Interservices Intelligence (ISI),
 Reform: in Arab Middle East
 Pakistan, 676
 and North Africa; Turabi,
 Intifada (uprising), 290, 355–356,
 Hasan al-
 365, 740
 Ikhwan al-Safa ("Brethren of Purity,"
 See also Conflict and violence;
 "Fellowship of the Pure"), 348–349
 HAMAS; Human rights

Islam and the Muslim World

801

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

IOMS (Islamic Organization for
 Islamic Charter Front (Jabbat al-
 Medical Sciences), 447
 Mithaq al-Islami), 347
 IPCI (Islamic Propagation Centre
 Islamic Communist Party
 International), 173
 (Indonesia), 470
 Iqama, 13
 Islamic Community. See Jama at-e
 Iqbal, Muhammad, 252, 343, 345,
 constitutionalism in, 464
 economy of, 634
 independence of, 425
 political modernization in, 460
 religious legitimacy in, 26
 revolution in, 595

Islami (JI)
 356, 457, 468–469, 528, 609, 638, socialism in, 633
 Islamic Consultative Assembly
 683, 716 youth programs in, 744
 (Iran), 425
 See also Liberalism, Islamic; See also Ba th Party
 Islamic Development Bank, 152, 278
 Persian language and literature; Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), 156
 Islamic Educational, Scientific, and
 South Asia, Islam in; Urdu Irhab, 692
 Cultural Organization, 278
 language, literature, and poetry See also Terrorism
 Islamic Fiqh Academy (Islamic Figh
 Iqta , 542, 658, 660, 662, 665 IRP. See Islamic Republic Party
 Committee). See Organization of
 Iqtisadune (Our economics), 606 Irrigation, 194
 the Islamic Conference (OIC)
 Irada (free will), 83 Isabella I, queen of Spain, 47
 Islamic Foundation, 174
 Iran Isfahani, Shaykh Muhammad
 Islamic fundamentalism. See
 Arab conquest of, 132 Hasan, 718
 Fundamentalism
 clothing of, 150 Isfahan (Iran, Persia), 1, 218
 Islamic Global Front for Combating
 communism in, 156 Ishaq ibn Hunayn, 695
 Jews and Crusaders, 559
 constitutionalism in, 465,
 Islamic Group, The (al-Gama a al-
 Ishraqi school, 359
 470, 595
 Islamiyya), 365, 466
 See also Falsafa; Ibn al- Arabi;
 education in, 205
 Islamic Horizons, 366, 712
 ethnic (national) identity in, Mulla Sadra; Tasawwuf; Wahdat
 al-wujud IslamiCity in Cyberspace, 354
 343–344
 ISI (Interservices Intelligence), Islamic Jihad, 365
 gender reform in, 271
 Pakistan, 676 in Egypt, 365, 466
 human rights in, 279
 fundamentalism of, 262
 independence of, 458 Islah (reform), 575
 ideology of, 27
 madrasa of, 419 Islam-shenasi (Islamology), 619
 militarism of, 346, 355

modernization of, 458–459, 466 Islam, spread of. See Expansion, of
 in Palestine, 309, 365
 nationalism in, 503–504 Islam
 See also Ikhwan al-Muslimin;
 reform in, 577–579 Islam and Islamic (terminology),
 Political Islam; Qa ida, al-
 Safavid rule of, 217 359–360, 471, 712
 Islamic Jihad Movement (Harakat alspread of Islam in, 219
 See also Islamicate society jihad al-Islami), 365
 student movement in, 741–743
 Islam and other religions, 23–24, Islamic Law and Constitution,
 444
 Sufism in, 683
 360–364 Islamic Liberation Movement, 347
 use of Arabic language in, 62
 use of Persian language in, 60 See also Andalus, al-; Central
 Asia, Islamic Mission to America (Brooklyn,
 veiling in, 723 Islam in; Christianity and
 Islam; NY), 709
 women's rights in, 278 Dar al-harb; Dar al-Islam;
 East Islamic Organization for Medical
 See also Revolution: Islamic Asia, Islam in; European culture
 Sciences (IOMS), 447
 revolution in Iran and Islam; Expansion, of Islam;
 Islamic Propagation Centre
 Iran, Islamic Republic of, 9–10, 106, Hinduism and Islam;
 Hospitality International (IPCI), 173
 146, 356–358, 357, 394, 425, 463, and Islam; Internet; Judaism
 and
 Islamic Republic Party (IRP), 10, 358,
 538–539, 577–579, 591–594, 596 Islam; Modernism;
 Networks,
 388, 594
 See also Abu 'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr; Muslim; Orientalism; Science,
 Islamic Resistance Movement (harakat
 Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar; Islam and; South Asia, Islam in;
 al-muqawamat al-Islamiyyah,
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Theology; Umma; Vernacular
 HAMAS). See HAMAS
 Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi; Islam
 Islamic Revolutionary Movement
 Revolution: Islamic revolution Islamic Amal, 522
 (Harakat-e Inqilab-e Islami), 490
 in Iran Islamicate society, 364–365
 Islamic Salvation Front (Front
 Iran Freedom Movement (IFM), 413 See also Islam and Islamic
 Islamique du Salut, FIS), 238,

Iranian Islamic Information (terminology)
365–366, 417, 461, 466
Organization, 173 Islamic Brotherhood Party (Syria),
See also Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis;
Iranian Women's Solidarity 346–347
Madani, Abbasi
Group, 627 Islamic Call Society (Jam iyyat al-
Islamic Society (Jam iyyat-e Islami),
Iranian Writer's Congress, 528 Da wah al-Islamiyya), 173
238, 490
Iraq Islamic Center of Southern
California Islamic Society of North America
autocratic state in, 462 (ICSC), 713
(ISNA), 27, 43, 44, 366, 366–367,
communism in, 156 Islamic Charter Front, 700
497, 711–712, 713
802
Islam and the Muslim World
Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
Islamic Tendency Movement (harakat Ja far, 678
See also Jam iyyat-e (Jam iyyat)
al-ittijah al-islami), 273 Ja far al-Khuldi, 632
Ulama-e Islam; South Asia,
Islamic Union (Itihad-e Islami), 490 Ja far al-Sadiq, 121, 169, 170,
Islam in
Islamic Union Party (Indonesia), 470 369–370, 625, 628
Jam iyyat-e (Jam iyyat) Ulama-e Islam
Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan See also Imamate; Law;
Succession (JUI), 177, 374–375, 676, 677
(Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islam-ye Ja fari school, 369, 386, 625
See also Deoband; Jam iyyat-e
Afghanistan), 490 Jahangir, Asma, 271
(Jam iyyat) Ulama-e Hind; South
Islamic Work Party, 347
Asia, Islam in; Taliban
Jahangir, Hina Jilani, 271
Islamization. See Islam: spread of
Jam iyyat-e (Jam iyyat) Ulama-e Pakistan
Jahangir, Nur al-Din, 213, 302, 637
Islamization of Knowledge
(JUP), 375, 390
Jahannam (hell), 175, 370, 375, 501
project, 147
See also Deoband; Jam iyyat-e
See also Calligraphy; Janna; Law;

Islam noir (black Islam), 18
 (Jam iyyat) Ulama-e Hind;
 Muhammad; Qur an; Tafsir
 Isma il, son of Ja far, 350
 Jam iyyat-e Ulama-e Islam;
 Jahiliyya (ignorance), 370–371, 397, South Asia, Islam in
 Isma il I, Shah, 36, 99, 135, 217, 367, 444, 479, 538
 386, 626, 637, 704
 Jam iyyat al-ikhwan al-Muslimin
 See also Arabia, pre-Islam; (Society of the Muslim
 See also Safavid and Qajar Modern thought; Political
 Empires
 Brothers), 345
 Islam; Qutb, Sayyid
 Isma il b. Mis ada al-Isma ili, 274
 Jammu and Kashmir Liberation
 Jahm b. Safwan, 427, 448 Front, 490
 Isma il II, Shah, 218 Jakhanke Muslims, 697–698
 Janna (paradise), 175, 375–376, 501
 Isma ili Shi a. See Shi a: Isma ili Jalal al-din al-Suyuti, 84, 107
 See also Calligraphy; Jahannam;
 Isma il Pasha, 116 Jama a Islamiyya, 741
 Law; Muhammad; Qur an;
 Isma il Samani, 133 Jama at-e Islami (JI, Islamic
 Tafsir
 Isma il Shahid, Shah, 730 Community), 262, 304,
 371–373, Jannat Aden (Garden of Eden), 376
 ISNA. See Islamic Society of North 372, 375, 444, 502, 641, 672,
 676 Jannat al-Khuld (Garden of
 America See also Maududi, Abu l-A la ;
 eternity), 376
 Israel Pakistan, Islamic
 Republic of Japan, Islam in, 189
 creation of, 458 Jama at izarat al-bid a wa-iqamat as-
 Jariri school, 671
 defeat of Egypt by (1967), 4, sunna (Association for the removal
 460, 521
 Javadi, Fattaneh Hajj Sayyed, 529
 of innovation and for the
 economy of, 199
 Jawhar al-Siqilli, Egyptian general,
 establishment of the sunna), 8
 relations with Arab League, 69
 92, 115
 Jamalzadih, Mohammad- Ali, 529
 Israfil, 49
 Jerusalem, 163, 164, 314–316,

James, William, 250

Istiqlal (Independence) Party, 254
332, 362

Jami, 527

Ithna Ashari, 393
See also Dome of the Rock; Holy

Jami (to gather), 71, 373, 437

Itihad-e Islami (Islamic Union), 490
cities

See also Ibadat; Masjid; Religious

Ittifak-i Muslumanlar (Union of
Jesus Christ, 28, 554, 615

institutions

muslims), 265
Jevdet Pasha (Ahmet Jevdet Pasha;

Jami a Milli a (Milliya) Islamiya,

Ittisal (contact), 48
Cevdet Pasha, Ahmad), 270,

39, 639

376–377

Iwan, 73 Jami at al-Duwal al- Arabiyya

(League

Izra il, 49

See also Modernization, political:

of Arab States), 68, 175

Administrative, military, and

Izz al-Din al-Qassam Briades, 291 See also Arab League

judicial reform

Jamil al-Amin, Imam (H. Rap Brown), Jihad

J 44, 45, 373–374

as “cleansing of soul,” 30, 158

Jabal Amil, 386 See also American culture

and and martyrdom, 432

Jabbar, Kareem Abdul, 44 Islam; Americas, Islam in

the; meaning of, 158–160,

Jabbat al-Mithaq al-Islami (Islamic Nation of Islam

377–379, 378

Charter Front), 347 Jami masjid (congregational mosque),

as obligation, 365

Jabha al-Islamiyya li-l-inqadh, al-. See 71, 439

and spread of Islam, 239, 590

Islamic Salvation Front Jamishid b. Abdullah, 664

See also Conflict and violence;

Jabha-e Nijat-e Milli-ye Afghanistan Jam iyat al-Da wah al-Islamiyya

Terrorism

(National Liberation Front of (Islamic Call Society), 173

Jihad Organization (Tanzim al-

Afghanistan), 490 Jami yat al-Da wah wal-Irshad, 172
 Jihad), 365
 Jabir al-Hayyan, 369 Jam iyat-e (Jam iyat) Islami
 (Islamic JI (Jama at-e Islami, Islamic
 Jabriyya, 631 Society), 238, 490
 Community), 262, 304, 371–373,
 Ja da, 293 Jam iyat-e (Jam iyat) Ulama-e
 Hind 375, 444, 502, 641, 672, 676
 Ja d b. Dirham, 427 (JUH), 177, 371, 374, 375,
 390, See also Maududi, Abu l-A la ;
 Jadidism, 137, 579–580, 609 443, 638
 Pakistan, Islamic Republic of
 Islam and the Muslim World
 803
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 90, 304, 343, Jurassic 5 (rapper), 45
 Kashmir, 27, 640
 379–380, 380, 517, 640 Jurjani, 281
 See also Pakistan, Islamic
 See also Pakistan, Islamic Jurjis Bukhtishu, 446
 Republic of
 Republic of Justice and Development Party,
 Kasravi, Ahmad, 255, 683
 Jinn (invisible supernatural creatures), 460, 466
 Katyan Minaret (Bukhara), 113
 22, 39, 51, 55, 294 Justinian I, 446
 Kawakibi, Abd al-Rahman. See Abd
 JIU. See JUI (Jam iyat-e Ulama-e Juula (traders), 18
 al-Rahman Kawakibi
 Islam)
 Kay Kavus b. Voshmgir, 527
 Jizya (poll tax on non-Muslims), 138,
 Kazamayn, tombs in, 88
 K
 157, 158, 161, 162, 213, 219, 240,
 Ka ba (Kaaba; Ka aba; of Mecca), 55, Kebek, 134
 361, 451, 542, 660
 71, 183, 311, 311, 312, 370, 376, Kefir, 233
 Jochi (the “Golden Horde”), 134
 428, 478, 480, 530, 561 Kelidar, 529
 John of Damascus, 28, 144, 181, 516
 schematic of, 129–130 Kemal, Namik (Namek), 341, 342,
 Johnson, P. Nathaniel (Shaykh Ahmad textiles of, 80
 387–388, 470, 738, 739
 Din), 708

Kabbani, Shaykh Hisham, 683 See also Young Ottomans

Jones, Sir William, 523, 638, 684

Kabir (died c. 1448), 303 Kenya, Islam in, 14, 15

Jordan

Kabir of Benares (1440–1518), Khadija bint Ali, 734

economy of, 199, 200–201 637, 642

independence of, 425, 458

Khadija bint (b.) Khuwaylid, 381,

Kadri, Chereffe, 713 478, 734

Muslim Brotherhood in, 347

Kafir (unbeliever), 30, 452 Khadija bint Muhammad, 734

opposition to socialism in, 634

political modernization in, Kahin (soothsayer), 279

Khaki, 81

460, 462 Kalam, 247, 385, 397

Khalid, Khalid Muhammad, 388

political opposition in, 463 See also Ash arites, Ash aira;

See also Ghazali, Muhammad alreligious legitimacy in, 26

Disputation; Falsafa; Khalid b. Yazid, 295, 414, 435

Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, 290 Knowledge; Murji ites

Murji a;

Khalidi, Tarif, 307

Josephus, Flavius, 148 Qur an

Khalifa (successor), 30, 37, 116, 318,

Judah, son of Jacob, 8 Kalam allah, 83, 385

652, 653–654, 663

Judaism and Islam, 380–384 Kalila wa Dimna, 523, 527

See also Caliphate

in al-Andalus, 47, 48 Kalyan Minaret, 113

Khalili, Khalil Allah, 528

in Arabia, 53 Kandhalavi (Kandhlawi), Maulana

Khalil ibn Ishaq al-Jundi, 597

and heresy, 297 Muhammad Zakariyya, 177, 672

Khalil Jibran, Jibran, 67

respect between, 27–28, 361 Kane, Big Daddy, 45

Khalil-Sultan, 222

See also Christianity and Islam; Kano Chronicle, 20

Khalwatiyya, 26

Islam and other religions; Kano (Nigeria), 385–386, 435

Minorities: dhimmis

Khamane i, Ayatollah Sayyed Ali, 358,

See also Africa, Islam in; Marwa,

Judeo-Arabic language, 48, 60

388, 430, 627, 722

Muhammad; Uthman Dan

Judicial reform, 461, 557–558 Fodio

See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;

Revolution: Islamic revolution

Juha, 321 Kant, Immanuel, 250, 401, 516

in Iran

JUH (Jam iyyat-e Ulama-e Hind), 177, Karaki, Shaykh Ali (also known as Al-

Muhaqqiq al-Thani), 386–387 Khamriyyat (wine poetry), 64, 65

371, 374, 375, 390, 443, 638

See also Isma'il I, Shah; Safavid Khan, 134, 388

See also Jam iyyat-e Ulama-e

Islam; South Asia, Islam in and Qajar Empires; Shaykh al-Khan, Abd al-Ghaffar, 639

JUI (Jam iyyat-e Ulama-e Islam), 177, Islam; Shi'a: Imami

(Twelver); Khan, Hazrat Inayat, 44, 683, 689

374–375, 676, 677 Tahmasp I, Shah

Khan, Miza Malkom, 318

See also Deoband; Jam iyyat-e KARAMA (Muslim Women Lawyer's

Khan, Reza of Bareilly (Ahmad Reza

Ulama-e Hind; South Asia, Committee for Human Rights), 43

Khan Bareilwi), 176, 343, 375,

Islam in; Taliban Karamokho Alfa, 697

389–390, 581, 638

Junayd (al-Junayd; of Baghdad), 275, Karbala (Iraq), 323–325, 387,

433, See also Jam iyyat-e Ulama-e

290, 685 599, 624, 691

Pakistan; Khilafat movement;

