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DENYING AND DEFLECTING THE RACISM OF EMPIRE:
THE TROPE OF THE 'MALEVOLENT NATIVE' IN THE
WRITINGS OF THE COLONIAL FUNCTIONARY AND
AUTHOR HUGH CLIFFORD

Farish A Noor¹

Night is here but the barbarians have not come.
And some people arrived from the borders,
and said that there are no longer any barbarians.
And now what shall become of us without any
barbarians?
Those people were some kind of solution.

Constantine P. Cavafy
Waiting for the Barbarians (1904)

Abstract

Hugh Charles Clifford (1866-1941) was a colonial functionary who served in various capacities in British Malaya, notably in the kingdom of Pahang (as colonial agent, 1887-1888; Superintendent (1889) and Resident (1896-1900, 1901-1903)). Apart from his duties as a colonial administrator, Clifford was also the author of numerous works of fiction that were set in the kingdom and was thus an active contributor to the colonial imaginary. This paper looks at the fictional works of Hugh Clifford. It focuses on one specific theme that recurs repeatedly in several of his works, which is the notion that the aboriginal and other Asiatic communities of the Malay Peninsula were living under the overlordship of the Malays. That a British colonial functionary like Clifford could have foregrounded such a theme while seemingly unaware of his role and subject-position as a functionary of the British Empire is telling in many respects. In many

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ways, the fictional works of Clifford can be read as a systematic and sustained effort to deny and deflect the racism at the heart of racialized colonial capitalism then, which served as the basis of British imperial rule across Asia and Africa.

Keywords: colonialism, Hugh Clifford, Orientalist stereotypes, colonial fiction, colonial propaganda, British Malaya.

I. 'Protective Imperialism' and the Justifications for Empire

All conquest literature seeks to explain to the conquerors 'why we are here'.

Robert Bartlett,
The Making of Europe (Bartlett, 1993: 96)

Throughout history, Empires all over the world have sought justifications for their actions and the expansion of their respective spheres of power and influence. Living as we do in a postcolonial, post-Cold War world, post-9/11 world, we have witnessed the myriad forms of superpower interventional all over the planet that has often been justified in the name of democracy, freedom, liberation, and anti-terrorism. And yet historians would note that none of this is radically new, and it could perhaps be argued that radical newness never makes an appearance in the first place. The discursive strategies that have been put to work in recent times to justify the interventions of the major powers in the world should remind us of similar strategies that were employed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the imperial powers of Western Europe were at the height of their power.

This paper looks at one particular discursive strategy that would undoubtedly be familiar to historians who have focused on Western imperialism in South and Southeast Asia: The claim that Western colonial expansion and imperial rule were necessary and justifiable on the grounds that Western intervention was a force that was capable of bringing about societal change, progress, and liberating Asians from the shackles of their own cultures and

traditions. In this particular rendition of the theme, 'protective Imperialism' becomes a means through which Asian societies could be brought under the Western rule and, by extension, brought under Western guidance and mentorship as well. Instances of such discourses at work can be seen in the experience of British imperialism in India, where alongside the march of empire and incessant advance of Britain's colonial army, there came the attendant train of missionaries, reformers, and volunteers, who had set out to India to 'save the Indians from themselves'. Much of this missionary zeal was directed towards the traditions and cultural practices of the Indians themselves, and the targets included the caste system, India's feudal political culture, traditional forms of healthcare, as well as cultural norms and rituals such as marriage, inheritance, etc.

Here we would like to turn our attention to British Malaya, where similar discursive strategies were put to work as Britain embarked on its 'forward movement' strategy from the 1870s and began to intervene directly into the internal political and economic affairs of the Malay kingdoms one by one, beginning with British intervention in the kingdom of Perak, and the signing of the Pangkor Treaty in 1874.

In this paper, we will focus our attention on one British colonial functionary, Hugh Charles Clifford (1866-1941), who would play a pivotal role in the mapping and study of the Malay kingdoms of Pahang, Terengganu, and Kelantan on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula. We intend to provide a detailed account of Clifford's career, before turning our attention from his colonial mapping and surveys to the popular fiction he would write in the later stages of his career. We will argue that in Clifford's writings – from geographical surveys to bureaucratic reports to popular fiction – we can see a set of constant themes and tropes being instrumentalized time and again. All of these relate to Orientalist stereotypes about Asians (Malays and Chinese in particular) that were already in circulation at the time among like-minded Empire builders and budding colonizers and which Clifford readily utilized to serve his own agenda. The net result of his literary output (which was considerable) was a body of fictional and non-fictional writing that, in so many ways, captured the colonial mood of the time and which foregrounded the ideologically laden

belief that Empire was good and necessary because it was essentially benevolent. In writing in this manner, Clifford seemed oblivious to his own subject-position as a colonialist and imperialist and was, in fact directly involved in the denial of the racism that was at the heart of racialized colonial-capitalism.

II. Mapping, Writing and Distortion: The Arrival of Hugh Charles Clifford as Colonial Functionary-Propagandist

Africa has been explored and re-explored during the last decade to such an extent that it no longer merits the name of the Dark Continent; Central Asia, too, has been forced of late years to yield up many of its secrets to energetic explorers; and all over the world the hidden things of darkness are daily being brought to light by adventurous spirits, not a few of whom, we may be proud to remember, are members of the great British race. (Clifford, 1897: 1)

Hugh Clifford,
*A Journey Through the Malay States
of Trengganu and Kelantan*

To truly appreciate the extent to which his later fictional writings were shaped and influenced by his experience as a colonial surveyor-cartographer-administrator, we need to understand the circumstances that brought Hugh Clifford to British Malaya in the first place. Hugh Charles Clifford, who would serve as the British colonial Resident in the kingdom of Pahang (John Pickersgill Rodget was the first Resident appointed to Pahang in October 1888)² was one of the more prolific colonial functionaries in British Malaya. Coming from a military family that had served the British Empire, Clifford lived in the shadow of his father Major-General Sir Henry Hugh Clifford whose reputation was made during the Boer War in South Africa. Departing from his father's military path, Clifford

² See Aruna Gopinath, *Pahang 1880-1933: A Political History*. Monograph 18 Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Geographic Society, 1996.

opted for life in the colonial civil service instead and would be sent to British Malaya. Upon his arrival, he initially served under the tutelage of Sir Frederick Weld (to whom he was related), who was then the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Like many of his generation, Clifford wished to make his mark in the colonies, and in 1883 he was given his first posting in Perak as a cadet. In Perak, he began to learn the language, culture, history, and social norms of the Malays, whom he would later govern. Later in 1886, he was posted to Pahang to map the territory of the kingdom and find a means through which the British could gain a foothold. Clifford's mission was to enter Pahang on foot and to find the means to travel across the land with the support of his Malay guides and then to find a way into the inner court of Pahang. His goal was to find a way to persuade the ruler of Pahang to open up his land to foreign (i.e., British) capital and to accept the presence of a British colonial resident in the court. Clifford did indeed manage to map the territory of Pahang. He later undertook several expeditions to the north of the Malay Peninsula, eventually producing one of the first accurate maps of Pahang, Terengganu, and Lower Kelantan, which was submitted to the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1897.³

Clifford's arrival in Pahang came amid the Pahang Revolt of 1891-1895, which was the result of British intervention in the kingdom, occasioned by the signing of the Pahang Treaty of 1888 that led to the ruler Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azzam losing much of his power and the kingdom being reduced to a protectorate where the British were, in fact, the *de facto* power.⁴ Clifford's preoccupation with the

³ Hugh Clifford, 'A Journey Through the Malay States of Trengganu and Kelantan'. In *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*. London: Savile Row. Vol. IX. No. 1. January 1897.