Jund-e Shapur (Jundi-Shapur), pilgrimage to, 36

South Asia, Islam in;

446, 695 tomb of Husayn in, 26, 88, 293,

Wahhabiyya

JUP (Jam iyyat-e Ulama-e Pakistan), 387, 728

Khan, Sir Sayyid. See Ahmad Khan,

375, 390 See also Ali; Husayn; Qur'an;

Sir Sayyid

See also Deoband; Jam iyyat-e Rawza-khani; Shi'a: Early

Khan, Gen. Yahya, 91

Ulama-e Hind; Jam iyyat-e Kartir, 428

Khanqa (Khanaqa, Khanga), 389

Ulama-e Islam; South Asia, Kashani, Abu 'l-Qasem, 255–256

See also Architecture; Tariqa;

Islam in Kashan pottery, 80–81

Tasawwuf

804

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Khans (inns), 69, 75

Khudabanda, Ilkhanid sultan, 301

Kufr (unbelief), 143, 327, 492,	
Khaqani of Shirvan, 525	Khudai Khidmatgar (“Servents of
534, 566	
Kharijites, Khawarij, 118, 121, 390,	God”) movement, 639
Kuleli Conspiracy, 738	
432, 453, 541, 548, 573, 585–586,	Khudi (individuality), 356
Kumijani, Shihab al-Din, 359	
621, 653	Khuluq. See Akhlaq
Kunta Sidi Ali, 402	
See also Law	Khurasan, 132
Kunti, Mukhtar al- (Al-Shaykh Sidi-	
Kharja (quotation), 48	Khushrow, emir of Delhi, 528
Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti),	
Khassaki Mosque (Baghdad), 450	Khusraw I Anushirwan, Sassanian
king	402–403
Khatami, Mohammad, 278, 358, 459,	of Persia, 55
See also Africa, Islam in; Tariqa;	
579, 742	Khutba al-jum a, 394
Tasawwuf; Timbuktu	
Khatm al-nabuwwa (finality of	Khutba (sermon), 71, 394–396,
396,	
Kurdish separatism, 460	
Muhammad’s prophethood), 30, 32	437, 451
Kuttab (school), 142, 203, 205	
Khatmiyya, 29	See also Arabic language;
Ibadat; Kuwait	
Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi, 575	Masjid; Minbar (mimbar);
constitutionalism in, 464–465	
Khayyam, Omar, 524	Religious institutions
independence of, 425	
Khidr, al-, 390–391, 680, 685	Khutbat al-bayan, 38
Iraqi invasion of, 69	
See also Prophets	Khwaja Abd al-Khaliq
youth programs in, 744	
Khilafat movement, 177, 390,	Ghijduvani, 140
391–392, 520, 638	Khwaja Abd al-Samad, 643
L	
See also South Asia, Islam in	Khwaja Ubaydullah Ahrar, 140
Lahore (India), 30	
Khirbat al-Mafjar, 74	Khwarazm, 132, 222, 392
Lahuti, Abu ’l-Qasem, 528	
Khirbat al-Minya, 74	See also Khiva, khanate of
Lakhmids, 55	
Khirq (cloak), 391, 392, 441	Khwarazmshah Muhammad, 133, 134
Lakshar Jihad, 582	
See also Clothing; Khilafat	Killing, ethos of, 227, 566
Land ownership, 196	
movement; Tasawwuf	Kindi, al- (Abu Yusuf Ya qub Ibn

Ishaq al-Sabbah Al-Kindi), 248, Lane, Edward W., 178, 515
 Khiva (Khwarazm), khanate of, 136,
 392–393 396–397
 Language
 See also Central Asia, Islam in; See also Falsafa; Mu tazilites,
 and ethnic identity, 232
 Central Asian culture and Islam Mu tazila
 grammar and lexicography,
 Kindi, Shurayh b. al-Harith al-, 558 279–281
 Kho i, Abo l Qasem (Sayyed Abo l-
 Kisa (people of the mantle), 26 See also Arabic language;
 Persian
 Qasem Musavi), 393
 Kitab al- ayn, 280–281 language and literature;
 Urdu
 Khojas, 393
 language, literature, and poetry
 See also Aga Khan; Nizari; South Kitab al-kharaj (Book of taxation),
 542, 654 Lashkar-e Taiba (Lashkar-e Taybiyya;
 Asia, Islam in
 Kitab al-masalik wa al-mamalik (Book Army of Pure), 27, 490
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah,
 of roads and kingdoms), KMMS, Lashkar Jihad, 647
 393–394
 exile of, 10, 88, 394, 459 129, 130, 131
 Last Day, 584
 fatwa against Rushdie of, 277, 603 Kitab al-sultan (Book of
 Latin America, Islam in, 45–46
 fundamentalism of, 263 sovereignty), 474
 Law, 5–6, 11–12, 405–411, 405, 407,
 ideology of, 11, 430, 549 Kitab al-Sunan, 502
 408, 613–614, 668
 on interdependence of theology Kitab al-tawhid (Book of unity), 727
 See also Hanafi school; Hanbali
 and philosophy, 248 Kitab Sibawayhi, 280
 school; Madhhab; Maliki school;
 and Iranian cultural revolution, 3 Kitchener, Sir Herbert, 422, 423
 Shafi i school; Shari a
 on martyrdom, 323 Kiyais, 649–650
 Lawrence, T. E., 519
 opposition to Baha i, 310
 Lazar, Serbian prince, 102
 Kiyan Circle (halqe Kiyan), 578–579
 political philosophy of, 551, 552
 Knowledge, 202–203, 397–402, 566 League of Arab States
 (Jamai at alreligious legitimacy of, 26
 See also Ghazali, al-; Ibn Sina; Duwal al- Arabiyya), 68, 175

return to power of, 357, 358, 465,
 Mulla Sadra; Tasawwuf; See also Arab League
 538, 593–594, 722
 on role of ulema, 704 Theology; Tusi, Nasir al-Din
 League of Nations, 25
 social philosophy of, 252 Komiteh (Komiteh-ha-ye Enghelab,
 Lebanese Communist Party, 156
 youth support for, 741–742 Revolutionary Committees), 402
 Lebanon, 411–413
 See also Iran, Islamic Republic of; See also Revolution: Islamic
 constitutionalism in, 464
 Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi; revolution in Iran
 economy of, 199–200
 Revolution: Islamic revolution Korea, Islam in, 189
 independence of, 425, 458
 in Iran Kosovo, civil war in, 103
 political modernization in, 460
 Khomeinism, 146 Kubra, Najm al-Din, 140
 Sufism in, 690
 Khosrow, 248, 636, 643, 661 Kufic script, 125
 use of Arabic language in, 61–62
 Islam and the Muslim World
 805
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 See also Fadlallah, Muhammad Madhhab (school of law), 34,
 Mahr (dower), 42, 182, 424, 431
 Husayn; Hizb Allah; Sadr, 417–418, 584, 731
 See also Divorce; Law; Marriage
 Musa al- See also Abu Hanifa; Ibn Hanbal;
 Mahsati of Ganja, 524
 Leewenhock, Antoni van, 447 Kalam; Law; Malik Ibn Anas;
 Maimonides, Moses (Musa ibn
 Leibnitz, Gottfried von, 400, 516 Shafi i, al-; Shi a: Imami
 Maimun Maimonides), 48, 295, 382
 Lexicography (Arabic). See Grammar (Twelver)
 Maitatsine. See Marwa, Muhammad
 and lexicography Madinat al-Zahira of Cordoba, 74
 Majles-e Shura-ye Melli (National
 Liberal democracy, 462–463 Madinat al-Zahra (al-Andalus),
 46 Consultative Assembly, Iran), 425
 Liberalism, 413 Madjid, Nurcholish, 614, 646
 Majlis al-shura (advisory council),
 See also Modern thought Madrasa (seminary), 92, 203–204, 205,
 105, 345
 206, 373, 415, 418–421, 420, Majlis (assembly), 278, 357, 425,

- Liberation Movement of Iran (LMI, 511, 588 See also Modernization, political:
 Nehzat-e azadi-ye Iran), 413–414
 See also Aligarn; Azhar, al-; Constitutionalism; Political
 See also Bazargan, Mehdi; Iran, Deoband; Education organization
 Islamic Republic of
 Maghazi, 451 Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir
 Libna Dingil, Ethiopian emperor, 29
 See also Military raid (Mohammad Baqer; Muhammad
 Libraries, 414–416
 Maghreb, Islam in, 13, 16 Baqir b. Muhammad Taqi Majlisi),
 See also Education; Ma mun 37, 219, 293, 425–426, 626
 Magic (Ar. sihr), 178
 Libya
 Majlisi, Muhammad Taqi al- (d. 1659/
 Mahaz-e Milli-ye Islami-ye autocratic state in, 462 Afghanistan (National Islamic 1660), 34
 political modernization in, Front of Afghanistan), 490
 Makassar, Shaykh Yusuf (Ali Shaykh 460, 557
 Yusuf), 426
 Mahdawi movement, 637
 revolution in, 595
 See also Africa, Islam in; Southeast
 Mahdi, Sadiq (Siddiq) al-, 347,
 socialism in, 634
 Asia, Islam in; Tariqa 421–422
 Sufism in, 682
 Makhdum-e A zam, 136
 Mahdi, tomb of the, 423
 Leibnitz, Gottfried von. See Leibnitz,
 MAK (maktab al-khidma li-l-mujahin
 Mahdi (“rightly guided one”), 421
 Gottfried von
 al- arab, Afghan Service Bureau
 Ghulam Ahmad as, 30, 32
 Life-cycle rituals, 332, 598
 Front), 559
 Muhammad (son of Hasan al-
 Lij Iyasu, emperor of Ethiopia, 14 Askari) as, 274, 591
 Maktabi of Shiraz, 526

LIKUD Party, 355
 Malaka, 226
 Lisan al- Arab, 281
 Malawi, Islam in, 13, 22
 Literacy, 414
 Malay language, 651
 Literature. See Arabic literature;
 Malay Muslim Monarchy, 665
 Persian language and literature;
 Malaysia
 Urdu language, literature, and
 colonization of, 645
 poetry
 Mahdist state, Mahdiyya, 155,
 independence of, 647
 Liwali Muhammad bin Uthman
 Islam in, 328, 644
 Mazrui, 445
 reform in, 582–583, 645
 LMI (Liberation Movement of Iran),
 Sufism in, 690
 413–414
 sultanate in, 474
 Abdullah; Zar
 Locke, John, 251
 Mahfuz, Nagib, 67, 68, 68
 Logical positivism, 249
 Mahjar, 67
 Lokman, Seyyid, 129
 Mahmud of Ghazni (Mahmud of
 Lotf Ali Khan, 745
 Ghazna), 302, 303, 415, 525, 635
 Louis IX, king of France, 165, 658
 Mahmud, Mufti, 374
 Lull, Raymond, 145
 Nation of Islam
 Mahmud (Afghan leader), 219
 Mahmud (Mahmut) II (Ottoman
 M
 Malekshah, 665
 Maccibo ibn Abubakar,
 Malfuzat (records of audiences), 109
 Muhammad, 664
 Mali, Empire of
 Macedonia, Muslim population of, 103
 Islamic architecture of, 16, 20, 21
 Madani, Abbasi, 366, 417
 Islam in, 17, 18, 429–430
 prediction of, 261, 591
 return of, 274, 625
 See also Fitna; Hadith; Imam;
 Mahdist state, Mahdiyya;
 Religious beliefs; Shi a: Early;
 Shi a: Imami (Twelver)
 422–424
 See also Africa, Islam in; Islam
 and other religions; Mahdi;
 Muhammad Ahmad ibn
 Malcolm, Sir John, 684
 Malcolm X, 44, 245, 426, 505,
 530, 709
 See also American culture and
 Islam; Conversion; Farrakhan,
 Louis; Muhammad, Elijah;
 Malebranche, Nicolas, 247
 sultan), 150, 678
 Mahmud (Ghaznavid sultan), 139,
 661–662
 Mahmud ibn Umar al-
 Zamakhshari, 673

See also Islamic Salvation Front; Mahmud Ka ti, 694
 use of Arabic language in, 62
 Political organization; Reform: Mahmut II. See Mahmud II
 See also Timbuktu
 in Arab Middle East and North Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College,
 Mali, Republic of. See Mali, Empire of
 Africa Aligarh (India). See Muhammadan
 Malik, 148
 Madhdiyya movement, 22 Anglo-Oriental College
 Malik (angel), 370, 502
 806
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Malik Ashtar, 36 Maqamat (Seances or Sessions), 79
 Masruq Ibn al-Ajda, 406
 Malik Ibn (b.) Anas, 11, 160, 286, 287, Maqassari, Taanta Salmanka al-.
 See Mass ud Sa d Salman, 661
 313, 417, 426–427, 586–587, 667 Makassar, Shaykh Yusuf
 Mas ud, 133, 139, 661, 665
 See also Africa, Islam in; Law; Maraboutism, 724
 Mas ud Sa d Salman, 525, 528
 Madhhab Mar ashi library (Qom), 416
 Ma sum (impeccable), 37
 Maliki school, 11, 14, 183, 408, 417, Ma rib, dam at, 54, 55, 56
 Material culture, 440–442
 418, 427, 534, 588, 686 Ma rifa (knowledge), 397, 611
 See also African culture and Islam;
 Malik-Shah, 549 Marja al-taqlid, 388, 430, 549,
 American culture and Islam;
 Malta, use of Arabic language in, 62 593, 718
 Architecture; Art; Calligraphy;
 Mamluk sultanate, 662–663 See also Shi a: Imami
 (Twelver); Central Asian culture and Islam;
 architecture of, 74 Taqlid; Ulema
 Clothing; European culture and
 creation of, 166, 662 Marrakesh
 Islam; Music; South Asian
 decorative arts of, 80 Almoravid mosque at, 80
 culture and Islam; Southeast
 in East Africa, 17 Sa adi capital in, 259
 Asian culture and Islam
 eunuchs of, 233
 Mathematics, 613
 Marriage, 42, 266, 424, 430–431,
 political organization under,

510, 598 Matrilineal descent, 142
 543, 544
 See also Divorce; Gender; Law; Maturidi, al- (Abu Mansur Muhammad
 success of, 116, 121
 Mahr; Polygamy b. Muhammad), 139, 442–443
 use of Arabic language in, 60
 waqf of, 731 Marsajawayh, 695
 See also Ash arites, Ash aira;
 See also Delhi sultanate; Marthiya (poetic dirge), 64
 Central Asia, Islam in; Kalam;
 Ghaznavid sultanate; Seljuk Martyrdom, 387, 431–434
 Mu tazilites, Mu tazila
 sultanate See also Banna, Hasan al-;
 Maturidite school, 83, 442
 Ma mun, al- (Abu 'l- Abbas Abdallah Expansion, of Islam;
 Husayn; Maududi, Abu l-A la , 172, 262, 286,
 al-Ma mun), 427–428 Ibadat; Imamate; Jihad;
 304, 345, 366, 371, 372, 443–444,
 caliphate of, 207, 259, 587 Kharijites, Khawarij; Ta ziya
 457, 468, 537, 551, 552, 641, 669,
 Christianity under, 145 Marwa, Muhammad (Maitatsine),
 692, 716
 coinage of, 151 434–435
 See also Jama at-e Islami; Political
 conquest of Central Asia by, 132 See also Africa, Islam in; Kano
 Islam
 and education, 203 (Nigeria); Mahdi
 Maulid (Mawlid), 737
 libraries of, 414 Marwanid dynasty, 46, 118
 Mauss, Marcell, 226
 silver globe of, 130 Marwan (Marwan b. al-Hakam b.
 Mawarannahr (Transoxiana,
 succession of, 120 Abi al- As, Abu Abd al-Malik),
 Transoxania), 132
 translations under, 281, 282 435–436
 Mawdud, 661
 See also Caliphate; Fitna; Mihna;
 succession of, 118, 223 Mawla (master, friend), 37, 473
 Mu tazilites, Mu tazila;
 See also Caliphate; Succession Mazahir-e Ulum (Saharanpur), 177
 Succession
 Masculinities, 436
 Manar, manara (minaret), 71, 428
 Mazalim, 444–445, 535
 See also Body, significance of;
 See also Adhan; Architecture;
 See also Caliphate; Law; Religious