⁴ The Pahang uprising of 1891 to 1895 was the result of the new laws and regulations that were introduced to Pahang under British colonial rule. British intervention in Pahang (as in Perak and Selangor earlier) meant that the Malay lords and nobles of Pahang were no longer able to collect tax revenues. This led to dissatisfaction among many of the Malay chiefs who resented foreign interference in their affairs and who blamed Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azzam for allowing the British to enter Pahang in the first place. The primary instigator of the revolt was the nobleman Orang Kaya Setia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan, popularly known as Dato Bahaman. Dato Bahaman refused to comply with the orders of the newly appointed

mapping of Pahang (as well as Terengganu and Kelantan) was due to the desire on the part of the British to open up the East Coast states of the Malay Peninsula to British capital as soon as possible.⁵ In his reports that were sent to his superiors, Clifford constantly reiterated the theme of native backwardness and political instability, which he found to be the primary reasons for the absence of foreign capital in the kingdoms concerned. That Clifford placed so much faith in the transformative power of Western capital was hardly surprising, for he also subscribed to notions of racial difference and believed that progress could only be delivered through the intervention of superior nations, including 'the great British race' to which he obviously belonged.

Clifford did not simply map the geography of Pahang, Terengganu, and Kelantan, but he also produced a narrative account of the socio-political-economic landscape of the Malay kingdoms,

Resident at the court of Pahang, and between 1888 to 1891, continued to defy the orders of the British that was issued in the name of Sultan Ahmad. The Pahang Treaty had compromised Pahang's sovereignty in no uncertain terms, as Sultan Ahmad was no longer allowed to engage in diplomatic relations with any other state without the consent of the British. Article 6 of the Pahang Treaty of 1888 stated that 'The Raja of Pahang undertakes on his part that he will not, without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's government, negotiate any treaty or enter into any engagement with any foreign state', or 'interfere in the politics of administration of any native state'. See Aruna Gopinath, *Pahang 1880-1933*; Abdul Talib Haji Ahmad, *Sejarah Dato Bahaman, Orang Kaya Semantan*. Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Bahagia Press, 1959; *Treaties and Other Papers connected with the Native states of the Malay Peninsula*. Singapore: Government Printing House. 1888: 42-55.

⁵ As soon as the Treaty of Pahang was signed a British Magistrate and a contingent of colonial policemen were sent to the royal capital Pekan as well. British capital poured into Pahang immediately after the state came under indirect colonial rule. One of the first British companies that was set up was the Pahang Corporation which was founded by the tin prospector William Fraser; and not long after came other companies that included the Pahang-Kabang Limited company and the Pahang-Semiliang Limited company. See 'Mining Operations at Pahang, Malay Peninsula', in *The Illustrated London News*. London, 5 April 1890: 419. The Pahang Corporation was given the right to prospect for tin in an area of 2,000 square miles in Pahang, in and around the district of Sungai Lembing. The corporation recruited the help of Chinese tin miners to carry out mining work in areas under the company's control. See 'The Pahang Enterprise in the Malay Peninsula', in *The Illustrated London News*. London, 29 March 1890: 398.

thereby *combining geographical mapping with social mapping at the same time*. In his writings on Terengganu and Kelantan, Clifford was inclined to focus on what he regarded as the deficiencies of the people and their political systems and institutions. He regarded the political administration of Terengganu as weak⁶, while the ruler of the kingdom he claimed to represent ‘remains for the most part unaware of the things which are done in his name’.⁷

Kelantan was cast in the same light as that of Terengganu and Pahang, though for Clifford the main difference was that the ruler of Kelantan was very much in control of things.⁸ The Kelantanese, Clifford claimed, were a ‘miserable people’ who had no rights of person or property, and so poor were they that they were selling their children ‘for a few dollars a-piece’.⁹ In the reports that he wrote, Clifford was often inclined to see and represent Malay political institutions, structures and titles in terms that were European for the sake of comparison. Clifford had thus brought with him the vocabulary of European politics, and it is interesting to note how he chose to see and represent Malay political institutions through lens that were distinctly Eurocentric. That he compared Malay politics to

⁶ Clifford noted that ‘when the present Sultan (Sultan Zainal Abidin III) succeeded in 1881, being at the time a mere boy, his numerous relations had recognized that an opportunity, which they had long desired, had at length arrived. Under the iron will of his great-Uncle Baginda Omar, and while his father Ahmad was still alive, the revenue of the state went to fill the royal coffers only, and the rajas and chiefs of the country were mainly dependent on the Sultan’s bounty for their supplies. In Zenal-a-Bidin III, however, they found a weak, studious boy, afflicted with a slight impediment to his speech, which made him shy and nervous in their presence, and whose devotion to his religious studies and practices caused him to be easily influenced by his pastors and governors’. See Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 14-15.

⁷ Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 21.

⁸ Clifford’s low regard for the system of law in Kelantan matched that of his view of Terengganu. He noted that ‘The law is administered on the same lines as those followed in Terengganu, but the barbarous punishment of mutilation of the hand for theft, and many of the other cruel enactments of *Hukum Shara* (sic) are still enforced in Kelantan. The gob, or cage cells, in which criminals are confined, are exactly as those I have described in writing of Terengganu, but the cages more numerous, and the number of inmates is greater.’ See Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 36.

⁹ Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 36.

that of Medieval Europe and assigned to Malay leaders titles and roles – such as barons – reveals something about his own cultural perspectivism.

Even before he turned his attention to fictional writing, we can see how Clifford's work was inclined towards the dramatic and exotic. In his 1897 report, he had already begun to utilize the common tropes of Asiatic despotism, native misrule, and anarchy in the Malay lands as when he wrote of the ruling classes in the Malay kingdoms:

The relations of the Raja, to whom one or more districts in the state have been granted as a source of income, are for the most part absentees, the work of collecting the revenue from their people being entrusted to agents. These men, who are usually natives of Kuala Terengganu, being practically unchecked, tyrannize over the local headmen and the people of the out-districts, secure in the knowledge that none dare raise a voice in complaint and that no ill thing is likely to befall them provided that the district continues to be a steady source of income to the Raja to whom it has been granted.¹⁰

Clifford's attitude towards the Malay kingdoms and Malay society was complex: His criticisms were directed almost exclusively to the Malay ruling classes, who were sometimes compared to the tyrannical robber barons of Europe of the medieval era. He did, however, have a more positive view of Malay labor and industry and did note that in the two states that had yet to come under British influence (Terengganu and Kelantan) there existed a significant degree of Malay manufacturing. Terengganu, he noted, 'may be aptly described as the Birmingham of the Malay Peninsula', owing to the productive labor of the cloth weavers who were famous for their production of *sarongs*, *kain limar* (shot-silk cloth) and *kain songket* (gold-threaded brocade).¹¹ He also praised the metalwork that was being produced in Terengganu, notably the brass and silverware;¹² and had equally positive things to say about the quality of woodwork

¹⁰ Clifford, 'A Journey Through the Malay States', 17.