Feminism; Gender;
 Masjid
 institutions
 Homosexuality
 Manat, 84, 85
 Mazhar ul Islam, 716
 Mashhad (Iran), 26, 436–437, 438
 Manchu Empire, 136
 Mazrui, Ali A., 252
 See also Pilgrimage: Hajj;
 Mande, Islam among, 20
 Mazrui (Ar., Mazru i), 445, 745
 Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Shi a: Imami
 Mandela, Nelson, 426
 See also Africa, Islam in; Zanzibar,
 (Twelver)
 Mangistu Haile-Mariam, 231
 Sa idi sultanate of
 Mashhad (mausoleum), 74, 433
 Mani, 428, 429
 Mbaruk bin Rashid, 445
 Masih-i maw ud (promised
 Manicheanism, 139, 428–429 Messiah), 32
 McMahon, Sir Henry, 519
 See also Islam and other religions Masih (messiah), 30, 554
 Mecca, 55, 158, 311–312, 311, 332,
 Mansa Musa, 17, 429–430, 606 Masina, state of, 17
 437, 531
 See also Africa, Islam in
 See also Holy cities; Ka ba (Mecca)
 Masjid, 71, 373, 437–440, 650
 Mansa Sulayman, 17
 Media, perception of Muslims in, 44
 See also Ibadat; Khutba; Manar,
 Mansur, Hasan Ali, 256 manara; Mihrab; Minbar
 Medicine, 445–448, 613
 Mansur al-Namari, 97 (mimbar); Religious
 institutions See also Body, significance of;
 Manteq al-Tayr, 527 Maslaha (public interest), 7, 11,
 226, Ethics and social issues; Falsafa;
 Manto, Sa adat Hasan, 716 440, 577
 Healing; Science, Islam and
 Manuchehri, 525 See also Abduh, Muhammad;
 Medina (Yathrib), 52, 53, 54–55, 71,
 Maps. See Cartography and geography Ethics and social issues;
 Ghazali, 312–314, 313, 361, 479, 705
 Maqama (rhymed prose), 66 al-; Law; Shari a

Jews in, 381, 479

Islam and the Muslim World

807

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

as model for political
authoritarianism and
organization, 540
democratization, 462–463
Muhammad's house in, 70–71, (Sayyed Ali Muhammad);
See also Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal;
71, 437 Baha allah; Baha i faith;
Political Islam; Qadhafi,
Prophet's Mosque in, 313, 314 Kharijites, Khawarij
Mu ammar al-; Reform: in Arab
See also Holy cities Miqdad, 35
Middle East and North Africa;
Mehmed Said Halim Pasha, 344 Miracles, 454
Reform: in Iran; Revolution,
Mehmet II (Mehmed), Ottoman
modern
See also Mi raj; Muhammad;
sultan, 130, 211, 340, 561
constitutionalism, 463–465,
Prophets
Mehmet IV, Ottoman sultan, 216
470–471, 595
Mi raj (ascension of the Prophet),
See also Majlis
Memphis, 115 36, 38, 49, 114, 184, 331,
participation, political
Menilik, emperor of Ethiopia, 14 454–456, 599
movements, and parties,
Mernissi, Fatima, 110, 271, 483 See also Buraq; Holy cities;
465–467
Messianism, 590 Ibadat; Miracles
See also Communism; Erbakan,
Metal-working, 77–78, 80 Mir Damad, 359, 386, 399
Necmeddin; Ikhan al-Muslimin;
Metatron, 49 Mir Sayyid Ali, 643
Nationalism: Arab; Nationalism:
Mevlevi (Maulaviyya) order, 601, 602, Mir Taqi Mir, 715
Iranian; Nationalism, Turkish;
682, 683, 686, 690, 708 Miryam Begum, 219
Pan-Islam; Political Islam;
Mian, Dudu, 581 Mirza, 134

Michael (Mika il, Mikal), 49
political philosophy of, 551–552

Mirza, Iraj, 528

“Middle Arabic” language, 60

Modern thought, 467–472

Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri. See

“Middle East,” 458

See also Abd al-Karim Soroush;

Baha allah

Middle Persian language, 60

Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-;

Mirza Yahya (Subh-e Azal), 96,

Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid;

Midhat Pasha, 376 99, 100

Capitalism; Communism;

Migration, 155, 198, 236–237

Feminism; Gender; Iqbal,

Mihna (religious inquisition), 27, 120, Misbach, Hadji Mohammad, 470

Muhammad; Liberalism,

427, 448–450, 587, 654, 694 Miskawayh, 225

Islamic; Modernism; Pluralism:

See also Caliphate; Disputation; MNLF (Moro National Liberation

Legal and ethno-religious;

Ibn Hanbal; Imamate; Ma mun, Front), 647–648

Pluralism: Political; Qutb,

al-; Mu tazilites, Mu tazila;

Sayyid; Rahman, Fazlur;

Mobilization (Basji) Corps, 522, 741

Qur an

Science, Islam and;

Modarressi, Hossein, 547

Mihrab, 20, 71, 438, 450

Secularization; Shari ati, Ali;

Modernism, 155, 456

See also *Architecture*; *Art*;

Wali Allah, Shah

See also *Abduh, Muhammad*;

Devotional life; Masjid

Mo ezzi, 525

Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-;

Military raid, 450–451

Mogul (Mughal) Empire, 32,

Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid; Iqbal,

See also [Conflict and violence](#);

212–214, 214

Muhammad; Liberalism,

Da wa; Expansion, of Islam;
 architecture of, 73, 213
 Islamic; Modern thought;
 Jihad
 conversion during, 362, 363
 Rahman, Fazlur
 Mill, John Stuart, 251
 and ethnic identity, 342–343
 Modernity, 456–458
 Millet system, 232, 340, 362, 383, 411,
 Islam in, 637–638
 See also Abduh, Muhammad;
 534, 738
 miniature painting of, 80, 214
 Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-;
 Milli Gorus, 238
 political organization under, 545
 Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid; Iqbal,
 Milli Nizam Partisi (National Order
 use of Persian language in, 60
 Muhammad; Liberalism,
 Party), 224
 See also Political organization
 Islamic; Maududi, Abu l-A la ;
 Milli Selâmet Partisi (National
 Mohamed, Mahathir, 647
 Modern thought
 Salvation Party), 238, 460
 Mohammed, W. D. See Muhammad,
 Modernization, political
 Mina, campsite at, 312
 Warith Deen
 administrative, military, and
 Minaeans (kingdom of Ma'in), 54, 58
 Mohammad al-Ta'qi, imam, 88
 judicial reform, 458–462
 Minaret. See Manar, manara
 Mohammad Khodabandeh, 218
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal;
 Minbar (mimbar, “pulpit”), 71, Abd al-Razzaq
 al-Sanhuri; Mohammedanism, 360
 437, 451 Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Iran,
 Mojahedin-e Khalq (The People's
 See also Masjid; Mihrab Islamic Republic of; Islamic
 Warriors), 472
 Minorities Salvation Front; Khomeini,
 See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;

dhimmis, 162, 303, 340, 378, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Mosaddeq,
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah;
 451–452, 635 Mohammad; Muhammad Reza
 Political Islam; Shari ati, Ali
 See also Dhimmi (protected) status Shah Pahlevi; Revolution:
 Mojahidin. See Mujahidin
 offshoots of Islam, 452–454 Islamic revolution in Iran
 Mojrem, 526

808

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Mojtahed-Shabestari, Mohammad, Mosques, 42, 43, 70–73, 72, 148,
 188, defense of Islam by, 157–158
 473, 578 192, 209, 235, 311, 313, 315,
 dreams of, 185
 See also Reform: in Iran 440–441, 585, 635, 650
 ethical character of, 34
 Mollabashi, 473–474 in China, 188, 191, 192
 favorite wife of, 32–33
 See also Molla; Nader Shah See also Adhan; Architecture;
 hospitality of, 317–318
 Jami ; Manar, manara; Masjid; house of, 70–71, 71
 Afshar; Safavid and Qajar
 Minbar (mimbar); Religious humor of, 320
 Empires; Ulema
 institutions images of, 159
 Molla Hosayn Boshru'i. See Mulla
 Mostar, bridge at, 103 migration to Yathrib
 Hosayn Boshru'i
 Motahhari, Mortaza, 476 (Medina), 478
 Molla (religious leader), 473
 miracles of, 454
 See also Khomeini, Ayatollah
 See also Ulema
 on poetry, 64
 Ruhollah; Reform: in Iran;
 Monarchy, 474–475, 541, 663
 prophecies foretelling the coming
 Revolution: Islamic revolution
 See also Caliphate; Political in Iran; Velayat-e Faqih
 of, 28
 organization
 recognition of, 28
 Mouride Brotherhood. See Muridiyya
 Money lending, 126

relics of, 111
 Brotherhood
 Mongol and Il-Khanid Empires,
 sira (biography) of, 66, 109, 120,
 Mourning, 175, 317
 211–212
 143, 381, 482
 Movement of the Ansar—Helpers of
 and caliphate, 655
 successors of, 116–123, 480–481,
 prophet Muhammad in Medina
 destruction by, 121
 484, 541, 573, 584–587, 622,
 (Harakat al-Ansar), 490
 end of, 134
 651–656
 Mozaffar, Shaykh Mohammad tomb of, 78, 233, 314
 political organization under, 542, Reza, 718
 virtues of, 225
 543–544 Mozambique, Islam in, 14, 23
 See also Arabia, pre-Islamic;
 rise of, 134
 MSA. See Muslim Student Association Biography and hagiography;
 and spread of Islam, 236,
 of North America Caliphate; Hadith; Holy
 cities;
 363, 382
 Mtumwa, Shaykha Binti, 22 Mi raj; Qur an; Shi a:
 Early;
 See also Political organization
 Mu adha al- Adawiyya, 571 Succession; Sunna; Tasawwuf
 Monophysite Christianity, 17, 143
 Mu adhdhin (muezzin, “caller”), Muhammad, Elijah (Elijah
 Poole), 43,
 Monotheism, 39, 252, 381
 71, 178 245, 253, 426, 486–487, 505,
 See also Allah
 709, 710
 Mu allaqat (“suspended odes”), 57, 370
 Moorish Science Temple, 41, 708–709
 See also American culture and
 Mu amalal (social ethics), 327, 430
 Moravids (Almoravid dynasty), 47,
 Islam; Americas, Islam in the;
 Mu awiya b. Yazid (Mu awiya II),
 362, 475, 606, 696 223, 435
 Farrakhan, Louis; Malcolm X;

See also Andalus, al-
Muhammad, Warith Deen;
Moriscos, 45
Nation of Islam
Morocco
Muhammad, Miyan Tufail, 371
economy of, 199, 200
Muhammad, Warith Deen
independence of, 425
(Warithudeen; Wallace D.;
Islam in, 19, 254
Mohammed, W. D.), 43, 44, 45,
music in, 495
253, 383–384, 487, 488, 505, 710,
opposition to socialism in, 634
712, 713
political modernization in,
See also American culture and
460, 462
Islam; Farrakhan, Louis;
religious legitimacy in, 26
Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah;
ulema of, 705
Nation of Islam; United States,
veneration of saints in, 724
Islam in the
Mufti, 478
Moro National Liberation Front
Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdullah
See also Fatwa; Qadi (kadi, kazi)
(MNLF), 647–648
(Abhullah), 421, 422, 485
Mughal Empire. See Mogul Empire
Mosaddeq, Dr. Mohammad, 11, 106,
tomb of, 422, 423
Muhajirun (emigrants), 340, 371
156, 255–256, 310, 413, 459, 476,
See also Mahdi
Muhammad, 478–485
504, 592, 741
Muhammad al-Amin, 207, 427
as ahl al-bayt, 26
See also Nationalism: Iranian
Muhammad al-Baqir, 625
birthday (maulid; mawlid) of, 108,
Mos Def, 45
Muhammad al-Darazi, 453

177, 191–192, 389, 482, 599,
 Moses, 390 649, 737
 Muhammad al-Hanifiyya, 421
 Mosque of al-Hakim, Fatimid changing image of, 481–483
 Muhammad Ali, dynasty of, 485–486
 (Cairo), 71 and Christianity, 143
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal;
 Mosque of the Mogul emperor Shah cloak of, 38
 Modernization, political:
 Jahan, 439 conversion of jinni by, 51
 Authoritarianism and
 Islam and the Muslim World
 809
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 democratization; Nationalism: See also Khomeini, Ayatollah
 Muqatil ibn Sulayman (d. 804), 672
 Arab; Reform: in Arab Middle Ruhollah; Modernization,
 Murad, Khurram, 174
 East and North Africa; political: Authoritarianism and
 Murad, amir of Bukhara, 113
 Revolution: Modern democratization; Revolution:
 Murad IV, Ottoman sultan, 99
 Muhammad al-Mahdi (died ca. Islamic revolution in Iran
 Muridiyya (Mouride; Murid)
 874), 421 Muhammad's Army, 347
 Brotherhood, 21, 104, 694
 Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya Muhammad Shah, 213, 664
 Murji ites, Murji a, 138, 492, 591, 653
 (Muhammad b. Abdallah b. al- Muhammad Shibani Khan, 135
 See also Kharijites, Khawarij
 Hasan al-Muthanna), 486, 623 Muhammad (son of Hasan al-
 Askari), 274 Murtada al-Ansari (Murtada Ansari),
 See also Ahl al-bayt; Imamate;
 Muhammad Speaks, 486 430, 718, 722
 Mahdi; Succession
 Muhammad's Youth, 346 Muruwwa (manliness), 436
 Muhammad al-Shaybani, 9, 407,
 408–409 Muhammad Tughluq, 660
 Musa al-Kazim, imam, 88
 Muhammadan (Mahomedan) Anglo- Muhanna, Ahmad, 309
 Musa al-Sadr, Imam, 412
 Oriental College, Aligarh (India), Muharram, 323, 324, 324, 331,
 Musab b. al-Zubayr, 435
 32, 38–39 488–489, 599, 623, 715
 Musharraf, Gen. Pervez, 518

“Muhammadan Paths” (turuq See also Husayn; Karbala;
 Ritual; Music, 304, 441–442, 492–496,
 Muhammadiyya), 154 Shi a: Early; Ta ziya (Ta ziye)
 688–689
 Muhammadan Union, 344 Muhasibi, al- (Harith ibn Asad al-
 See also Arabic literature; Persian
 Muhammad Ashiq, 730 Muhasibi), 226, 290, 489
 language and literature; Qur an;
 Muhammad b. Abdallah, 427 See also Ibn Hanbal; Tasawwuf
 Umm Kulthum; Urdu language,
 Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Dhahabi, 227 Muhsin Fayd al-Kashani, 34
 literature, and poetry
 Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sarakhsi Muhtasib, 489–490
 Musical instruments, 493, 495
 (Shams al-A imma), 9, 139 See also Hisba; Political
 Muslim American Society. See
 Muhammad b. Ali al-Sanusi, 537 organization
 American Society of Muslims
 Muhammad b. Ali al-Shawkani, 537, Muhyi al-Din ibn al- Arabi (Muhyi
 al- Muslim b. al-Hajjaj, 139, 451, 668
 630, 668 Din Ibn Arabi), 455, 673
 Muslim Brotherhood. See Ikhwan al-
 Mu izz al-Dawla, 691 Muslimin
 Muhammad b. Isma il al-Bukhari, 139
 Mu izz al-Din, 115 Muslim Brothers’ Society
 (Sudan), 347
 Muhammad b. Khalaf, 418
 Mujaddidi, Sibghatallah, 490
 Muhammad b. Kunta b. Zazam, 402
 Muslim Community Association, 497
 Mujaddid (reformer, renewer of Islam),
 Muhammad b. Makki (al-Shahid al-
 Muslim (d. 874), 286, 370
 30, 32, 140, 453, 675
 Awwal), 386
 Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj, 496
 See also Tajdid
 Muhammad b. Musa al-
 See also Bukhari, al-; Hadith
 Mujahedin-e Khalq, 594
 Khwarazmi, 139
 Muslim Journal, 712
 Mujahid, 280
 Muhammad b. Muslim, 369
 Muslim League
 Mujahidin (guerilla), 108, 490–491,
 Muhammad b. Rashid, 729

in Awami (People's) League, 90
 491, 676, 692
 Muhammad b. Sa'ud, amir, 6, 610, 728
 formation of, 305
 See also Political Islam; Taliban
 Muhammad Bey, 463
 leadership of, 31
 Mujahidun. See Mujahidin
 Muhammad bin Qasun, 580
 opposition to, 371
 Muhammad Ghawth Gwaliori, 637
 principles of, 39
 Mujtahids, 34
 Muhammad ibn Isma'il, 628
 support for, 375
 Mujun (obscene poetry), 65
 Muhammad ibn (b.) Qasim, 635, 642
 on two-nation theory, 374,
 Mukhtar, al-, 251, 260, 421
 375, 640
 Muhammad ibn Saud, 676
 Mukhtasar, 597
 Muhammadiyya (Muhammadiyah), 27,
 Muslim News (South Africa), 293
 Mulla (Molla) Hosayn Boshroi, 95,
 29, 469, 487, 582, 645, 735
 Muslim Student Association of North
 96, 97
 See also Reform: in Southeast Asia
 America (MSA), 45, 352, 354, 366,
 Mulla Muhammad Tahir Qummi, 34
 496–497
 Muhammad Jayasi, 689
 Mulla Sadra (Sadr ad-Din Shirazi),
 See also Islamic Society of North
 Muhammad Mahdi (d. 1504), 421
 248, 249, 351, 359, 401,
 491–492,
 626, 687
 America; United States, Islam
 Muhammad Omar Mujahid, Mulla,
 in; Youth movements
 676, 677, 678
 See also Falsafa; Ibn al- Arabi;
 Ibn
 Sina; Ishraqi school
 Muslim Sunrise, 708
 Muhammad Rahim, khan of
 Bukhara, 113
 Munkar, 49, 432, 584
 Muslim (terminology), 360
 Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi
 Muslim Women Lawyer's Committee
 (Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi),
 Muqarnas, 74
 Muqatil, 280