¹¹ Clifford, 'A Journey Through the Malay States', 26-27.

¹² Clifford, 'A Journey Through the Malay States', 28-29.

and boat building there.¹³

Yet notwithstanding his praise for Malay industry Clifford was disparaging when it came to the mental capabilities of the Malays in general, for ‘like all their race, their genius is imitative rather than creative’.¹⁴ Thus Clifford had not only set out to map the Malay lands but also the Malay mind, and of the Malay mind he had almost nothing good to say: ‘A people so conservative as the Malays, who are so wedded to their ancient customs, whose chief standard of excellence is antiquity, who act by precedent, and who argue by quoting old laws and ancient sayings, are hardly to be expected now to produce anything’.¹⁵ Among his peers and fellow colonial administrators Clifford would later come to be regarded as the foremost British expert on all matters related to Pahang and its people, culture, and history. He would later write of himself and his achievements in the following terms:

At a preposterously early age I was the principal instrument in adding 15,000 square miles of territory to the British dependencies of the East.¹⁶

Clifford’s 1897 Royal Geographical Society report on the Malay kingdoms of Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan holds the key to a better understanding of his fictional works that would come later, and they demonstrate the extent to which long before he dabbled in the world of colonial fiction, he had already internalised the common tropes and themes of Empire that were in circulation then. But it is in his fictional writings that Clifford foregrounded the theme of ‘protective imperialism’ and the trope of the malevolent, aggressive Malay, which were themselves ideas that were developed in the wider discourse and praxis of racialised colonial-capitalism. It is to these works of fiction that we shall turn to next.

¹³ Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 30.

¹⁴ Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 30.

¹⁵ Clifford, ‘A Journey Through the Malay States’, 30.

¹⁶ Hugh Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916), x.

III. Framing the Other: The Trope of the ‘Aggressive Malay’ in the Fictional Stories of Hugh Clifford

From the beginning of Western speculation about the Orient, the one thing the Orient could not do was to represent itself. Evidence of the Orient was credible only after it had passed through and been made firm by the refining fire of the Orientalist’s work. (Said 1985: 283)

Edward Said, *Orientalism*

The Orient becomes a pretext for self-dramatization... It affords endless material for the imagination, and endless potential for the Occidental self. (Kabbani, 1986: 26)

Rana Kabbani,
Imperial Fictions

When reading the fictional writings of Hugh Clifford today, it is imperative that we remind ourselves of the subject-position of the author as well as the historical-political circumstances of their writing. As we have noted above, Hugh Clifford was not merely an author but was in fact an important functionary within the bureaucratic-policing-administrative system of British Malaya. This places him and his work squarely at the center of the colonial enterprise, and his fictional writings need to be read and seen for what they were: Works of colonial fiction that were written under the auspices of Empire.

Kabbani has noted that the colonial author is a somewhat unique figure in the world of literature, for he/she writes/wrote during the heyday of Empire and with a specific imperial-colonial readership in mind. As she has pointed out:

The (Western) traveler begins his journey with the strength of an empire sustaining him – albeit from a distance – militarily, economically, and intellectually; he feels compelled to note down his observations in the

awareness of a particular audience: his fellow countrymen.¹⁷

That Clifford, along with scores of other colonial writers, was writing for his fellow countrymen is a point of some importance to our analysis here, for it must be stated yet again that his fictional works were written with a British/European readership in mind, and not for the entertainment or edification of the Asians he was writing about.

Hugh Clifford's fictional stories were compiled in two volumes: *In a Corner of Asia* (1899) and *The Further Side of Silence* (1916), and he also wrote a full-length novel entitled *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* (1926). What we propose to do in this section of the paper is to look closely at some of the short stories that were penned by Clifford and offer a close textual analysis of the salient themes and tropes that were found in them, time and again.

At The Court of Pelesu¹⁸ (1899)

The short story *At the Court of Pelesu* first appeared in the collection of short stories by Clifford in the volume entitled *In A Corner of Asia* (1899). Among the many short stories that he wrote, this was perhaps the most personal. Though the names of the characters and places are fictional, an avid reader of Clifford's work will undoubtedly realize that the character of Jack Norris is based on Hugh Clifford himself, and Pelesu refers to Pekan, the traditional center of political power in Pahang. The story centers around the killing of two Chinese merchants, both of whom were British subjects, and how the event led to Britain's intervention in the kingdom.¹⁹

Pelesu was described by Clifford as a 'squalid place', and those

¹⁷ Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions*, 1986, xi.

¹⁸ Hugh Clifford, 'At The Court of Pelesu' in: Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*, T. Fisher Unwin Press, London, 1899.

¹⁹ Gopinath (1996) has given an account of the treatment of the two Chinese British colonial subjects that later served as a pretext for British intervention in the affairs of Pahang. In February 1888, a Chinese merchant by the name of Go Hui was murdered, and the British alleged that the Sultan of Pahang was indirectly implicated in the death of the colonial subject. Earlier in January 1888, another Chinese merchant by the name of Su Kim was poisoned, and once again, the British accused the Pahang elite of being responsible. See Aruna Gopinath, *Pahang 1880-1933*, 92-93.

who have read his reports on the kingdoms of Pahang, Terengganu, and Kelantan would be familiar with the theme of Oriental squalor:

The capital city of the Sultan of Pelesu was a somewhat squalid place. It mainly consisted of one long irregular lane running parallel to the river-bank, the houses on one side having a double frontage, abutting respectively on the shore and on the water, while the occupants of those facing them could only gain access to the river by means of a few narrow landing-places; [...] The street was unmetalled, but the red and dusty earth had been beaten smooth and hard by the passage of innumerable unshod feet; [...] The mosque, the neglected European bungalow, and the big stone building were alike the property of the King, the two former serving to mark a period of his reign during which, after a short visit of ceremony to a neighboring British colony, he for a space had devoted to public works some portion of the funds which were more commonly employed in the ministering of his personal pleasures.²⁰

The ruler of Pelesu, in turn was described by Clifford in disparaging terms, typical of the kind of critique that was found in the writings of other British colonial functionaries like Raffles and Crawfurd:

For his part, the King resembled the gentlemen whose names sometimes appear in the police reports, inasmuch as, like them, he had no fixed place of abode. The standards of civilization, represented respectively by the White Man's bungalow and the palace of Chinese design, did not appeal to him; instead, he led a peripatetic existence, dividing his time, as his passing fancy dictated, between the houses occupied by his various concubines.²¹

The primary character of the story, however, is the British colonial officer Jack Norris, who at the beginning enjoys his posting to the

²⁰ Clifford, 'At The Court of Pelesu', 14-15.

²¹ Clifford, 'At The Court of Pelesu', 16.

‘one-horse kingdom’ where he was the sole Englishman assigned to lead the process of British intervention.²² Clifford writes that the kingdom had long been ‘a thorn in the side’ of the British, and that some means had to be found to open the way for intervention into local affairs:

The state of Pelesu had long been a thorn in the side of the government that presided over the neighboring crown colony and the adjoining British protectorate, and little by little, the evil deeds of the King gathered sufficient weight to turn the slow wheels upon which runs the administration of one of the most ponderous nations of the earth.²³

The opportunity for intervention arises when a Chinese merchant named Che Ah Ku – who was also a British colonial subject from Hong Kong – approaches Norris for help on the grounds that his wife had become the object of attention of the kingdom’s ruler. It is interesting to note that the Chinese subject refers to Norris the Englishman as ‘*Pen-awar Puteh*’ (*The White Cure*), and here the theme of the White Man’s Burden was being played out in earnest. Norris seized the chance to use this scandal as a means to extend British influence in Pelesu, and this is done in the name of ‘protecting’ the helpless colonial subject from Hong Kong from the intentions of the local Malay ruler.

As the narrative progresses, another opportunity for British intervention arises when another Chinese merchant (who was also a British colonial subject) is found murdered with poison. The tension mounts as Norris declares that he will personally escort the merchant Ah Ku to British Singapore and thereafter call for stern action against those who have threatened the lives of British subjects in Pelesu.²⁴ Norris’ plan, however, goes awry when Ah Ku dies on the night before their departure to Singapore. Notwithstanding the death of the two Chinese British colonial subjects, Norris now has what he needs to call for direct intervention in the Malay kingdom: The theme of native

²² Clifford, ‘At The Court of Pelesu’, 19.

²³ Clifford, ‘At The Court of Pelesu’, 20.

²⁴ Clifford, ‘At The Court of Pelesu’, 70-74.

misrule and local anarchy provides him with the legal-moral justification for direct involvement in Malay politics.

At the Court of Pelesu is perhaps the most crafted of all of Clifford's short stories. Apart from the autobiographical allusions that are evident throughout the narrative, the story also sets up a set of neat and exclusive racialized identities and categorizations of the native Other. At the heart of the story is Jack Norris, who is presented as the embodiment of law and righteousness and serves as the moral standard against which all other characters are measured.

The Malays in the story are divided into two categories: On the one hand, there are the 'loyal Malays' of the West Coast who have traveled to Pelesu as part of Jack Norris's armed retinue, led by the pro-British nobleman Raja Haji. Raja Haji and the 'loyal Malays' are referred to again and again in the story as part of Norris's band of steadfast warriors. Yet, they remain undifferentiated save for the fact that they have vowed an oath of loyalty to their British master. On the other hand, there are the Eastern Malays of Pelesu, who comes across as a malevolent and aggressive bunch, led by the Sultan (who is described in the most unflattering terms throughout the story and who later flees Pelesu before he could be implicated in any of the violence), and a band of Pelesu nobles who show blind deference to their ruler. The narrative juxtapositioning of the 'Western Malays' (who are loyal to Jack Norris) and the 'Eastern Malays' (who are loyal to their native ruler) underscores this binary division in the story as well.²⁵ The Chinese characters in the story are bereft of any personality, and their primary function in the tale – as British colonial subjects – is to provide Norris with the legal and moral justification for British intervention into Pelesu after their deaths. The kingdom of Pelesu, in

²⁵ Despite the difference between the Malays of the West and the East of the Peninsula, Clifford's own prognosis of the Malays as a nation remained a very negative one. This was further developed in his novel *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya*, where Clifford presented the predicament faced by colonial officials left with the task of 'educating' the Malays. Saleh, the main character, is a Malay prince whose English education in Britain leaves him uprooted and homeless. He becomes a social outcast amongst his own people and is regarded with contempt by the British colonial officials. Here Clifford expresses his objection to the attempt to 'Westernise' the Malays by educating them. [See: Hugh Clifford, *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya*, Harper, New York, 1926 (reprint of the original story which appeared in two parts, in 1904 and 1908).]

turn, is repeatedly referred to as 'backward' and located in some far-flung 'corner of Asia', awaiting deliverance and intervention by the 'White cure/ *Pen-awar Puteh*' that is, of course embodied in none other than the form of Jack Norris (re. Clifford) himself.

The recurrent themes in this short story should be familiar to those who have studied the discursive strategies of Western imperialism and colonial intervention from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries: The racial binary between the white savior and the dark, malevolent Asiatic rests upon a series of other binary distinctions as well: Between progress and regression, between law and lawlessness, between freedom and despotism, etc. As a work of colonial fiction, *At the Court of Pelesu* is a very good example of the kind of discursive strategy that was employed by the expanding Western colonial powers across Asia at the time, where intervention into local native politics was often done in the name of 'saving the Asiatic Other from himself/themselves'. This would be a theme reiterated by Clifford in many of his stories, as we shall see below.

***The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing*²⁶ (1899)**

The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing is another one of the short stories by Clifford that appear in the collection *In A Corner of Asia*, and it tells the story of the roving marauder Kulop Sumbing, whose face was marred by a great scar that he received during a fight (hence his name *Sumbing*). The dichotomy of law versus lawlessness features prominently in the story as Kulop attempts to escape from Perak (which was, by then, a British protectorate under British colonial law) to Pahang.

The theme of evil – in both people and places – runs throughout the story, and the kingdom of Pahang is presented by Clifford as a still-lawless land that had yet to come under complete British control, and he describes it as 'a place which bore an evil reputation as a land where ill things were done with impunity, while the doer throve

²⁶ Clifford, 'The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing', in Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*, T. Fisher Unwin Press, London, 1899. Edited and re-titled *The Lone-Hand Raid of Kulop Sumbing* in: Hugh Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916).

exceedingly'.²⁷ Clifford describes Kulop in the following terms:

He knew that no woman would love him for the sake of his marred, unsightly face; but that many would bestow their favours upon him if his money bags were well-lined. Therefore, he determined to grow rich with as little delay as possible, and to this end he looked about for someone he might plunder.²⁸

In Clifford's view, not only is Kulop seen and cast as degenerate, but so are Malay women in toto, 'who are among the most venal of their sex'.²⁹ As the story progresses, Kulop makes his journey to Pahang until he stumbles across an aboriginal settlement of Sakais in the jungle. Kulop is elated when he discovers that the Sakais had amassed a small fortune in a quantity of rubber they had tapped and which he could steal and sell later. After terrorizing the Sakais and bringing them under his subjugation, Kulop compels them to build for him several rafts for the purpose of transporting the rubber downriver with them so that he can sell it at the first opportunity. In this part of the story, we encounter another dichotomy that is introduced by Clifford between the unscrupulous and cruel Malay Kulop and the pathetic and weak Sakais.³⁰

Upon reaching the first Malay settlement downriver, Kulop sells his ill-gotten rubber and earns himself a thousand silver dollars. Overjoyed by the sudden turn of fate, Kulop then considers returning to Perak to court a woman who had rejected his overtures earlier. Clifford adds that another reason for him to turn back to Perak was to escape the Malay chiefs of Pahang who may tax his earnings.³¹ Kulop's decision proves to be the cause of his own undoing, however, for on his way back to Perak he is hounded by the Sakais, who later ambush him in the middle of the night, leaving him for dead in the middle of the forest. Unlike Kulop the Sakais have little regard for the silver coins in his purse, and he is instead left to suffer his fate alone in

²⁷ Clifford, 'The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing', 80.

²⁸ Clifford, 'The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing', 80.