for Human Rights (KARAMA), 43
88, 205, 294, 357, 458, 465, 466, Muqatil b. Sulayman al-Balkhi (d. c.
Muslim Women's Association, 276
487–488, 504, 592–593, 741 767), 454
Muslim Women's League, 43
810
Islam and the Muslim World
Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
Muslim World League (Rabitat al-Nationalism
Nationalism
Alam al-Islami), 8, 69, 173, Mashhad (Iran)
Algerian, 2
444, 521 Najda b. Amir al-Hanafi, 390
Arab, 60–61, 465, 502–503, 633
Mustafa Fazil, 738 Najib (Naguib), Muhammad, 4
See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal;
Mustafa II, 561 Najm al-Din al-Tufi, 226
Abd al-Rahman Kawakibi;
Mustafa Na ima, 308 Nakir, 49, 432, 584
Abduh, Muhammad; Afghani,
Mustafa Resit Pasha (Pasa), 376,
Jamal al-Din al-; Arab League;
Names, Islamic, 44–45, 272–273
678, 738
Ba th Party; Pan-Arabism; Pan-
See also Genealogy
Islam; Reform: in Arab Middle
Musta min, 452 Nanak, 642, 661
East and North Africa
Mutahhari, Morteza, 578 NAP (National Awami Party), 374
in art, 75–76
Mu tamar al- Alam al-Islami, 521 Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte),
66, development of, 234–235
Mutarrif b. Shihab, 630 146, 363
in India, 374
Mutarrifiyya, 630 Naqqash, Selim, 342
Iranian, 503–504
Mutasarrifiya, 411, 412 Naqshband, Baha al-Din, 140
See also Iran, Islamic Republic
Mu tazilites, Mu tazila, 3, 10, 27, 335, Naqshbandi brotherhood
of; Mosaddeq, Mohammad;
427, 497, 586, 630, 703 (Naqshbandiyya), 343, 513, 580,
Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi;
See also Abd al-Jabbar; Ma mun, 632, 675, 680, 682, 683
Revolution: Islamic revolution

al-; Mihna
 in Iran
 Muthanna, Muhammad Ibn Abdallah, Naraqī, Molla Ahmad (Ahmad al-
 Turkish, 103, 341–342, 504–505 Naraqī), 718, 722
 al-. See Muhammad al-Nafs al-
 See also Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal;
 Nar (fire), 370, 375, 501–502
 Zakiyya
 Balkans, Islam in the; Nur
 See also Death; Ghazali, al-;
 Movement; Nursi, Said;
 Muwahiddun (Unitarians), 468, 727 Jahannam; Janna; Muhammad;
 Ottoman Empire; Pan-Islam;
 Muwashshah (strophic poetry), Qur an; Tafsir
 Young Ottomans; Young Turks
 47–48, 66 Nasa i, al- (Abu Abd al-Rahman b.
 See also Pan-Arabism
 Muzaffar, Chandra, 469 Ali b. Shu ayb), 502
 National Liberation Front (Front de
 Muzdallifa, 312 See also Hadith
 Libération Nationale, FLN), 156,
 Muzzafar al-Din, emir of Bukhara, 113 Naser al-Din Shah, 96, 691
 366, 417, 461, 633
 Myrrh, 54 Naser Khosrow. See Nasir Khusraw
 National Liberation Front of
 Mystical poetry, 527 Nasib (love poetry), 64–65
 Afghanistan (Jabha-e Nijat-e Milli-
 Mysticism, 248–249, 252–253 Nasir bin Abdallah Mazrui,
 445 ye Afghanistan), 490
 Nasir Khusraw (Naser Khosrow), 248, National Liberation Movement
 N 250, 251, 525, 527
 (Iran), 106
 Nabataean culture, 52–53, 54 Naskh script, 125
 National Order Party (Milli Nizam
 Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, 174 Partisi), 224
 Nabonidus, 52, 381
 Nasr II, 525 National (Patriotic) Party
 (al-hizb al-
 Nader Shah Afshar, 136, 499
 Nasrallah, emir of Bukhara, 113 watani), 342
 See also Abbas I, Shah; Madhhab
 Nasrallah, Hassan, 310 National Resurgence Party (Iran),
 459
 Nadir Shah, 113, 212, 214, 392, 638
 Nasr Allah Monshi, 527 National Salvation Party (Milli
 Nafaqa (maintenance), 431
 Nasralla Sfeir, Cardinal, 413 Selâmet Partisi), 238, 460

Nafi , 8
 Nasr b. Sayyar, 132 Nation of Islam (NOI)
 Nafi b. al-Azraq al-Hanafi, 390
 Nasrid dynasty, 47 acculturation in, 44
 Nafud, 52
 beliefs of, 245, 253
 Nahda, al- (Arab Renaissance), 60, 66, Nassef, Malak Hifni, 735
 description of, 505–506
 345, 366 Nasser, Jamal Abd al-. See Abd
 aldevelopment of, 43, 486–487, 707
 Nahdlatul (Nahdatul) Ulama (NU), Nasser, Jamal
 and hip-hop culture, 45
 499–500, 645, 646–647, 735 Nasserism, 460
 mixing of Islamic and American
 See also Southeast Asia, Islam Nasta liq script, 125–126
 practices in, 41, 453
 in; Southeast Asian culture and National Awami Party (NAP), 374
 opinion of Jews in, 383
 Islam National Consultative Assembly, Iran
 See also Farrakhan, Louis;
 Na ini, Muhammad Husayn (Majles-e Shura-ye Melli), 425
 Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah;
 (Mohammad Hosayn), National Front (Iran), 10, 11
 Muhammad, Warith Deen;
 500–501, 614 National Islamic Community, 373
 United States, Islam in the
 See also Modernization, political: National Islamic Front (NIF), 347,
 Native Deen, 45
 Constitutionalism; Nationalism: 348, 700
 Nawaz Sharif, Mian Mohammad, 518
 Iranian National Islamic Front of Afghanistan
 Nawruz, 506
 Najaf (Iraq), 501 (Mahaz-e Milli-ye Islami-ye
 See also Ibadat; Ritual; Vernacular
 tomb of Ali in, 26, 36, 88, 501 Afghanistan), 490
 Islam

 Islam and the Muslim World
 811
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

 Nazi, 324 NOI. See Nation of Islam
 production of, 197–198, 199, 460
 Nazzam, al- (Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Non-Aligned Movement, 4
 Oman
 Sayyar al-Nazzam), 247, 506–507 Nongovernmental organizations
 independence of, 425

See also Kalam; Mu tazilites, (NGOs), 278, 583
 Islam in, 15, 474
 Mu tazila North Africa
 sultantate of, 664
 N'Dour, Youssou, 689 economy of, 200
 Onsoni, 525
 Nearchus of Crete, 54 Islam in, 14, 16–17, 237,
 244 OPEC (Organization of Petroleum
 Nehzat-e azadi-ye Iran (Liberation reform in, 575–577
 Exporting Countries), 198, 710
 Movement of Iran, LMI), 413–414 use of Arabic in, 59, 61
 Organization of African Unity, 69
 Neo-Destour movement (and party), North America, Islam in. See
 American Organization of Afro-American
 111, 112 culture and Islam
 Unity, 426
 Neoplatonism, 83, 396, 656, 695 North American Council for Muslim
 Organization of Petroleum Exporting
 Nestorian Christianity, 143 Women, 43
 Countries (OPEC), 198, 710
 Nestorius, 446 Northeast Africa, Islam in, 14
 Organization of the Islamic
 Netton, Ian, 178 Nu aym b. Hammad, 261
 Conference (OIC), 515
 Networks, Muslim, 507–510 Nuh al- Ayyar, 263
 on cloning, 230
 See also Globalization; Ibn Nu mani, Shibli, 83, 109
 on euthanasia, 230
 Battuta; Internet; Qa ida, al-; Numayri, Ja far al-, 421, 590, 700
 formation of, 278, 521
 Travel and travelers NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), 499–500,
 on human rights, 317
 645, 646–647, 735 membership in, 278
 New Arabic language, 58–59
 and monetary policy, 152
 New Persian (Farsi) language, 60 See also Southeast Asia, Islam
 on organ transplantation, 229
 Nezam al-Molk. See Nizam al-Mulk in; Southeast Asian culture
 and
 relations with Arab League, 69
 Nezami, 526–527 Islam
 on reproductive rights, 228
 Nichomachus, 613 Nuqrashi, Mahmud Fahmi al-, 105
 See also Pan-Islam
 Nicolaus of Damascus, 695 Nur al-Din b. Zangi d. 1174), 164,
 Organization of the Islamic Jihad,
 608, 657

Nietzsche, Friedrich, 251
 310, 365
 Nur al-Din Raniri (d. 1658), 308
 NIF (National Islamic Front), 347,
 See also Islamic Jihad
 Nurani, Shah Ahmad, 375
 348, 700
 Organ transplantation and
 Nur b. al-Mujahid, Imam, 29
 Niger Buckle, Islam in, 17
 donation, 229
 Nurcu. See Nur Movement
 Nigeria
 Orientalism, 146–147, 154, 363, 467,
 Nur (divine light), 37, 38 515–516, 684
 British colonialism in, 17–18, 23
 Islamic reform movement in, 8 Nuri, Fazlallah (Hajj Shaykh Fazlallah
 See also Colonialism
 Islam in, 20, 21–22, 23 b. Mulla Abbas Mazandarani
 Origen, 55
 See also Kano (Nigeria); Sokoto, Tehrani), 513
 Osman II, 545
 sultanate of See also Reform: in Iran;
 Ottoman Empire, 102, 214–217
 Nikah, 431, 510 Revolution: Islamic
 revolution
 architecture of, 73
 in Iran
 See also Marriage
 banknote from, 152
 Nur Movement, 512–513
 Ni mat Allah al-Jaza iri, 320
 carpet weaving of, 77
 See also Erbakan, Necmeddin;
 Ni matollahi Sufi order. See Tasawwuf
 constitutional reform in, 737–739
 Nursi, Said; Secularization;
 Nimeiri (Numayri), Col. Ja far, 347
 conversion during, 362
 Young Ottomans
 Niyabat-e Amma, 510–511
 decline of, 89, 214, 458
 Nursi, Bediuzzaman Said, 512, decorative arts of, 80
 See also Hilli, Allama al-; Hilli, 513, 683
 Muhhaqqiq al-; Shi a: Imami
 defeated by Safavids (1623), 1
 See also Nur Movement; Young economy of, 216

(Twelver); Ulema; Velayat-e
 Ottomans; Young Turks and ethnic (national) identity,
 Faqih
 Nushuz (disobedience), 431 340–341
 Nizam al-Din Awliya , 636
 Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, 304 eunuchs of, 233
 Nizam al-Din Azami, Mufti , 228,
 expansion of, 102, 102, 145–146,
 229, 230
 O 214, 236, 237
 Nizam al-Mulk (Hasan b. Ali b. Ishaq
 historiography of, 308–309
 al-Tusi), 83, 275, 419, 511, 527, Occasionalism, 247–248
 language reform during, 697
 543, 549, 665 Occultism, 51
 legitimacy of, 122–123
 See also Assassins; Education; Office for Consolidating Unity, 743
 military technology of, 234
 Madrasa Ögodei (Ögedi), 134, 212
 political organization under,
 Nizari (Nizari Isma ili Muslims), OIC. See Organization of the
 Islamic 544–545
 24–25, 511–512, 629 Conference
 rise of, 243
 See also Aga Khan; Khojas; Shi a: Oil (petroleum)
 use of Ottoman Turkish language
 Isma ili dependency on, 201
 in, 60
 812
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 See also Balkans, Islam in the; Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (Partai
 hagiography; Biruni, al-;
 Christianity and Islam; Europe, Islam Se-Malayasia, PAS), 539, 647
 Ghazali, al-; Grammar and
 Islam in; Expansion, of Islam; Pansuri, Hamzah, 651
 lexicography; Hadith; Historical
 Judaism and Islam; Kemal, Pan-Turanism, 521–522
 writing; Ibn Sina; Iqbal,
 Namek; Nur Movement; Nursi, See also Balkans, Islam in the;
 Muhammad; Libraries; Rumi,
 Said; Young Ottomans Central Asia, Islam in; Ottoman
 Jalaluddin; Tabari, al-; Urdu
 Ottoman Freedom Society, 739 Empire; Pan-Arabism; Pan-
 language, literature, and poetry;

Ottomanism, 738, 740
 Islam
 Vernacular Islam
 Ozbek Khan of the Golden PA (Palestinian Authority), 68, 355
 Peter I ("the Great"), 392
 Horde, 134 Papermaking, 123, 414
 Peter the Hermit, 145
 Paris Club, 200 PFLP-GC (Popular Front for the
 P Parsipur, Shahrnush, 529
 Liberation of Palestine-General
 Padwick, Constance, 177 Partai Islam Se-Malaysia (Pan-
 Command), 156
 Pakistan, Islamic Republic of, 517–518 Malayan Islamic Party, PAS),
 647 PFLP (Popular Front for the
 creation of, 39, 147, 305, 380, Party for Unity and Development
 Liberation of Palestine), 156
 444, 552, 581, 616 (Partei Persatuan Pembangunan,
 Philip II, king of France, 164
 education in, 206, 206 PPP), 647
 Philippines
 military jihad in, 27 Party of Islam (Hizb-e Islami), 490
 colonization of, 645
 opposition to, 177 Party of Mojahidin (Hizb al-
 independence of, 647–648
 reform in, 581 Mojahidin), 490, 491
 Islam in, 644
 Sufism in, 690 Parwez, Ghulam Ahmad, 286, 668
 Phillipus, M. Julius (Philip the Arab),
 veneration of saints in, 724 Pasdaran (Sepah-e Pasdaran-e
 Roman emperor, 55
 See also Awami (People's) League; Enghelab-e Eslami), 357, 358, 402,
 Philo of Alexandria, 148, 385
 Jinnah, Muhammad Ali; South 522, 594
 Philosophical writers, 225–226
 Asia, Islam in See also Iran, Islamic Republic of;
 Philosophy
 Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), 375 Revolution: Islamic
 revolution
 political, 550–551
 Pakistan People's Party (PPP), 90, in Iran
 371, 375, 518
 and theology, 248–253
 PAS (Partai Islam Se-Malaysia, Pan-
 See also Ethics and social issues;
 Palace of al-Qahira, 74 Malayan Islamic Party), 539, 647
 Kalam; Knowledge; Science,
 Palaces, Islamic, 74 Pate sultanate, 664
 Islam and