²⁹ Clifford, 'The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing', 80.

³⁰ Clifford, 'The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing', 86-91.

³¹ Clifford, 'The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing', 98.

the middle of nowhere:

They (the Sakais) carried off none of his gear, for they feared to be haunted by his ghost, and Kulop now had nothing edible about him, such as the jungle folk find it hard to leave untouched. Money had no meaning to the Sakai, so the silver dollars, which ran in a glittering stream from a rent made in the waist-pouch by chance spear-thrust, was left glinting in the moonlight by the side of that still, grey face with its ghastly, pallid lip split upward to the nostrils.³²

The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing repeats some of the themes and tropes we have looked at earlier, with greater emphasis on the theme of the aggressive and cruel Malay. None of the Malay characters in the story is portrayed positively: Kulop Sumbing is presented as a ruthless thief and murderer, the Malay chiefs as greedy, and Malay women as venal. The Sakais, in turn, are presented as weak, backward, primitive, and in dire need of protection, and it is this theme of protection loomed large not only in the fictional works of Clifford but also in his reports to the colonial authorities. As in the case of the short story *At the Court of Pelesu* we have looked at above, *The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing* is another work of colonial fiction that extols the virtue of British intervention in the Malay lands, in this case for the sake of ‘protecting’ the aboriginal communities of the Malay Peninsula from the injustices meted out upon them by the Malays.

***The Wages of Sin*³³ (1899)**

Though Clifford spent a considerable amount of time and energy in developing the trope of the malevolent, violent Malay, he also devoted some attention to the other ethnic communities that were also present in the Malay Peninsula, like the Chinese. Clifford's depiction of the Chinese in his stories is doubly interesting because

³² Clifford, ‘The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing’, 104.

³³ Clifford, ‘The Wages of Sin’, in: Sir Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*, T. Fisher Unwin Press, London, 1899.

they often fall into one of two categories: At times, they are portrayed as the victims of the Malays, while on other occasions, they are cast as a race of predators and opportunists. Both aspects are seen in the depiction of the Chinese merchant Lim Chong in Clifford's story *The Wages of Sin* (1899).

At the heart of the story is the character of the Chinese merchant Lim Chong, who is accused of murder by the Malays of the village of Bukit Segumpal. Clifford's account of Malay-Chinese relations is couched in an oppositional dichotomy where the former is seen as a martial race while the latter is cast as venal, weak, and avaricious. In Clifford's words:

It was natural enough for a (Malay) warrior to despise the yellow skin, for he prized others according to the amount of fight which they are capable of showing upon occasion, and judged from this standpoint, the Chinamen who, in those days, visited the Peninsula were poor creatures indeed [...] The opinion as to its utter worthlessness prevailed equally with the Raja, the chief, and the peasant; it was as strong in the villages and the country places as in the town and the palace; and in the estimation of no class of Malays, I verily believe, did the Chinaman rank higher than any beasts that perish. He was an infidel, for one thing; he was a rich man, often enough, and as such a natural prey of prince and chief; he was a skillful and shifty trader, who cheated the peasants out of their halfpence, and he was detested accordingly.³⁴

That such a neat binary opposition could be found in Clifford's story is hardly surprising when we consider how late nineteenth-century racialized colonial capitalism had been built upon the foundations of the numerous pseudo-scientific theories of racial difference that had been in circulation across Europe and North America by that time. Clifford returns to the theme of the greedy Chinese who are hated by the Malays later when he writes:

³⁴ Clifford, 'The Wages of Sin', 183-184.

He is despised by those around him, but he makes money; he is an outcast, and knows it.³⁵

For Clifford, the Chinese merchants who were in the Malay Peninsula at the time were largely a class of parasites who were directly or indirectly responsible for the poverty of the Malays:

In a little space, half of the village is in his debt, and as the folk who owe him money are bound to treat him with civility, he begins to taste the sweets of power. He uses it badly, of course, for he hates all the villages cordially. He has no scruples, no heart, no morality, commercial or private [...] When the menfolk are in the fields, the women come to the shop and either contract debts which they and their husbands are powerless to meet or else beg for trifles which sooner or later, the shopkeeper makes them pay in very full measure. Thus, presently, half the womenfolk of the village will be in the power of the alien.³⁶

Though by the end of the story, it is discovered and proven that Lim Chong is innocent of the charge of murder, Clifford's account of him leaves the reader with the impression that the Chinese merchant remains an intolerable figure: Lim Chong demands one thousand dollars in compensation from the government for having him arrested and complains of having his wife kidnapped (despite the fact that he was never married).³⁷

This somewhat clichéd depiction of Lim Chong as the stereotypical Chinese merchant driven by greed and vainglory was in keeping with the wave of anti-Chinese hostility that had swept across Europe and North America at the time, echoing the rhetoric of the 'Yellow Peril' scare and mirroring the attitudes of other Western colonial powers in the region then. In the nineteenth century, similar anti-Chinese sentiments were present in the neighboring Dutch East Indies, where the Chinese were seen as 'industrious' and yet

³⁵ Clifford, 'The Wages of Sin', 184.

³⁶ Clifford, 'The Wages of Sin', 185.

³⁷ Clifford, 'The Wages of Sin', 192.

'non-native' and regarded as 'foreign Asiatics'. The Chinese of the Dutch East Indies had been co-opted by the Dutch to serve the ends of colonial-capitalism but were hardly ever made to feel part of their colonial society, despite the increasingly large number of Peranakan Chinese who were born and growing up there. Decades earlier, in December 1857, the Dutch Minister of the Colony of East Indies, P. Mijer (1856-1858), went as far as referring to the Chinese merchants in Java as the *'bloedzuigers der Javanen'*³⁸ ('Bloodsuckers of the Javanese') and called for limits to be imposed on their economic activities, ostensibly to protect the local Javanese merchant community – while also allowing Dutch entrepreneurs more room to manoeuvre in the colony. Thus, in British Malaya as well as the Dutch East Indies, the attitude of the colonial administrators was the same: Britain and the Netherlands had come to the region to 'protect' the natives from all manner of ills – from themselves, from their superstitions, from their tyrannical rulers, and from other parasitic Asians. 'Protective Imperialism' had become a reality in British Malaya as it had become a reality in British India, British Burma and the Dutch East Indies, and the idea of 'protection' had seeped into policy papers, administrative projects, and popular fiction in equal measure.

Recurrent themes: Oriental despotism, native anarchy, and local superstition.

A cursory reading of the short stories by Hugh Clifford will show that he employed several key themes and tropes that would recur again and again in the various works of fiction that he penned. Among the ideas that he chose to foreground is that of the Malays as a violent, warlike race prone to despotism and tyranny, and this was a major theme in his works like *At The Court of Pelesu* (1899), *The Death-March of Kulop Sumbing* (1899) discussed above, as well other works like *The Story of Ram Singh*³⁹ (1899), *A Malayan Prison*⁴⁰

³⁸ Mona Lohanda, *Growing Pains: The Chinese and the Dutch in Colonial Java, 1890-1942*. Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, 2002.

³⁹ The depiction of the Malays as a violent race led by warlike chieftains is evident in Clifford's short story *The Story of Ram Singh* (1899) which recounts the exploits of Ram Singh, a Sikh soldier garrisoned in an outpost located at Kuala Tembeling. At the

(1916) and *The Vigil of Pa' Tua, the Thief* (1899)⁴¹. Related to the

end of the story, Ram Singh manages to reach the village of the pro-British Malay leader Dato Imam Prang, who alerts the British and, by doing so, prevents a general revolt across the kingdom of Pahang. While Clifford's depiction of the fictional character Ram Singh is positive, his portrayal of the Malays in the story is consistently negative. In the narrative, the reader encounters historical figures such as Tok Gajah, Mat Kilau, Awang Nong, Orang Kaya Pahlawan Semantan, and Teh Ibrahim, who Clifford summarily described as 'typical young Malay roisterers, truculent, swaggering, boastful, noisy and gaily colored'. (pg. 166). Though inspired by real events (namely, the Pahang Uprising) Clifford's account of events is decidedly one-sided and naturally identifies the 'rebels' as criminal elements who are bent on bringing anarchy and destruction to Pahang. See 'The Story of Ram Singh', in: Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*.

⁴⁰ Clifford's short story *A Malayan Prison* (1916) recounts his visit to a Malay prison that was run by one of the chiefs of Terengganu, who is described as 'a Raja who, though he was not the ruler of the country, was a man of exalted position and stood possessed of considerable power'. (pg. 136) Unlike his other works of fiction, Clifford notes that *A Malayan Prison* 'is not a pretty tale, and I would counsel persons who prefer to ignore the existence of uncomfortable things to give it a wide berth'. (pg. 135) The main character is a Malay man named Talib, who was accused of stealing the *keris* of the Raja, and who was then incarcerated in the Raja's jail; a structure made of wood in the form of a wooden cage-raised above the ground. The emphasis of the story lies in the detailed accounts of the wretchedness of the prisoners and the absence of anything that resembles a legal system in the Malay kingdoms. Among the many stories that he wrote, Clifford's *A Malayan Prison* is one where he explicitly made a case for direct British intervention in Malay affairs, for 'readers of this true tale will perhaps realize how it comes to pass that some of us men in the outskirts – who have seen things, and not merely heard of them – are apt to become rather strong 'imperialists', and find it hard at times to endure with patience the ardent defenders of the Rights of Man, who bleat their comfortable aphorisms in the British House of Commons, and cry shame upon our 'hungry acquisitions'. See Clifford, 'A Malayan Prison', in: Hugh Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916), 147.

⁴¹ *The Vigil of Pa' Tua, the Thief* is a simple tale of Pa' Tua (Pak Tua), who scours the coastal fringes of Pahang, visiting one island after another in search of birds' nests which he sells to Chinese merchants. After a mishap Pa' Tua finds himself struck in a cave, his body squeezed and crushed between the rocks and unable to get himself out. In the end Pa' Tua dies and Clifford notes that he dies a wasted death, victim of fate that is wont to prey upon the Malays: 'So Fate, more vindictive than human justice, refused even the burial rites of the Muhammadans – without which, as it is well known, the salvation of the soul is by no means assured – to the tortured body of Pa' Tua, the thief'. See Clifford, 'The Vigil of Pa' Tua, the Thief', in: Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*, 251-252. Clifford's story reiterates the common colonial stereotype of the

trope of the violent Malay was the idea of the Malays as a superstitious and unscientific race, which he explored in stories like *In The Central Gaol* (1899)⁴² and *A Daughter of the Muhammadans* (1899).⁴³

Apart from the Malays who were the central characters in many of his stories, Clifford also focused his attention on two other Asiatic communities: The Chinese in Malaya as well as the aborigines of the Peninsula. Whenever Clifford touched upon these subjects, particularly on the relationship between the Malays, Chinese and aborigines of the land, his belief in racial distinctions as well as hierarchies between the races were visibly pronounced, as in

‘lazy native’, and the popular Western belief that native Southeast Asians were disinclined to work and lacked a sense of industry.

⁴² The theme of Malay superstition and folk beliefs is touched briefly in the short story *In the Central Gaol* (1899) where the reader is introduced to the character of an old Malay prisoner who recounts how he ended up in jail. The old man explains that he had murdered his own daughter fifteen years ago, in a fit of rage when he claimed that he had been possessed. The character of the old prisoner reinforces Clifford’s long-standing view that the Malays are a superstitious race who believe in ghosts and spirit possession. At the end of the story, the old man is finally set free when two visiting British justices review his case. As the two colonial officials conclude their review of the case, one of them says to the other: ‘The murder was an accident, and the conviction a mistake, but native human nature – a thing that we shall never really get the hang of – and not White Man’s folly was responsible for the latter as much as for the former’. See ‘In The Central Gaol’ in Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*, 136.

⁴³ The bulk of Clifford’s story *A Daughter of the Muhammadans* recounts the circumstances of the young woman Minah’s life and marriage to her husband and repeats many of the Orientalist stereotypes about the ways of Asians: Minah is married off when she was a child. Later her husband falls ill with leprosy, and they are unable to have children, but she dutifully stays by his side as his illness destroys his body. In the story, Malay society is depicted as superstitious and ignorant of medical discoveries. The disease is described by the Malays as something ‘evil’, unspoken, and misunderstood. The tale ends after a short aside when Clifford refers to his posting as Governor of the Crown Colony of Labuan (1899) and his subsequent return to Pahang as a British Resident there. Clifford lauds the virtues of Minah and commends her for her devotion to her husband; he still admonishes her community for their traditional ways and ignorance of modern medicine and healthcare. See Clifford, ‘A Daughter of the Muhammadans’, in Hugh Clifford, *In a Corner of Asia*. The story also appears in the edited volume *The Further Side of Silence*, but with the omission of the last section where Clifford relates his last encounter with Minah, long after her husband has passed away.

his short story *The Further Side of Silence*.⁴⁴

Read together against the historical backdrop of a British colony-in-the-making at the time, Clifford's short stories can be seen as fictional works that lent a gloss of purpose and meaning to Britain's effort to colonize the entire Malay Peninsula from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. But these stories went beyond conventional exhortations to the imperial ambition that was common and popular at the time: They also offered a discursive justification and rationale for Britain's arrival and presence in the Malay world, and they furnished the imperial enterprise with a sense of moral legitimacy upon which the empires of Europe were then built upon. It is to this topic that we shall now turn to, by way of a conclusion.

IV. Denying and Deflecting the Racism of Empire: Hugh Clifford's Colonial Fiction and the Whitewashing of British Imperialism

The existence of the disabled native is required for the next lie and the next and the next. (Bhabha, 1994: 183)

Homi K. Bhabha,
*Articulating the Archaic:
Cultural Difference and Colonial Nonsense* (1994)

⁴⁴ The theme of Malay-Sakai relations is the main theme in Clifford's story *The Further Side of Silence*. The story revolves around two primary characters: A Malay by the name of Kria, son of Mat; and a young Sakai girl by the name of Pi-Noi. Clifford portrays Kria as a Malay who had 'sneaked up on the Telom valley and established himself as a trader on its banks well within Sakai country' (p. 3), living close to the Sakais whom Clifford describes as 'feeble and timid jungle-folk, the aboriginal possessors of the Peninsula' (p. 3). At the outset of the tale Clifford presents the relationship between the Malays and the Sakais as being fundamentally an unequal one. Clifford maintains that Pi-Noi's Sakai intellect is 'child-like' and her adaptation to Malay social and sartorial norms only superficial (p. 13). An essentialist viewpoint can be seen in Clifford's depiction of the aborigines in Malaya, for Pi-Noi eventually reverts to her 'savage' nature. Clifford's understanding of the Malays and Sakais of the Peninsula was shaped by his own belief in racial hierarchies and biological differences between the races. See Clifford, 'The Further Side of Silence' in: Hugh Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916).