Palaestina Salutaris (or Tertia), 53 Patriarchy, 22, 268, 480
 Pietist writers, 225–226
 Palestine Liberation Organization See also Masculinities
 Pilgrimage
 (PLO) Patrilineal descent, 142
 Hajj, 129, 311, 327, 329, 332,
 in Arab League, 68 Patriotic Alliance, 738
 480, 529–533, 531, 532,
 emergence of, 412 Patriotic (National) Party (al-hizb al-
 567, 568 watani), 342
 and HAMAS, 290 See also Ibadat; Ritual
 See also and intifada, 355 Patriotism, 43–44
 Ziyara, 141, 312, 332, 351, 533,
 peace accords signed by, 198 Paul, Saint, 28, 53, 455
 recognition of Israel by, 355
 562, 650, 688
 Pen Club, The (Al-Rabita al- See also Ibn Hanbal; Saint;
 Palestinian Authority (PA), 68, 355 Qalamiyya), 67
 Tasawwuf
 Palestinian Brotherhood, 290 People's League. See Awami
 (People's) See also Holy cities; Travel and
 Pan-African Congress, 293 League
 travelers
 Pan-Africanism, 426 People's Party (Halk Firkasi), 89
 Pirenne, Henri, 193–194
 Pan-Arabism, 4, 147, 462, 518–519 Periplus of the Erythraean Sea
 Piri Re is, Muhyiddin, 129
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal; (anon.), 54
 Pir (sage), 38, 724
 Arabic language; Arab League; Persatuan Islam Istri, 735
 Plato, 35, 250, 252, 282, 399, 400,
 Ba th Party; Ikhwan al- Persepolis, 343
 494, 695
 Muslimin; Nationalism: Arab; Persian language and literature,
 Pan-Islam; Pan-Turanism;
 PLO. See Palestine Liberation
 522–529
 Revolution: Modern
 Organization
 calligraphy in, 125–126
 Pan-Islam, 13, 155, 519–521
 Plotinus, 250, 252, 399, 401, 695
 development of, 60, 213, 241,
 See also Afghani, Jamal al-Din 523, 637, 689
 Pluralism
 al-; Caliphate; Khilafat figural representation in, 79

legal and ethno-religious, 471,
 movement; Organization of the and historiography, 307–308
 533–535
 Islamic Conference; Ottoman in South Asia, 643
 See also Ada; Hadith; Law;
 Empire; Pan-Arabism; Pan- spread of, 62
 Qur an; Shari a; Sunna
 Turanism; Young Turks See also Arabic language; Arabic
 political, 535–536
 Panjantan pak (the five pure ones), 26 literature; Biography and
 PNA (Pakistan National Alliance), 375
 Islam and the Muslim World
 813
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 PNF (Progressive National Popular Front for the Liberation
 of See also Fatwa; Law; Mufti;
 Front), 156 Palestine-General Command
 Religious institutions
 Pocock, Edward, 516 (PFLP-GC), 156
 Qadiriyya, 8, 17, 22, 632, 682, 683
 Poetico-Qur anic koine, 58 Popular Front for the Liberation
 of Qadiyan (India), 30
 Poetry Palestine (PFLP), 156
 Qa ida, al- (al-Qaeda), 27, 108, 146,
 modern, 67 Porphyry, 695
 365, 509, 559–560, 610, 674, 676,
 in Muslim Balkans, 103 PPP (Pakistan People’s Party), 90,
 678, 741
 Persian, 523–527 371, 375, 518
 See also Bin Ladin, Usama;
 pre-Islamic, 57–58, 63–64 PPP (Partei Persatuan Pembangunan,
 Fundamentalism; Qutb, Sayyid;
 status of, 63 Party for Unity and
 Terrorism
 and Sufism, 688–689 Development), 647
 Qa im (the one who rises at the end of
 types of, 64–66 Prayer
 time), 95
 Urdu, 714–715 call to (See Adhan; Ibadat)
 Qajar Empire. See Safavid and Qajar
 See also Arabic literature; Persian direction of (See Qibla [direction
 Empires of prayer])
 language and literature; Urdu
 Qal a-e-Kuhna mosque, 73
 language, literature, and poetry See also Salat

Qalandar movement, 688
 Polisario (Saharan independence movement), 607
 Qalawan, Mamluk sultan of Egypt, 116, 166
 Political humor, 321–322
 Qalawun, 662
 Political Islam, 23, 363, 463, 536–540
 Qalmaqs (Kalmyks, Oyrats), 135
 See also Banna, Hasan al-; Qanun, 534, 544, 560–561
 Fundamentalism; Ikhwan al-Fundamentalism; See also Law; Modernization, Muslimin; Islam and Islamic political: Administrative, law (terminology); Maududi, military, and judicial reform; Abu l-A la ; Qutb, Sayyid; Political organization; Shari a Revolution: Islamic revolution in Iran; Salafiyya; Secularization; Qanun fi al-tibb (Qanun fi 'l-tibb; Ibn Shari a Sina), 447, 560, 613
 Political organization, 540–545
 Qarakhanid dynasty, 133
 See also Abbasid Empire; Qarmitiyya, 312
 Byzantine Empire; Caliphate; Qasidas (odes), 56–57, 63, 64, 67,
 Delhi sultanate; Ghaznavid sultanate; Mamluk sultanate; Qasim, Gen. Abd al-Karim, 595
 Mogul Empire; Mongol and Punt, land of, 54
 Il-Khanid Empires; Ottoman Purdah (female seclusion), 22, Empire; Qanun; Safavid and 555–556, 642
 Qajar Empires; Sassanian See also Gender; Harem; Veiling Empire; Seljuk sultanate; Timurid Empire; Umayyad Qatran, 525
 Empire
 Preaching. See Khutba
 Predestination (qadr), 584, 703
 Proclus, 695
 Progressive National Front (PNF), 156
 Property, 553–554
 See also Economy and economic institutions; Waqf
 Prophet. See Muhammad
 Prophets, 554–555, 565, 583
 See also Islam and other religions;
 Muhammad; Qur an
 Protestant fundamentalism, 147
 Ptolemy, Claudius, 54, 86–87, 612
 Puberty, 141
 Public Enemy (rapper), 45
 Pulpit. See Minbar (mimbar)
 Qasr al-Hayr, 74
 Qataban, kingdom of, 54
 Qatar, independence of, 425
 Qatari b. al-Fuja a, 390
 Purification (tahara), of the body,
 110–111, 148–149

Qavami of Rayy, 527
 Pythagoras, 494 Qaydu, 134
 Political rituals, 600
 Political thought, 282–283, 545–552
 Qays b. Sa d b. Ubada, 36
 See also Caliphate; Imamate; Iran, Q
 Qayyum al-asma , 95, 97
 Islamic Republic of; Law; Qabbani, Nizar, 67
 Qazaqs (freebooters), 135
 Modernization, political: Qabila (tribe), 699
 Qibla (direction of prayer), 71, 87,
 Constitutionalism; Monarchy; See also Tribe
 438, 450, 561
 Pakistan, Islamic Republic of; Qaboos b. Sa id, 664
 See also Devotional life; Law;
 Political Islam; Reform: in Arab Qabus nameh, 527
 Science, Islam and
 Middle East and North Africa; Qada (court judgment), 255
 Qiblatyn Mosque (Medina), 314
 Reform: in Iran; Shari a; Shi a: Qadariyya, 631, 653
 Qipcaq Turkic language, 60
 Imami (Twelver); Succession; Qadhdhafi (Qaddafi), Mu mar
 Qit a (Persian poetry specimens), 126
 Ulema (Mu ammar) al-, 173, 462, 557
 Qiyam (Islamic values) association, 417
 Polo, Marco, 85, 161, 244, 507, 511 See also Modernization,
 political: Qiyas (analogical reasoning), 11,
 Polygamy (polygyny), 22, 479, Authoritarianism and
 344–345, 408, 409–410, 534,
 552–553, 711 democratization
 613, 617
 See also Gender; Marriage Qadi al-Baydawi, 83
 Qizilbash (redheads), 217, 218
 Polytheism, 55 Qadi al-Fadil, 658
 Qoddus (Barforushi, Molla
 Poole, Elijah. See Muhammad, Elijah Qadi (kadi, kazi), 478, 557–558
 Mohammad Ali), 96

814

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Qom (Iran), 26, 561–562 Quwwat al-Islam (Delhi), 73

See also Abu Bakr; Ali; Fitna;

See also Mashhad (Iran);

Imam; Umar; Uthman ibn

Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Revolution: R

Affan
 Islamic revolution in Iran Rabbani, Burhan al-Din, 490, 676
 Rashti, Sayyid Kazim, 620
 Qoqand (Khuqand), khanate of, 136 Rabi a al- Adawiyya, 734
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak (Svayamsevak)
 Q-Tip (rapper), 45 Rabi a of Basra (Rabi a
 al- Adawiyya), Sangh (RSS), 304, 640
 Queen Latifah, 45 571, 685
 Rationalism, 468–469, 617
 Quli Khan, Imam, 135 See also Saint; Tasawwuf
 Ravanipur, Moniru, 529
 Quraishi, Asifa, 271 Rabi at al-Ra y, 406
 RAWA (Revolutionary Association of
 Qur an, 562–568 Rabin, Yitzhak, 355
 the Women of Afghanistan), 510
 content of, 564–568 Rabitat al- Alam al-Islami (Muslim
 Rawdat al-shuhada (The garden of the
 and education, 206, 202 World League), 8, 69, 173,
 martyrs), 626
 on gender, 265–267 444, 521
 Rawi (“reciter,” “transmitter”), 57,
 healing power of, 650–651 Rabwa (Pakistan), 31
 63, 293
 illuminated copies of, 76, 80, 125 Race and Slavery in the Middle East, 534
 Rawza-khani, 574, 691
 interpretation of, 279–280 Racial categories, and ethnic
 See also Husayn; Ta ziya
 islam in, 359–360 identity, 233
 (Ta ziyeh)
 language of, 564 Rafi al-Din, 638
 Ra y (personal opinion), 8
 as oral discourse, 563, 695–696 Rafi al-Din, Shah, 730
 Raza Library (Rampur), 416
 original collection of, 279, 280, Rafi b. Layth, 132
 Razmara, Hosayn (Hajji) Ali, 11, 255
 482, 719
 Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar Hashemi-. See rb tribes, 58
 passages addressing Christians
 Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar RCC (Revolutionary Command
 in, 143
 Raghīb al-Isfahani (died c. 1108), 226 Council), 464, 503
 political thought in, 546
 Rahil (bucolic poetry), 64 Reagan, Ronald, 44, 294
 precursors to, 27–28
 primacy of, 11 Rahman, Ataur, 90
 Reconquista, of al-Andalus, 47, 65,
 recitation of, 493–494 Rahman, Fazl al-, 374

145, 362
 revelation of, 37, 58, 157, 279 Rahman, Fazlur, 286, 571–572, 609
 The Reconstruction of Religious Thought
 structure of, 563–564 See also Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid;
 in Islam, 457, 609
 sword verse (ayat al-sayf) of, Ibn Sina; Modern thought; Wali
 Reconstructionalism, 249
 157, 161 Allah, Shah
 Red Fort (Delhi), 74, 214
 women in, 734 Rahman, Shaykh Mujibur
 Refah Partisi (Welfare Party), 224,
 as written word, 563 (Mujibar), 90
 460, 466, 470, 574
 See also Allah; Calligraphy; Rahman, Ziaur, 91
 See also Erbakan, Necmeddin;
 Devotional life; Ethics and Raja e (president of Iran), 388
 Modernization, political:
 social issues; Human rights; Raja I, 10
 Participation, political
 Ibadat; Jahannam; Janna; Law; Rajavi, Mas ud, 472
 movements, and parties
 Mihna; Muhammad; Pilgrimage: Rajaz (meter poetry), 64
 Reform
 Hajj; Prophets; Ritual Rakhi Bahini, 91
 in Arab Middle East and North
 Quraysh (Qureish) tribe, 37, 55, 96, Ramadan
 Africa, 17, 575–577
 118, 272, 349, 484, 564, 655
 See also Abd al-Rahman
 end of, 44
 Qureishi, Asifa, 270 fasting during, 327–328, 568
 Kawakibi; Abd al-Wahhab,
 Qurtubi, al-, 370 observance of, 331, 567, 599
 Muhammad Ibn; Abduh,
 Qurun al-inhitat, 66 purification during, 111
 Muhammad; Banna, Hasan al-;
 Qusayr Amra (Jordan), bathhouse Ramadan, Tariq, 734
 Ghazali, Muhammad al-;
 at, 79 Ramanujan, A. K., 723
 Ikhwan al-Muslimin; Qutb,
 Qushayri, 685 Rashad, Ahmad, 44
 Sayyid; Rida, Rashid; Salafiyya;
 Qutayba b. Muslim, 132
 Tajdid; Turabi, Hasan al-;
 Rashid, Harun al-, 120, 132, 207, 208,
 Wahhabiyya
 Qutb, Muhammad, 108 259, 427, 436, 572–573

in Iran, 577–579

Qutb, Sayyid, 3, 108, 262, 327, 346, See also Abbasid Empire;

See also Abd al-Karim Soroush;

371, 383, 452, 468, 537, 538, Caliphate

Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-;

551, 560, 568–569, 577, 631, 674, Rashid al-Din (d. 1318), 308

Bazargan, Mehdi; Khomeini,

692, 733 Rashid al-Din Sinan (d. 1193), 85

Ayatollah Ruhollah; Mojtahed-

See also Banna, Hasan al-; Ikhwan Rashid bin Salim, 445

Shabestari, Muhammad;

al-Muslimin Rashidiyya/Dandarawiyya, 29

Shari'ati, Ali

Qutb al-Din Aibek, 660 Rashidun, end of, 36

in Muslim communities of the

Qutham b. Abbas, 141 Rashidun (“rightly guided”

caliphs), Russian Empire, 579–580

Qu'ud (quietism), 261 118, 481, 573–574, 623, 652

See also Gasprinskii, Isma'il Bay

Islam and the Muslim World

815

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

in South Asia, 580–582 See also Modernization,

political: Ruh (spirit), 49, 227

See also Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid; Constitutionalism; Reform: in

Rumi, Jalaluddin (Jalal al-Din Rumi,

Wali Allah, Shah Arab Middle East and North

Jalal al-Din Mohammad-e Balkhi),

in Southeast Asia, 582–583 Africa; Young Turks

601, 601–602, 601

Reformasi (reformation) Revolutionary Association of the

biblical models in works by, 28

movement, 583 Women of Afghanistan

on jihad, 158, 434

Regionalism, Arab (iqlimiyya), 61 (RAWA), 510

life of, 601–602

Religious affiliation, and ethnic Revolutionary Command Council

master of, 253, 391

identity, 232 (RCC), 464, 503

mystical poetry of, 527, 686

Revolutionary Council (Iran), 294 popularity of, 44

Religious beliefs, 583–584

Revolutionary Guards Corps. See as refugee, 666

See also Angels; Kalam

Pasdaran tomb of, 683

Religious institutions, development of,
 in work by Muhammad Iqbal, 356
 Reza Ruzbeh, 3
 584–590
 works by, 602
 Reza Shah (Pahlavi; Pahlevi), 205, 310,
 See also Abbasid Empire; Arabic
 See also Persian language and
 458, 504, 591, 596, 691
 language; Ibadat; Identity,
 literature
 Muslim; Islam and Islamic
 See also Modernization, political:
 Ruqayyah, 351, 719
 Authoritarianism and
 (terminology); Khirqah; Khutbah;
 Rushdie, Salman, 238, 277, 394, 603,
 Democratization
 Masjid; Material culture;
 603–604
 Sassanian Empire; Umayyad
 Riba, 596–597
 See also Arabic literature; Persian
 Empire
 See also Economy and economic
 language and literature; South
 Renaissance Party (Hizb al-nahda,
 institutions
 Asia, Islam in; Urdu language,
 Ennahda), 273
 Richard I (“the Lionheart”), king
 of
 literature, and poetry
 England, 164, 608
 Renan, Ernest, 515
 Russia, conquest of western Central
 Rida, Rashid (Muhammad Rashid
 Reproduction, modern technology of,
 Asia by, 136–137
 Rida), 5, 7, 104, 172, 262, 286, 342,
 228–229
 Russian Empire, Muslim communities
 551, 577, 597, 609
 Republican Brothers, 590
 of, 579–580
 See also Abduh, Muhammad
 See also Modernity; Reform: in
 See also Gasprinskii, Isma'il Bay;
 Riegl, Alois, 79
 Arab Middle East and North
 Reform: in Arab Middle East
 Rifai, Kenan, 683
 and North Africa; Reform: in

Africa
 Rifa'iyya, 682
 Republican People's Party (RPP,
 Rihla (book of travels), 698
 Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), 89, 459
 Ritual, 597–601
 Residential architecture, 75
 See also Circumcision; Death;
 Resurrected Nation, 253
 Ibadat; Khutba; Law; Marriage;
 Resurrection (barzakh), 176, 565
 S
 Pigrimage: Hajj
 Review of Religions, The, 30
 Saadawi, Nawal, 257
 Ritual calendar, 331–332, 599–600
 Revivalism, 467–468, 615
 Saba, 526
 See also Hijri calendar
 Revival of the Religious Scholars
 Sab a Banat (Fustat), 74
 Rituale Romanum, 597
 (Nahdlatul Ulama, NU), 499–500,
 Sabeans (kingdom of Sheba), 27,
 Roba'iyyat (quatrain), 524
 645, 646–647
 Robertson-Smith, William, 597
 See also Southeast Asia, Islam
 Rodrigo, Visigoth king, 46
 in; Southeast Asian culture and
 Roger II, Norman king of Sicily, 129
 Islam
 Romance literature, 526–527
 Union
 Revolution
 Roman Empire
 classical Islam, 590–591
 control of Arabia by, 52–53, 54
 See also Abbasid Empire;
 invasions of Arabia by, 52, 55
 Assassins; Fitna; Shi'a: Early;
 Romania
 Succession; Umayyad Empire
 Islamic revolution in Iran, 9–10,
 460, 538
 Muslim population of, 104
 106, 146, 356–358, 394, 425,
 Iran; Reform: in South Asia
 Rusva, Muhammad Hadi, 716
 Ruzbihan Baqli, 680
 Sabziwari, 359
 Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani, 83, 139
 Sadat, Anwar al-, 605
 abolition of Arab Socialist
 by, 4
 assassination of, 262, 346, 365
 opposition to, 3
 and political modernization,
 independence of, 102
 See also Abd al-Nasser, Jamal;