To state (bluntly) that Hugh Clifford was a proponent and defender of British imperialism in Asia would hardly be a case of hyperbole or overstatement. From the beginning to the end of his career Clifford never concealed the fact that he was a steadfast believer in the philosophy and praxis of Empire and was intensely proud of the fact that he belonged to ‘the great British race’ that had, by that time, created the largest Western empire the world had ever seen. Present-day scholars should remember that the quotidian realities of Empire from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries were founded by men like these, who were part of the vast army of bureaucrats, technocrats and administrators who built and held together the vast imperial domains they created by and for themselves.

What is interesting, however, is how Clifford’s writings display an unease about the messiness of Empire and how the entire imperial enterprise was founded upon the divisive and antagonistic politics of divide-and-rule, guided by a host of pseudo-scientific theories of racial difference and racial hierarchies, and the popular belief in the superiority of some martial, industrious races over others. In this respect Clifford’s portrayal of the Malays, Chinese and aborigines in his reports as well as his popular fiction display the same set of beliefs, grounded in the prejudices of the time which he himself clearly endorsed and internalized. In the course of his work and writings, Clifford had not only mapped, surveyed, and studied the societies of the Malay Peninsula, but also classified them and located them within a violent hierarchy that was grounded on general essentialist assumptions about the character and nature of the communities he wrote about.

This places Clifford squarely at the heart of the operational logic of racialized colonial-capitalism, as one of its most vocal and visible defenders and proponents, and who was himself part of the divisive political system that had been introduced to Malaya by the British.

The importance of reading Clifford’s works today lies in the manner in which they show how empires were constantly in need of some form of moral legitimacy and justification all the time, and that in the case of the kind of ‘protective imperialism’ that Clifford

defended and promoted there was a constant need for an ‘enemy Other’ that would play the discursive role of being the counterfoil to Britain’s imperial ambitions. Enemies are useful for empire building, and the British Empire was constantly on the lookout for adversarial Others that could be cast in a negative light, as enemies of progress, modernity, development, law, and order. As in the case of the negative portrayal of some of the communities in British India and British Burma, Britain’s colonial adventurism in Malaya also required the presence of an adversarial Other that would justify the use of means fair and foul – from outright military intervention and martial violence to bribery and co-optation – in order to gain a lasting presence in the land.

The sophistication of Clifford’s fictional work lay in how he carefully presented his (British/European) readers with scenarios and choices that were false from the outset: By presenting the Malays of Malaya in the most disparaging terms – as lazy, tyrannical, and superstitious – he invented the perfect enemy for Empire’s claims to progress and enlightenment. Added to this decidedly negative view of one community was the stereotype of the crafty and greedy Chinese, and the backward and feeble aborigines; and all these groups would be framed in his fictional stories in relationships that were antagonistic and oppressive. From the point of view of the British or European reader, there seemed no escape from the inevitable conclusion that this messy state of affairs could only be resolved and brought under some kind of order through the intervention of a benevolent external power, and that power was of course Britain.

Clifford was certainly not a writer of note, and his prose could hardly be compared to that of Joseph Conrad’s (1857-1924) or Somerset Maugham’s (1874-1965). But his popular fiction was meant to supplement his official work, as well as the reports and surveys that he did in the service of Empire; and in that sense, this wide range of writings complemented and informed one another. And in all his writings, Clifford strove to hammer home a simple point: That British intervention in Malaya was benevolent and necessary and that the arrival of British power to the Malay lands would ultimately ‘protect’ the natives from themselves.

In this respect, Clifford was no mere colonial functionary who busied himself only with the humdrum tasks of managing a colony: Unlike his peers and contemporaries, Clifford set out not only to understand and study the communities of British Malaya but also to categorize them and re-cast them in roles that were his own invention. His literary output came in the form of reports and surveys and also stories, but these stories were not merely stories that were told for the sake of entertainment or amusement. In his stories, we can see the workings of the discourse of racialized colonial capitalism at work, and though his role and works have been mainly forgotten today, he remains one of the British colonial functionaries most responsible for the dissemination of negative stereotypes of the Malays and other communities in the land. By doing Hugh Clifford was also one of the most active deniers of racism at work in the building of British Malaya.

NORMS OF RISE AND FALL OF CIVILIZATIONS IN THE QUR'AN

Beneficial Knowledge and Justice as a Model

Arshad Islam¹
Ruqaiya Taha Al-Alwani²

Abstract

This paper deals with some of the norms of the establishment and emergence of civilizations according to the Qur'an and analyses the components of such norms. The Qur'an gives explicit attention to the laws and norms on which human societies and civilizations are based, directly and indirectly, by telling the stories of peoples in past eras. The Qur'an also emphasizes that giving priority to the pursuit of material aspects and elements of societies while neglecting their religious and moral aspects is a reason for the decline and collapse of civilizations, as was the case with the people of Sheba. This paper clarifies that the most important norms of the establishment of civilizations include focusing attention on beneficial knowledge and instilling the value of justice in society. The study explores some conditions of previous nations that vanished owing to the absence of these two basic elements, as mentioned in the Qur'an. In conclusion, this article argues for further studies of the Quranic approach to the issue of the rise and fall of human civilizations. Contemporary societies need to be enlightened by the Quranic perspectives on the issue in the light of the present human condition.

Keywords: civilization-building, beneficial knowledge, justice, Qur'an, urbanism.

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Introduction

Through repeated admonitions regarding the rise and fall of civilizations, the Qur'an outlines an ethical philosophy of history. Although the Qur'an is not a history book, its demands that the reader considers the examples of previous nations entails the foundation and pillars for the philosophy of studying human history and human societies on earth. In his *al-Muqaddimah* ("Prolegomena"), Ibn Khaldun identified political, economic, and social factors as essential for the establishment and renaissance of any civilization, and the absence of any of these pillars would lead to the weakness and ultimate collapse of a civilization. The overriding ethos that underpins these factors mentioned in the Qur'an is submission to Allah's will and injunctions, entailing beneficial knowledge and justice. There is a clear link between the latter two factors and the concept of urbanism in the Qur'an. Ibn Khaldun and those who came after him presented a number of examples to explain the concept of urbanism related to human society. He devoted a chapter to talking about livelihood and the means of earning it, and concluded that if a civilization's urbanization decreases, its means of subsistence will diminish, because trade, agriculture, and industry are all predicated on urbanization, which in turn is predicated on beneficial knowledge and justice.³ Accordingly, this paper deals with the key norms of the rise and fall of civilizations singled out by the Qur'an in different positions about a number of former peoples and previous civilizations.