RPP (Republican People's Party), Reform: in Arab Middle
 East
 463, 538–539, 577–579,
 89, 459 and North Africa
 591–594, 592, 594, 596
 See also Imamate; Iran, Islamic RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh),
 Sa di of Shiraz, 527
 Republic of; Khomeini, 304, 640
 Sadiq, Ja far al-. See Ja far al-Sadiq
 Ayatollah Ruhollah; Majlis; Rub al-Khali ("the Empty
 Sadiq, Muhammad, 708
 Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi; Quarter"), 52
 Sadr, 605–606
 Velayat-e faqih Rudaki, 139, 525
 Sadr, Muhammad Baqir al-, 606
 modern, 595–596 Rufus of Ephesus, 695
 Sadr, Musa al-, 606
 816
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 See also Imamate; Lebanon; See also Abduh, Muhammad;
 Saudi dynasty, 610–611
 Political Islam; Revolution: Ijtihad; Muhammadiyya
 SAVAK (Iranian Ministry of Security),
 Modern (Muhammadiyah); Nationalism:
 459, 592
 Sadr al-Din, 642 Arab; Wahhabiyya
 Savushun, 529
 Safavi, Navvab-e (Sayyed Mujtaba Mir Salah al-Din b. Ayyub. See
 Saladin Sawm (abstention), 328–329
 Lauhi), 255 Salar Jung Museum Library
 Sayf al-Dawla, prince of Aleppo,
 Safavid and Qajar Empires, 217–219 (Hyderabad, Deccan), 416
 65, 211
 carpet weaving of, 77 Salat (prayer), 71, 107, 160,
 177–178, Sayf al-Din al-Amidi, 83, 717
 conversion during, 362 327, 329–331, 330, 437,
 567–568, Sayyed Ali Muhammad. See Bab
 legitimacy of, 95–96, 626 598, 667, 696
 (Sayyed Ali Muhammad)
 origins of, 26 Saleh bin Allawi, 610
 Sayyed Kazem Rashti, 95, 97
 political organization under, 545 See also Africa, Islam in;
 Tariqa Sayyed Muhammad Reza, 96
 rulers of, 1 Sales, Mehdi Akhavan-e, 528

Sayyid, 26, 273, 611
 ta ziya during, 691
 Salih b. Abd al-Quddus, 10 See also Sharif
 use of Persian language in, 60
 Salihyya, 29 Sayyida Hurra, Sulayhid queen, 269
 See also Abbas I, shah of Iran
 (Persia); Isma'il I, Shah; Majlisi, Saljuq. See Seljuk sultanate
 Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din, 191
 Muhammad Baqir; Political Salman al-Farsi, 35
 Sayyid Ali II, 664
 organization; Tahmasp I, Shah Samanid dynasty, 60, 132–133, 139,
 Sayyida Nafisa, 734
 Safavid Islam, 619 542, 543
 Sayyida Ruqayya, mausoleum of, 74
 Safawiyya, 26, 682 Samarkand
 Sayyida Zaynab, 254
 Safi, Louay M., 160 mausoleum of Tamerland
 (Gur-e tomb of, 26, 351
 Safi, shah of Iran (Persia), 218 Amir) in, 222
 Sayyid Bargash Bin Sa'id, 746
 Safi al-Din, Shaykh, 217 tile mosaic from, 77
 Sayyid Muhammad Jawnpuri, 637
 Sahabi, Ezzatollah, 414 Samarqandi, al-, 370
 Sayyid Sa'id bin Sultan, 445, 745
 Sahabi, Yadollah, 413 Samarra (Iraq), 79, 88
 Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjani, 83
 Sahara, 16–17, 606–607 Sana'i of Ghazna, 525, 527
 Sayyid Sultan, 637
 See also Globalization; Networks, Sanhuri, Abd al-Razzaq, al-. See Abd
 Sazman-e Mojahedin-e Khalq-e Iran
 Muslim al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri
 (Organization of the Iranian
 Sahel Sanjar, Seljuk sultan, 133, 665
 People's Religious Warriors), 472
 description of, 20 Sanusi, Sanusi Lamido, 353
 The School Principal, 529
 Islam in, 16, 17 Sanusiyya, 29, 682
 Science, Islam and, 611–614
 Sahib b. Abbad, Buyid wazir, 3 Sanyal, Usha, 178
 See also Astrology; Astronomy;
 Sahl ibn Abdallah al-Tustari, 673 Sarakhsi, 409
 Education; Falsafa; Ghazali, al-;
 Said, Ali Ahmad (Adunis), 67 Sardar, Ziauddin, 353
 Ibn al-Arabi; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn
 Sina; Ikhwan al-Safa; Law;
 Said, Edward, 154, 515–516 Sarraj, 685
 Modernity; Qur'an

Sa id al-Su ada (Cairo), 680
 Scientific Society (of Aligarh). See
 Sa id b. Mansur, 286
 219–221,
 Aligarh Scientific Society
 Sa id Ibn al-Musayyab, 406
 SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty
 Saint (wali), 108, 332, 607–608,
 religions;
 Organization), 517
 649, 724
 Sebeos, Armenian bishop, 143
 See also Biography and
 Sebuktigin, 661
 hagiography; Ibn al- Arabi;
 Secular architecture, 74–75
 Mi raj; Silsila; Sunna; Tariqa;
 Tasawwuf; Ulema
 decoration of, 78–79
 Saudi Arabia
 Secularism, Islamic, 614–615
 Saj (rhymed poetry), 57, 64
 470
 See also Modernism; Modernity;
 Saladin (Salah al-Din Yusuf b. al-
 Secularization
 Ayyubi), 116, 121, 145, 164, 166,
 166, 184, 315, 362, 389, 608, 656,
 Secularization, 615–616
 legal reform in, 461
 657–659, 659
 See also Pakistan, Islamic Republic
 madrasa of, 419
 See also Crusades
 of; Reform: in Arab Middle East
 opposition to socialism in, 634
 and North Africa; Reform: in
 Salafiyya, 608–610
 in, 460
 Iran
 in Africa, 22
 Sufism in, 683
 in Algeria, 2, 366
 and da wa, 172
 Self-flagellation, 488, 489, 627
 origin of, 7, 468, 536–537,
 Self-realization, 251

Sartre, Jean-Paul, 516
 Sassanian Empire, 55, 219,
 220, 549
 See also Islam and other
 Minorities: dhimmis
 Satuq Bughra Khan, 133
 Sa ud, Shaykh, 387
 Sauda, 715
 constitutionalism in, 465,
 education in, 205
 independence of, 425, 458
 political modernization
 political repression in, 463
 Self-blame (malama), 688
 ulema of, 704–705
 veiling in, 723

575–577 Wahhabi ideology in, 108, 729

Selim I, caliph, 340, 662

in Southeast Asia, 582 youth programs in, 744

Selim III, caliph, 656

Islam and the Muslim World

817

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Selimiye Cami (Mosque of Selim, Shahrukh, 134, 135, 222, 436

Shi at Ali (Ali's Party), 36

Edirne), 73, 103, 235 Sha ir (poet), 63, 279

Shibani, Muhammad, 112

Seljuk sultanate, 665–666, 666 Shakur, Tupoc, 44–45

Shihab al-Din Abu Abdallah

architecture of, 73 Shalah, Ramadan, 365

Yaqut, 129

control by, 120 Shaltut, Mahmud, 160, 609, 618

Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Abd allanguages used in, 60

See also Reform: in Arab Middle Qadir, 29

political organization under, 543 East and North Africa

Shirazi, Fathallah, 359

religious thought under, 139 Shamil, Shaykh, 682

Shirazi, Qutb al-Din, 359

rise of, 133, 587, 665 Shamil of Daghistan, 344

Shirk (association), 84, 143, 492, 583,

See also Ghaznavid sultanate;

630–631

Shamlu, Ahmad, 528

Nizam al-Mulk

Shams-e Tabrizi, 253, 391 See also Allah; Arabia,

pre-Islamic;

Seljuq. See Seljuk sultanate

Asnam; Modern thought;

Shapur I, Sassanian emperor of Persia,

Semites, Arabian origin of, 54

Political Islam; Qutb, Sayyid

55, 220

Semitic languages, 52, 54 Sha rawi, Huda, 735

Shirkuh, 657

distribution of, 58 Shari a (Islamic law), 23, 35,

121–122, Shi r (periodical), 67

and ethnic identity, 232 407, 618–619

Shi r (poetry), 64, 397

Senegal See also Law

See also Poetry

Islamic architecture of, 20 Shari ati, Ali, 434, 472, 578, 619,

Shirazi Ali Muhammad. See Bab
 Islam in, 18, 20, 21, 22 627, 741
 (Sayyed Ali Muhhammad; Shirazi
 Senses, 398–399 See also Reform: in Iran
 Ali Muhhammad)
 Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enghelab-e Eslami Shari at-Shangalaji, Reza-Qoli,
 578, Shivaji, 213
 (Revolutionary Guards Corps). See 619–620
 Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, 2, 100, 101
 Pasdaran See also Muhammad Reza Shah
 Shrines and mausoleums, 73–74, 555,
 Sepehri, Sohrab, 529 Pahlevi; Reform: in Iran;
 Shi a: 681–682, 683, 688, 724
 Seraj al-Akhbar, 528 Imami (Twelver)
 Shura (consultation), 36, 318, 371, 463
 Serbia, independence of, 102 Shari atullah, Haji (Hajji), 581,
 Shurayh Ibn al-Harith, 406
 Seri Sultan Berkat, 664 638, 643
 Shu ubiyya, 586
 Severus, Claudius, 53 Sharif, 26, 619
 Siba i, Mustafa al-, 631
 Seyyed Ala al-din Husayn, shrine See also Sayyid
 See also Ikhwan al-Muslamin
 of, 351 Sharif Husayn, 519
 Sibawayh (Sibawayhi; Abu Bishr Amr
 Shabib b. Yazid al-Shaybani, 390 Sharon, Ariel, 355
 ibn Uthman), 209, 280
 Shadhiliyya, 682 Shaykh al-Islam, 544, 620, 636
 Siddiq Hasan Khan, Maulana, 27
 Shafi i, al- (Muhammad ibn Idris al- See also Ottoman Empire;
 Safavid Sidi Muhammad, 403
 Shafi i), 9, 11, 107, 148, 407, and Qajar Empires
 Sikandar Lodi, sultan, 73
 409–410, 411, 417, 586–587, Shaykh al-ta ifa, 700–701
 Sikhism, 363
 616–618, 667 Shaykhiyya, 620–621
 Silsila (chain of spiritual transmission),
 tomb of, 116 See also Shi a: Early; Shi a:
 Imami 140, 631–632, 680
 See also Law; Madhhab (Twelver)
 See also Khilafat movement;
 Shafi i school, 11, 14, 139, 417, 534, Sheil, Lady, 691
 Tariqa
 588, 617, 686 Sher Shah, 73
 Sinan ibn Thabit, 295
 Shagari, Shehu, 8, 664 Sher Shah Sur (Suri), 33, 637
 Sinasi, Ibahim, 738

Shah. See Monarchy
 Sindh, conquest of, 635
 Shah, Idries, 321
 621–624
 Shahab al-Din (Mu izz al-Din
 Shi a: Siraj al-Din Abu Hafs Umar Ibn al-
 Muhammad), 660
 Wardi, 129
 Shahada (profession of faith), 39, 160,
 Sira (life of the Prophet), 66, 109, 120,
 263, 327, 332, 432, 678, 723
 143, 482
 Shahid, Syed Ismail, 581
 Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad, 343, 632,
 Shah Jahan (Shahjahan), 73, 74,
 637, 675
 and ahl al-bayt, 26
 213, 637
 See also Falsafa; Ibn al- Arabi;
 and Akhbariyya, 34
 Shah nameh (“Book of kings”),
 South Asia, Islam in; Tasawwuf;
 See also Taqiyya; Usuliyya
 525–526, 661, 675
 Wahdat al-wujud
 Isma ili, 350–351, 628–629
 Shahpur I, Sassanian ruler, 428
 Nizari Sister Clara Muhammad Schools, 712
 Shahrastani, 297, 298
 Sister Souljah, 45
 Shahrazuri, Shams al-Din, 359
 Early; Six Pens (al-aqlam al-sitta) scripts,
 Shahrur (Shahrur), Muhammad, 279,
 Shi a: 125, 126
 319, 577
 Skirkuh, 164
 Isma ili

818

Islam and the Muslim World

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Slametan (kenduri), 649
 Islam Sulami, Abu Abd al-Rahman al-,
 Slave trade, 15, 45–46, 54, 162
 455, 684
 SNCC (Student Non-Violent
 Sulami, Izz al-Din Ibn Abd al-Salam
 Southeast Europe. See Balkans,
 in the
 Spain. See Andalus, al-

Coordinating Committee), 373
 al-, 226
 Socialism, 632–634
 Sulayman b. Abd al-Malik, 653
 See also Communism;
 Sulayman I. See Suleyman I (“the
 Modernization, political:
 Magnificent”)
 Participation, political
 Sulayman II. See Suleyman II
 movements, and parties
 Suleiman, Shah (r. 1666–1694), 425
 Society of Iranian Calligraphers
 Suleyman I (“the Magnificent”),
 (Anjuman-e Khushnvisan-e
 Ottoman sultan, 99, 102, 129, 184,
 Iran), 126
 215, 387, 544
 Society of the Muslim Brothers
 484, Suleyman (Sulayman) II (r.
 (Jam iyyat al-ikhwan al-
 651–656
 Muslimin), 345
 Suleymaniyyeh (Istanbul), 414, 416
 See also Abbasid Empire; Abu
 See also Ikhwan al-Muslimin
 Sultan. See Monarchy
 Bakr; Caliphate; Islam and other
 Society of the Muslim Brothers of
 Sultanates
 Syria, 631
 Ayyubid. See Ayyubid sultanate
 Sokoto, sultanate of, 17, 664, 719
 Delhi. See Delhi sultanate
 Solayman, Safavid shah of Iran, 218
 Ghaznavid. See Ghaznavid
 European colonialism in,
 Solomon, 51
 sultanate
 17–18, 23
 Somalia, Islam in, 14
 Mamluk. See Mamluk sultanate
 Islam in, 16, 17, 23, 331, 461
 Sonbol, Amira, 271
 modern, 663–665
 Mahdist state in, 155, 422–424
 See also Caliphate; Monarchy;

State Islamic Studies Institute

(Indonesia), 583

Straight Path, 352, 354

Committee (SNCC), 373

Styles of Beyond (rapper), 45

Subhan Quli Khan, 135

Sub-Saharan Africa, Islam in. See

Africa, Islam in

Succession, 116–123, 480–481,

541, 573, 584–587, 622,

1620–1666), Ottoman sultan, 80

religions; Tasawwuf; Umar;

Umayyad Empire

Sudan

Songhai (Songhay) Empire, 17, 84
 347–348
 Succession
 Sophronius, 314
 Seljuk. See Seljuk sultanate
 Sorcery, 22, 294
 Sultan Husayn, Shah, 425, 473
 Soroush, Abd al-Karim. See Abd al-Sunan Kalijaga, 649
 Karim Soroush (Hassan Haj-Faraj
 Sunna, 11, 107, 148, 285, 286–287,
 Dabbagh)
 334–335, 666–669
 South Africa, Islam in, 13
 See also Bid a; Hadith; Law;
 South America, Islam in, 45–46
 Modern thought; Muhammad;
 South Arabian language, 58
 Qur an; Religious institutions
 South Asia
 Sunnat al-awalin (sunna of the
 architecture of, 73
 ancients), 667
 Islam in, 243–244, 634–641, 639
 Sunnat Allah (sunna of God), 667
 reform in, 580–581
 Sunni. See Shi a; Succession; Sunna
 See also Hinduism and Islam;
 Supreme Council of the Youth, 742
 South Asian culture and Islam
 Supreme Muslim Council, 324
 South Asian culture and Islam,
 Suqs (marketplaces), 69, 75
 641–644
 Surat al-ard (Picture of the earth), 130
 See also Hinduism and Islam;
 Surkati, Syeikh Ahmad, 469
 South Asia, Islam in; Urdu
 language, literature, and poetry
 Suwar al-aqalim (Pictures of the
 Suhrawardi, al- (Shaykh Shihab ad-Din
 Southeast Asia
 249,
 Islam in, 244, 644–648, 646
 656–657,
 reform in, 582–583
 Suyuti, al-, 370, 669

Muslim Brotherhood in,

political modernization in,

460, 590

revolution in, 595

Suez Canal Company, 4, 197

Suez Crisis (1956), 4

Sufi brotherhoods

opposition to, 2, 8

spiritual lineage of, 26

in West Africa, 21

women in, 22

See also Tasawwuf (Sufism)

Sufi Order (in) of the West, 44, 354

Sufism. See Tasawwuf

Sufi Women Organization, 710

Sufyan al-Thawri, 9, 160, 417, 571

Sufyani, 261

Suharto, 487, 583, 646, 647

Suhl (peace process), 158

climes/climates), 130

Yahya b. Amirak Suhrawardi),

18–19

252, 359, 399, 433, 626,

686–687

See also Muhammadiyya

See also Arabic language; Hadith;

See also Falsafa; Ishraqi school;

(Muhammadiyah); Nahdlatul

Ijtihad; Tasawwuf

Tasawwuf

Ulama (NU); Reform: in South

Swahili Islam, 20

Suhrawardi, Umar, 264

Asia; Southeast Asian culture

Swahili language, 14–15, 23, 62, 697

Suhrawardiyya, 632, 682

and Islam

Syair poetry, 651

Southeast Asian culture and Islam, Suhrawardy, Husain Shaheed, 90

Syr Darya valley, 132

648–651 Sukarno, 646

Syria

See also Ada; Ibadat; Southeast Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 582, 735

autocratic state in, 462

Asia, Islam in Sukayna, 657

economy of, 201, 634

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization See also Ahl al-bayt; Law

education in, 205

(SEATO), 517 Sukkari, Ahmad al-, 345

independence of, 425, 458

Islam and the Muslim World

819

Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers

Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

Muslim Brotherhood in, 346–347 See also Mojahidin; Political

Islam; Muhammad; Mulla Sadra;

political modernization in, 460 Qa ida, al-

Persian language and literature;

revolution in, 595 Taliqani, Ayatollah, 434

Pilgrimage: Ziyara; Rabi a of

socialism in, 633, 634 Tamkin (submission), 431

Basra; Rumi, Jalaluddin; Shi a:

use of Arabic language in, 61–62 Tangsir, 529

Imami (Twelver); Sufi

withdrawal from United Arab

brotherhoods; Suhrawardi, al-;

Tansen, 304

Republic, 4

Tariqa; Urdu language,

Tanzania, Islam in, 14, 15, 21, 22, 664
 youth programs in, 744
 literature, and poetry
 See also Ba th Party Tanzil (revelation), 37
 Tasvir-i efkar (Description of
 Syrian Communist Party, 156 Tanzim al-Jihad (Jihad
 ideas), 738
 Organization), 365
 Tawhid (“unity” ideology), 49, 252,
 Tanzimat (Reformation), 204, 387,
 T
 402, 535, 575, 583, 630, 723
 504, 678, 738
 Tabaqat (ranks or classes), 109
 Ta wil (spiritual exegesis), 38, 672
 See also Modernization, political:
 Tabari, al- (Abu Ja far Muhammad ibn Administrative, military,
 and Tayammum (ritual ablution with
 Jarir al-Tabari), 26, 129, 185, 210, judicial reform; Ottoman
 sand), 8
 286, 307, 370, 454, 523, 671, Empire; Young Turks
 Taym-Allah b. Tha laba, 8
 673, 734
 Ta ziya (Ta ziyeh), 691
 Taqiyya, 678–679
 See also Historical writing; Qur an
 See also Hosayniyya; Rawza-khani;
 See also Shi a: Imami (Twelver)
 Tabataba i, Muhammad Husayn, 252
 Taqiyya
 Taqlid (blind imitation), 679–680,
 Tabataba i, Sayyed Ziya al-Din, 596 703, 718
 Temo, Ibrahim, 103
 Tabi un (Followers), 8 rejection of, 29, 155, 172,
 608, Tercuman (Interpreter), 265
 Tablighi Jama at (Missionary Party), 619, 675
 Terrorism, 559–560, 609,
 172–173, 177, 238, 262, 304, 635, See also Ijtihad; Madhhab;
 Marja 691–693, 710
 641, 671–672, 683, 713 al-taqlid; Muhtasib; Shi a:
 See also Bin Ladin, Usama;
 See also South Asia, Islam in; Imami (Twelver)
 Conflict and violence; HAMAS;
 Traditionalism Taqrib (rapprochement), 627
 Intifada; Qa ida, al-; Taliban
 Tadhkira (memorial), 109, 179 Taraqqi, Goli, 529
 Textiles, 76–77, 80, 441

Tafsir (commentaries on the Qur'an), Tarim basin (Chinese or East
 See also Clothing
 131, 672–674 Turkistan), 132
 Thabit b. Qurrah, 695
 See also Calligraphy; Law; Tariqa, 22, 29, 35, 584, 588,
 Tha lab, 280
 Muhammad; Qur'an 680–684 681
 Tha labi, 555
 Taha, Mahmud Muhammad, 590 See also Dhikr; Khirqah;
 Thanawi, Ihtisham al-Haqq, 374
 Taha Husayn (Hussein). See Husayn, Pilgrimage: Ziyara;
 Tasawwuf
 Taha
 Thanawi, Maulana Ashraf Ali, 176
 Tariq b. Ziyad, 46
 Tahara (purity), 598
 Thanvi, Ashraf Ali, 683
 Tarjama (biography), 109
 Tahereh (Al-Ayn, Qorrat), 96
 Thaqafi, Mukhtar al-, 623, 693
 Tarjuman (The interpreter), 579, 609
 Tahir b. Husayn, 132
 See also Muhammad al-Nafs al-
 Tarzi, Mahmud, 528
 Tahmasp I, Shah, 217–218, 386,
 Zakiyya; Shi'a: Early; Succession
 Tasawwuf (Sufism), 684–690
 526, 675
 Theology. See Disputation;
 in al-Andalus, 48
 See also Safavid and Qajar
 Kalam; Law
 caliphs of, 481
 Empires
 Theophrastus, 54
 in Central Asia, 140
 Ta'if Agreement (Document of criticism of, 18
 Third Reich, Muslims in, 236
 National Understanding), 412 development of, 29, 684–688
 Thomas Aquinas, Saint, 234, 248, 249
 Tajdid (renewal), 444, 575, 675–676 dhikr in, 180
 Tijaniyya, 8, 17
 See also Ijtihad; Reform: in Arab ethical tradition in, 35
 Tile mosaics, 77
 Middle East and North Africa; and falsafa, 247
 Tillich, Paul, 473
 Reform: in South Asia; Taqlid modernization of, 22, 689–690

Timar system, 215–216, 544
 Tajlu Khanum, 217 in North America, 44
 Timbuktu, 16, 23, 694
 Taj Mahal, 73, 74, 213, 376, 428 practices of, 40, 688–689
 See also Africa, Islam in; Kunti, revivalism by, 21
 Takiya Dawlat (Tehran), 691
 Mukhtar al-; Mali, Empire of
 spread of Islam by, 17, 102,
 Takwin (to bring into existence), 83
 Timekeeping, 299–300
 161–162
 Talbi, Mohamed, 471
 Timurid Empire, 221–222
 in the United States, 709–710
 Talbi, Mohammad, 174 See also Arabic literature;
 driven from Bukhara, 112
 Taleqani, Ayatollah Mahmud, 413, 578 Ash arites, Ash aira;
 Basri, metal-working of, 78
 Talha (Talhah), 35, 260, 621 Hasan al-; Ghazali, al-;
 Hallaj, rise of, 134
 Taliban, 177, 375, 420, 490, al-; Ibn al- Arabi; Ibn
 Sina; See also Delhi sultanate; Political
 676–678, 735 Ibn Taymiyya; Jami ;
 Madrasa; organization
 820
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747
 Timur (Tamerlane), 134–135, 139, socialism in, 633
 Umar Tal, 17
 212, 221–222, 363, 528, 636 Turabi, Hasan al-, 347, 348, 539,
 577, Umar (Umar ibn al-Khattab), 705
 Titles, Islamic. See Sayyid; Sharif; 676, 700
 on bid a, 107
 Shaykh al-Islam Turanshah, 165–166
 caliphate of, 117, 223, 314–315
 Tolui, 212 Turgesh confederation, 132
 on Islamic calendar, 299
 Tomb of the Samanids (Bukhara), 74 Turkestan, jade mines in Khotan, 78
 monetary policy of, 151
 Topkapi Palace, 74, 233 Turkey
 political organization under, 541
 Toqtamysh, 222 clothing of, 149–150
 succession of, 573, 667
 Torsonzadeh, Mirza, 528 constitutionalism in, 465,

treatment of dhimmi under,
 470, 595 452, 623
 Touba (Senegal), 21, 104, 694
 economy of, 276 welfare policy of, 440
 See also Africa, Islam in; Bamba,
 education in, 205 See also Caliphate; Law;
 Ahmad; Tariqa
 independence of, 89, 425, Successiom
 Trade
 458, 505 Umayyad (Umayyid) Empire, 222–224
 in Arabia, 52, 53, 54
 legal code in, 431 in al-Andalus, 46, 362
 and conversion, 161–162
 modernization of, 459–460, architecture of, 72, 74, 118
 in modern era, 195–196
 462, 733 caliphs of, 118, 119, 223, 223,
 in Safavid and Qajar Empires,
 music in, 493 623, 652–653
 1, 218
 nationalism in, 103, 341–342, Christianity under, 144
 routes across the Muslim world,
 504–505 end of, 132
 509,
 Sufism in, 683, 690 monetary policy of, 151
 and trading networks, 507
 tobacco production in, 196 poetry of, 64–65
 trans-Saharan, 16, 20, 606
 Turkish language use in, 13 political organization under, 541
 See also Slave trade
 use of Anatolian Arabic language spread of Islam under, 242, 586
 Traditionalism, 617, 694–695
 in, 62 success of, 122
 See also Hadith; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn
 See also Abbasid Empire; Arabic
 veiling in, 723
 Taymiyya; Mihna
 language; Arabic literature;
 Turki, 728–729
 Trajan, Roman emperor, 53
 Byzantine Empire; Dome of
 Turkic (Altaic) languages, and ethnic
 Translation, 281, 282, 612, 695–698
 the Rock; Husayn; Islam and
 identity, 232
 See also Arabic language; Ibn
 Islamic (terminology); Karbala;
 Turkish Hearth (Türk Ocagi), 740

Battuta; Persian language and
 Kharijites, Khawarij; Marwan;
 Turner, Victor, 598
 literature; Qur'an; Science,
 Mu'awiya; Umar
 Islam and Tusi, Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan
 Umayyid. See Mu'awiya; Umayyad
 (Shaykh al-Ta'ifa), 274, 501,
 Travel and travelers, 698–699
 Empire
 700–701
 See also Biruni, al-; Ibn Battuta;
 Umma, 705–706
 Tusi, Nasir al-Din, 35, 248, 249, 250,
 Ibn Khaldun; Pilgrimage: Hajj
 call to, 170
 401, 474, 550, 701
 Tribe, 699–700
 changes in meaning of, 360
 See also Falsafa; Khojas
 See also Asabiyya; Bedouin;
 development of, 587
 Twelver Shi'a. See Shi'a: Imami
 Ethnicity
 ethnic diversity in, 21, 533
 (Twelver)
 Trinity, Christian doctrine of, 28
 membership in, 138, 160–161,
 Tripoli, County of, 163, 166
 340, 381
 U in South Asia, 371
 True Path Party, 224, 574
 UAR (United Arab Republic), 519 See also Ibadat; Modern
 thought
 Truth, 566
 Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad, 435 Umm Kulthum (1904?–1975),
 Tuareg-Berbers, 22
 Ubaydullah, 135 706–707
 Tudeh (Labor-Communist) Party, 156,
 Ubeydullah Ibn Utbah, 406 See also Music
 476, 522, 594
 Udhri (love poetry), 64–65 Umm Kulthum (daughter of
 Fatima),
 Tughril Beg, 665
 Ulema, 202–203, 547, 703–705 254, 719
 Tughtil III, 665
 See also Knowledge; Law; Umm Ruman, 33

Tukolor Muslim empire
 (Senegambia), 289 Madrasa; Qadi (kadi, kazi);
 Umm Umara, 734
 Shari a; Shi a: Imami (Twelver); UMNO (United Malay Nationalist
 Tunisia
 Shi a: Isma ili; Succession Organization), 647
 constitutionalism in, 463, 470
 Ulugh Beg ibn Shahrukh, 135, Union and Progress Party, 505
 divorce in, 183
 222, 469 Union of Muslims (Ittifaq-i
 economy of, 199, 200
 Fatimid dynasty in, 115 Umara b. Aqil al-Khatafi, 97
 Muslumanlar), 265
 independence of, 111, 112, Umar Ali Saifuddin III, 664
 United Arab Emirates (UAE),
 425, 747 Umar Ibn Abd al-Aziz, 406
 463, 676
 Marinids in, 336 Umar ibn Sayyid, 707
 United Arab Republic (UAR), 4, 342,
 political modernization in, 462 Umar Khan, 136
 503, 519, 595, 632

 Islam and the Muslim World
 821
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

 United Malay Nationalist See also Caliphate; Fitna;
 Khutba; Wali Allah, 607
 Organization (UMNO), 647 Religious institutions; Shi a:
 Wali Allah (Dihlawi; Dehlawi), Shah,
 United Nations, 69, 277, 315 Early; Successiom
 26, 176, 468–469, 536, 580–581,
 See also International Labor Uways al-Qarani, 680
 637–638, 643, 668, 675, 728, 730
 Organization, UN Uzbek era, 134–135, 140
 See also Deoband; South Asia,
 United Nations Charter of Human Uzbekistan, use of Arabic language
 Islam in; Tasawwuf
 Rights, 318 in, 62
 Walima (wedding banquet), 42
 United States
 Wali songo (holy men), 649, 650
 embassy in Tehran, 357 V
 Waliullah, shah of Delhi, 343
 Islam in, 42, 43, 707–714, Vahed (Unity), 95
 Wang Daiyu, 688
 723–724 Van Gennep, Arnold, 598

Waqf (trusts), 127, 196, 233, 290, 419,
 opposition to communism by, 156 Varangians (Vikings), 195
 554, 730–732
 Sufism in, 709–710
 See also Economy and economic
 Veiling (hijab), 111, 150, 358, 711,
 See also American culture and
 institutions; HAMAS; Law
 721–722, 723
 Islam; Farrakhan, Louis;
 See also Clothing; Gender; Waraqa ibn Nawfal, 143, 381
 Gender; Islamic Society of
 Harem; Law; Purdah Wasat (middle ground), 346
 North America; Malcolm X;
 Muhammad, Elijah; Velayat-e faqih, 263, 538, 552, 578,
 Wasf (description), 64
 Muhammad, Warith Deen; 593, 594, 627, 682, 722–723
 Washington, D.C., Islamic
 Muslim Student Association of See also Hukuma al-Islamiyya, al-;
 architecture in, 42
 North America; Nation of Islam Shi a: Imami (Twelver)
 Wasi (inheritor), 37
 Universal House of Justice (Baha i Verband islamischer
 Wasil ibn Ata, 10, 247
 faith), 100, 101 Kulturzentren, 238
 Wazifa (pension), 732
 Uqba b. Nafi al-Fihri, 402 Vernacular Islam, 723–725
 See also Political organization
 Urabi Pasha, 342 See also Arabic language;
 Persian Wazir (prime minister), 732–733
 language and literature; Urdu
 Urban II, pope, 145, 163
 See also Abbasid Empire;
 language, literature, and poetry
 Urban bias, 197
 Caliphate; Umayyad Empire
 Via Trajana Nova, 53
 Urbanization, 195, 235
 Weber, Max, 128, 663, 664
 Violence. See Conflict and violence;
 Urdu language, literature, and poetry,
 Welfare. See Maslaha (public interest)
 Terrorism
 32, 90, 109, 213, 241, 637,
 Welfare Party. See Refah Partisi
 Virtue (Fazilat; Fazilet) Party, 224,
 714–717 715

Wellhausen, Julian, 515
 460, 466
 See also Pakistan, Islamic Republic
 West, concept of in Islam, 733–734
 Visigoths, 46, 48
 of; South Asia, Islam in; South
 See also Crusades; European
 Asian culture and Islam Visual anthropology, 178
 culture and Islam; Islam and
 Urwab (private area), 111 Vizier. See Wazir
 other religions
 Urwa Ibn al-Zubayr, 406
 West Africa
 Usul-e Jadid (“New Method” schools), W
 Islamic architecture of, 20, 73
 469, 579 Wadud, Amina, 710–711
 Islam in, 17–18, 20, 244
 Usuliyya, 34, 549, 627, 717–718 Wadud-Muhsin, Amina, 268, 271,
 471 use of Arabic language in, 62
 Usuman, 386 Wahdat al-wujud (“oneness of
 being”), Westermarck, Edward, 178
 Uthman al-Batti, 9 333, 401, 727
 Whitehead, Alfred North, 250,
 Uthman al-Tawil, 10 See also Falsafa; Ibn
 al- Arabi; 400, 401
 Uthman b. Ali al-Zayla i, 9 Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad;
 Witchcraft, 22
 Tasawwuf
 Uthman b. Bishr, amir, 6
 Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 250, 251
 Wahhabiyya, 27, 108, 146, 161, 344,
 Uthman dan Fodio, 17, 22, 403, 537,
 Witu, sultanate of, 664
 575, 676, 727–729, 728
 664, 697, 707, 719
 WLUML (Women Living Under
 See also Abd al-Wahhab,
 See also Africa, Islam in;
 Muslim Laws), 353, 509
 Muhammad Ibn
 Caliphate; Kano (Nigeria)
 Women
 Wahid, Abdurrahman, 646
 Uthmani, Shabbir Ahmad, 374
 biographies of, 110
 Wahy (revelation), 37, 350, 667
 Uthman (Athman) ibn Affan

in East Asian culture, 192, 192
 (Uthman b. al- Affan), 719 Wajed, Shaykh Hasina, 735
 education of, 22, 25, 39, 741
 caliphate of, 117, 435 Wajib al-wujud (necessary existence),
 public roles of, 267, 734–735
 collection of Qur'anic verses 40, 248, 401, 729–730
 rights of, 278, 353
 under, 279, 280, 482 See also Falsafa; Ibn Sina
 in Southeast Asia, 651
 criticism of, 33, 35 Wajid, Shaykh Hasina, 91
 in the United States, 710–711
 murder of, 35, 117, 223, 259, 435 Walaya (Institution of the Friends of
 See also Feminism; Gender; Law
 political organization under, 541 God), 37
 Women Living Under Muslim Laws
 succession of, 573 Wali. See Saint
 (WLUML), 353, 509

 822
 Islam and the Muslim World
 Page links created automatically - disregard ones formed not from page numbers
 Index: Volume 1 pp. 1–416; Volume 2 pp. 417–747

 Woodworking, 80 political modernization in,
 Zakat (alms tax), 7, 161, 240, 327, 394,
 World Assembly of Muslim 460, 462
 422, 480, 553
 Youth, 173 political opposition in, 463
 Zand, Karim Khan, 745
 World Bank, 200 revolution in, 595
 Zandaqa, 429
 World Community of al-Islam in the socialism in, 633
 Zangi (Zengi), 164, 657
 West, 710 youth programs in, 744
 Zanjani, Molla Mohammad Ali Hojjat
 World Council of Churches, 173 Yohannes IV, Ethiopian emperor, 231
 al-Islam, 96
 World Council of Mosques, 173 Yom Kippur (Six Day) War (1967), 4,
 Zanzibar, Sa'idi sultanate of, 14, 15,
 460, 521
 World Health Organization (WHO)
 664, 745–746, 746
 Collaborating Research Center, 447 Yongle, Chinese emperor, 187
 See also Africa, Islam in; Mazrui
 World Muslim Committee for Da'wah Yoruba, 22
 (Ar., Mazrui)
 and Relief, 173 Young Ottomans, 155, 341, 737–739
 Zar, 746–747

World Supreme Council for the See also Pan-Islam; Reform: in
 See also African culture and Islam;
 Affairs of Mosques, 8 Arab Middle East and North
 Miracles
 Writing. See Calligraphy Africa
 Zar (spirit possession) cult, 22
 Young Turks, 1, 89, 103, 341, 344,
 387, 505, 595, 739–740 Zauq, 715
 Y
 Zawahiri, Ayman, 365
 See also Modernization, political:
 Yadigarid dynasty, 392
 Zawiyas, 389
 Administrative, military, and
 Yahya, Bin Abdullah Ramiya, 737 judicial reform; Revolution:
 Zaydan, Jurji, 308
 See also Africa, Islam in; Tariqa Modern; Young Ottomans
 Zayd b. Ali, 286, 350, 625, 629
 Yahya b. Bishr, 10 Youth movements, 43, 740–744
 Zayd b. Thabit, 7, 719
 Yahya b. Yahya, 286 See also Futuwwa; HAMAS;
 Zaydi (Fiver) Shi a. See Shi a: Zaydi
 Yahya Hamid al-Din, 630 Ikhwan al-Muslimin;
 Khomeini, (Fiver)
 Yamin, Muhammad, 309 Ayatollah Ruhollah; Muslim
 Zaynab bt. Ali, 627, 691
 Yan Tatsine, 435 Student Association of North
 Zaynab (Sayyida Zaynam), 254
 Ya qub Bek, 136 America; Qa ida, altomb of,
 26, 351
 Yaqt, 555 Yugoslavia, independence of, 103
 Zaytuna (Tunis), 747
 Yasavi, Khwaja Ahmad, 140 Yunus Emre, 689
 See also Education; Law
 Yasin, Shaykh Amad, 291 Yushij, Nima, 528
 Zeroual, Liamine, 366
 Yathrib. See Medina (Yathrib) Yusuf, Maulana Muhammad, 672
 Zheng He, 187
 Yazdgard III, 219 Yusuf Ali, Abdullah, 744
 See also Qur an; Translation Zia, Khaleda, 91
 Yazdi, Ebrahim, 414
 Yusuf ibn Tashufin, 475 Zia ul-Haq, 31, 270, 372, 518
 Yazdi, Sayyed Mohammad Kazem, 718
 Yusuf of Balasahgun, 133 Zib al-Nesa Makhfi, 528
 Yazdi, Ayatollah Tabataba i, 501
 Ziya Barani, 660
 Yazid I, Umayyad caliph, 118, 223,

260, 293, 311, 387, 435 Z
 Ziya Pasha (Pasa), 738
 Yazid III, Umayyad caliph, 653 Zafar Shahi dynasty, 636
 Ziyara. See Pilgrimage: Ziyara
 Yazid b. Harun, 9 Zafrullah Khan, Sir Muhammad,
 Zoroastrianism, 27, 55, 143,
 Yazid b. Walid, 27 30, 31
 219–220, 654
 Yazidis, 453 Zahida Khatun, 666
 Zubayr (supporter of Ali), 35,
 Zahiri school, 410, 411, 417, 418, 668 260, 621
 Yemen
 civil war in, 4 Zahra, Muhammad Abu, 160
 Zubd (asceticism), 109
 communism in, 156 Zajjaji, 281
 Zulla, 70–71
 independence of, 425 Zakariyya ibn Muhammad al-
 Zurara b. A yan, 369
 legal reform in, 461 Qazwini, 129
 Zurti (Zuta), 8

Islam and the Muslim World

823

Abbas I, Shah

A detail from a miniature seventeenth-century fresco from Chehel Sotun's Palace depicts 'Abbas I (1571–1629), the fifth Safavid Shah, who ruled Iran from 1587 until his death. He regained lands and authority in a period when invasion and tribal unrest had destabilized Iran. 'Abbas I also made peace with the Ottoman Empire and reformed Iran's military and financial system. The Art Archive/Palace of Chihil Soutoun Isfahan/Dagli Orti

Angels

A sixteenth-century depiction of the angel Jibril guiding Muhammad to heaven on Buraq (a heavenly winged horse). This is from the Khamsa (Five poems) of Nizami, 1539–1543, and was made for the Safavid ruler Tahmasp I. © Art Resource, NY

Arabia, Pre-Islam

Alabaster stele, first century C.E. from Yemen, depicting camel drivers. The pre-Islamic invention of the north Arabian camel saddle around the beginning of the first millennium allowed for the control and

extension of trade by the camel-breeding tribes
and their integration into sedentary society.
The Art Archive/Collection Antonovich/Dagli
Orti

Architecture

The courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, also known as the Great Mosque, built between 706 and 714 by the Umayyad dynasty, who used Byzantine mosaic artists to decorate the architectural structures with images of plants, jewelry, and Qur'anic inscriptions. The small structure visible at the lower left is for performing ablutions prior to prayer. © Carmen Redondo/Corbis

Cartography and Geography

The Mediterranean Sea as depicted in an eleventh-century Arabic geographical manuscript (Kitab al-masalik wa al-mamalik) of al-Istakhri. By the thirteenth century, copies of maps proliferated and circulated all over the Islamic world. The Art Archive/National Library Cairo/Dagli Orti

Bukhara, Khanate and Emirate of

The arched entrance to the Miri-Arab Madrasa, built circa 1536, in Bukhara, Uzbekistan. This structure is decorated with intricate tile mosaic set in floral and calligraphic designs. © Diego Lezama Orezzaoli/Corbis

Clothing

Turkish man and woman wearing traditional attire from the Milas region of Turkey, as shown in this 1801 French print. The Turkish mode of dress for both men and women usually involved loose trousers and a shirt topped with various jackets, vests, and long coats: layering was an important element of the aesthetic. Collection of Charlotte Jirousek

Clothing

A Palestinian woman in traditional Arab dress, the thawb, which is based on the tunic, a common garment in the region since the Roman era. It is suitable for desert heat as it provides protection from the sun as well as ventilation. Cornell Costume and Textile Collection

Conflict and Violence

A mosque destroyed in the Bosnian war (1992–1995), in the central Bosnian village of Ahmici. In January 2000, after

sixteen months of testimony
from 158 witnesses, U.N. judges
in the Hague, Netherlands, convicted five Bosnian Croat militiamen for
participating in a killing
spree in Ahmici which left more
than one hundred Muslim men,
women, and children dead, and
every Muslim home burnt to the
ground. AP/Wide World Photos

Empires: Mongol and Il-Khanid
A page from Rashid al-Din's (d. 1318, wazir
to Ghazan Khan) Compendium of Chronicles
manuscript depicts Mongol leader Genghis
Khan and his sons. Although the Mongols
battled Islam in the early years of their rise to
power, Mongol conquests ultimately spread
Islam throughout Central Asia. © Art
Resource, NY

Empires: Safavid and Qajar
A seventeenth-century painting of
Shah Tahmasp, a long time leader of
the Safavid Empire, receiving the
Mogul Emperor Humayun. Shah
Tahmasp's court prioritized culture;
illuminated manuscripts produced
during his reign are of the highest
quality known. © SEF/Art Resource, NY

European Culture and Islam
Aristotle depicted with students of physical science in the manuscript The Best
Maxims and
Most Precious Dictums by al-Mubashshir, who composed it through 1048 and 1049.
The
manuscript was translated into Spanish in 1250, although al-Mubashshir's name
was
dropped, and from there into Latin, French, Provencal, and English. Until the
sixteenth
century, Europe was only familiar with the Greek philosophical tradition
through the extensive Arabic descriptions, translations, commentaries, and
analyses of these works. The Art
Archive/Topkapi Museum Istanbul/Dagli Orti
Falsafa
This detail from a fresco by Filipino Lippi
(1457–1504) depicts Ibn Sina (980–1037), a Persian
mathematician. A major figure in Islamic thought, Ibn
Sina was heavily influenced by Aristotle, and in turn
influenced the Catholic thinker St. Thomas Aquinas,

who in his own work mentioned Ibn Sina over five hundred times. © Scala/Art Resource, NY

Ibn Battuta

Ibn Battuta (1304–1368/69) of Tangier, Morocco, traveled an estimated eighty thousand miles across three continents. It was the longest known overland journey until the steam engine came into existence. XNR Productions/Gale

EUROPE

ATLANTIC

New

Saray Aral

OCEAN Venice

Astrakhan Sea

ASIA

Constantinople Bukhara

Erzerum

Beijing

Konya Caspian

Samarqand

Granada Mardin Tabriz Sea

Tangier Tunis Aleppo

Damascus Gazna

Fez Isfahan

Jerusalem Baghdad

Marrakesh

Shiraz Hangzhou

Cairo Basra Delhi

Hormuz

Quanzhou

Re

Medina Sylhet

Guangzhou

d

Cambay

Chittagong

Aydhab Mecca Daulatabad

Arabian

Sea

Timbuktu Zafar

AFRICA Sea

Aden

Calicut

Male Samudra

Mogadishu

ATLANTIC OCEAN

INDIAN OCEAN

Travels of Ibn Battuta

1325—1354	Kilwa	
	N	
1325—26	1330—32	1345—46
0	1,000	2,000 mi.
1326—27	1332—33	1346—49
0	1,000	2,000 km
1328—30	1333—45	1349—54

AUSTRALIA

Marriage

A candid photo from the wedding ceremony of a Muslim couple in Karachi, Pakistan. © Charles Lenars/Corbis

Southeast Asian Culture and Islam

Wayang, a traditional shadow play, on a wooden stage in Kota Baharu, Malaysia.

In Indonesia, shadow

play puppeteers, along with other specialists such as healers, spirit mediums, shamans, and midwives,

combine ancient local religious customs with Islamic elements. © Goh Chai

Hin/Corbis

Miracles

From the *Fine flower of histories* (Zubdat

al-Tawarikh) by Luqman (1583), a depiction of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, referred to in the Qur'an

(18:9–31) as the Companions of the

Cave. The Qur'an states that the young

men, having publicly declared their

belief and faith in God, hid from

persecution in the cave where God put

them and their dog to sleep for 309

years. The Art Archive/Turkish and

Islamic Art Museum Istanbul/Dagli Orti

Mi'raj

A 1583 Turkish painting depicts Muhammad's vision of

Ascension or mi'raj. In most versions of the night journey and

ascension narrative, Muhammad is asleep in Mecca, awakened

by angels, and borne to Jerusalem by the magical creature

Buraq. In Jerusalem, Muhammad prays in the Temple with

Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, before being accompanied to

heaven by the angel Gabriel (Jibril). The Art Archive/Turkish

and Islamic Art Museum Istanbul/Harper Collins Publishers

South Asia, Islam in

A late-eighteenth-century depiction of

the Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan

(1592–1666). Shah Jahan ruled from

1628 to 1658 and helped push Mogul

rule as far east as Burma. The Art

Archive/Victoria and Albert Museum
London/Sally Chappell

Pakistan, Islamic Republic of
The Badshahi Mosque (1674) in Lahore, Pakistan. When the British relinquished control of the Indian subcontinent on August 14, 1947, Pakistan (including what is now Bangladesh) achieved independence as a separate homeland for Muslims apart from India's Hindu majority. © Arvind Garg/Corbis
Pilgrimage: Hajj

On a rocky hill known as the Mountain of Mercy (Jabal al-Rahma), near the holy city of Mecca, approximately two million pilgrims gather at the site of Muhammad's last sermon fourteen centuries ago.
AP/Wide World Photos

Qur'an
Qur'an, with sura headings in Naskhi script. The Qur'an contains 114 suras or chapters, arranged by length, thus the text as a whole does not have a clear narrative pattern. It is also divided into thirty equal parts for reading over the course of a month. The Art Archive/Private Collection/Eileen Tweedy

Qur'an
A man in Chinguetti, Mauritania, holding an old copy of the Qur'an. Muslims believe the Qur'an to be the divine revelations of God, and it is therefore unalterable and untranslatable. Muslim prayers require worshippers to recite verses of the Qur'an, such as the Fatiha (the opening sura) as well as other chapters. Muslim children learn to recite the short chapters at an early age and are taught their meaning and context from family members and teachers. © Nik Wheeler/Corbis

Medicine
Anatomical drawing of the body showing the heart, arteries, liver, and intestines from the 1390 Tashrih-e badan-e insan (Anatomy of the human body) by Mansur ibn Muhammad ibn Ilyas al-Balkhi. The Art Archive/British Library

Science, Islam and
A yellow copper astrolabe from the fourteenth century. This medieval instrument was used to measure the height of stars from the horizon. The Art Archive/National Museum Damascus
Syria/Dagli Orti
Shi'a, Early
This Safavid fresco from the seventeenth century

depicts Imam Shah Zayd (presumably Zayd b. ‘Ali) preaching during the seventh-century schism within Islam. © SEF/Art Resource, NY

Persian Language and Literature

A Persian manuscript dating from 1650. Though the Arabic language is the most prestigious and commonly used language in Islam, by the tenth century the Persian language reemerged, after a period of disuse, as suitable for discussion of science, arts, and philosophy. Persian prose literature encompasses a huge number of texts, from serial picaresque adventures to world histories and philosophical and mystical treatises. The Art Archive/Museum of Islamic Art Cairo/Dagli Orti

Sahara

The Taghit oasis of the Sahara Desert. This oasis exists to the west of the Grand Erg Occidental, the second largest cluster of sand dunes in Algeria. © Jose Fuste Raga/Corbis

Travel and Travelers

Part of a Catalan map of southern Spain and North Africa depicting king Mansa Musi of Mali and a Saharan merchant, by Abraham Cresques, circa 1375. By the time of the Empire of Mali (circa 1200–1400 C.E.), parts of Mali’s ruling class had adopted Islam, although earlier, local religions persisted as well. The Art Archive

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