Previous Studies

Many studies have dealt with the issue of the norms of the rise and collapse of civilizations and nations; the most notable modern studies are Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918), published in English as *The Decline of the West* (1991), and Arnold J. Toynbee's twelve volume *The Study of History* (1954-61). Both were attempts to deal with the existential angst of Western civilization

³ Ibn Khaldun, A. R., *Muqadimat Ibn Khaldun*, (Beirut: Dār Al-Jīl, 2013), 114.

after the holocaust of the First World War, and the terrifying realization that Western materialism was not a guarantee of eternal civilizational superiority and continuity. Ibn Khaldun was the pioneer of panoramic analyses of civilizational determinants, rooted in an analysis based on the narrations and norms of the rise and collapse of civilizations outlined in the Qur'an. Al-Alfiy emphasized that beneficial knowledge that provides humanity with good and stability is one of the most significant factors in the rise of nations and civilizations, and underlined that the fall of civilizations does not often come from outside, but rather from within the civilization itself.⁴

Khaldunian studies have become an important field in their own right. Among important modern books on this subject is *Norms of Rise and Fall of Civilizations: in the Past and Present, According to Ibn Khaldun's Views*.⁵ The writer dealt with several civilizations, including the Sumerian, Babylonian, Greek, and Islamic, focusing on economic, political, and geographical factors. The book examines the empirical application of Ibn Khaldun's theories to the historical study of the rise and collapse of civilizations. Another extraordinary study in this field is Imad Eddin Khalil's *Introduction to Islamic Civilization*,⁶ which identifies the determinants of the rise and collapse of Islamic civilization through the verses of the Qur'an, which is posited as a governing source over all historical theories and analyses. In *Civilization: A Study of the Rules & Factors of Its Rise & Development*, Munies (1978) gives examples from different human civilizations, focusing on Islamic civilization in particular because it is the closest civilization, and examined the ideas of the most important Muslim thinkers, especially Ibn Khaldun and his theory of the urban cycle. The most important feature of this book is that it presents a different reading and scientific examination of the subject of civilization and its course through history.⁷ In addition, it presents

⁴ Al-Alfiy, O, *The Factors of the Rise and Fall of Civilizations in the Holy Qur'an*, (Cairo: Alhayyah Almisriyah Aleamat Lilkitab, 2010), 45-46.

⁵ Abdul Latif al-Ḥumaidan, *Norms of Rise and Fall of Civilizations: in the Past and Present, according to Ibn Khaldun's Views*, 86.

⁶ Imad Eddin Khalil, *Introduction to Islamic Civilization*, (Beirut: Scientific Publishers, 2005), 57-58.

⁷ Hussien Munies, *Civilization: A Study of the Rules & Factors of Its Rise &*

these ideas in comparison to important historians of world civilizations, such as Toynbee.⁸

Urbanism in the Qur'an

In the Qur'an, the term *'umrān* (urbanism) is not used as a single word, but some of its derivations are mentioned therein, such as *'amarūhā* (they populated it), *ista'marakum* (He made you dwell therein), *ma'mūr* (the much-frequented), and *'imārah* (maintenance). The following are some Qur'anic texts in which derivatives of urbanism are mentioned: "And He made you dwell therein (the earth);"⁹ "And they populated it (the earth) more and better than these have populated it;"¹⁰ "And maintenance of the Holy Mosque in a good and flourishing state."¹¹

Although the term "urbanism" is not expressly mentioned in the Qur'an, the concept is mentioned in more than one verse and in various contexts. Through tracing such verses and linking them to the *Surahs* that talked about the concept of urbanism, the contemplator may come to a more precise understanding of the system of urbanism in the Qur'an. If we examine the linguistic meaning of the term "urbanism" in all its aspects, we will realize that it is a human act on this earth, which Allah the Almighty wanted to make as a field for trial and test, as mentioned in the Holy Qur'an: "And (recall) when your Lord said to the angels, I will create a vicegerent on earth,"¹² and "It is He Who brought you forth from the earth and made you dwell therein."¹³ Hence, Ibn 'Ashur explained the meaning of urbanism in terms of the Adamic human mission:

"the vicegerent is Adam. His mission as a vicegerent on this earth is fulfilled by implementing the will of Allah Almighty and building up the earth as revealed to Adam

Development, (Kuwait: National Council for Culture and Arts, 1978), 6.

⁸ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, trans. Fuad Shibl, vol. 4, (Cairo: National Centre for translation, 2011), 68.

⁹ The Qur'an, *Surah Hūd* 11:61.

¹⁰ The Qur'an, *Surah al-Rum* 30: 9.

¹¹ The Qur'an, *Surah al-Tawbah* 9:19

¹² The Qur'an, *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:29.

¹³ The Qur'an, *Surah Hūd* 9:61.

or as he is inspired to, and indoctrinating his descendants with the will of Allah Almighty intended from this earthly world.”¹⁴

Hence, urbanism, according to the Qur'an, is not limited to the abstract realm of material applications and manifestations, such as industries and physical constructions; rather, it covers everything that could enable man to fulfil his mission as a vicegerent on this earth, including values, morals, and principles that are essential and indispensable to human life. Accordingly, Muhammad Rashid Rida explained that man's mission as a vicegerent on this earth, when first mentioned, was justified with Allah's saying: “that We might see how you would act,”¹⁵ i.e., that God might behold how humans behave in the earth, and thus reward and punish them accordingly. According to this view, this has been the eternal wont of Allah in relation to human civilizations throughout history. The Children of Adam have been entrusted with the mission to establish truth and justice in the earth, and purify it from the abomination of polytheism and transgression, and not merely to indulge their own selfish whims. Several verses of the Qur'an explain the different aspects of urbanism, including the following:

“Allah has promised those of you who believe and do deeds of righteousness that He will surely make them successors (vouchsafed with both spiritual and temporal leadership) on the earth as He made successors (from among) their predecessors, and that He will surely establish for them their faith which He has approved for them, and that He will surely replace their state of fear with a state of security and peace. They will worship Me (alone) and they will not associate anything with Me. And those who show ingratitude for all the favours done to them after that (His promise is fulfilled), it is they who will be reckoned as the worst disobedient.”¹⁶

¹⁴ Muhammad al-Tahir ibn 'Ashur, *al-Tahrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, vol. 1, (Tunisia: Al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah, 1984), 399.

¹⁵ The Qur'an, *Surah Yūnus* 10:14.

¹⁶ The Qur'an, *Surah An-Nūr* 24:55.

The earth has been created to facilitate human servitude to Allah; while humans have the free will to abdicate this responsibility and follow their own selfish desires, they also have the capability to submit to the will of the Creator by believing in Him and doing good deeds. All those that are in the heavens and on the earth submit to Allah:

“The seven heavens, the earth and all those inhabiting them extol His glory. In fact, there is not even a single thing but glorifies Him with His true and perfect praise, but you do not understand their glorification. Verily, Most Forbearing is He, Great Protector.”¹⁷

The Qur’an teaches man that the whole universe is made available to all nations for their use without making any distinction between them. Therefore, the Qur’an stresses the importance of exploring the universe and studying it empirically with the view of discovering its systems and laws. Such a method of exploration is constantly called for by the Qur’an, which attaches great importance to the use of the senses in man’s exploration of the earth and beyond.

Allah has created man and made him as a vicegerent on earth with the intention of building and developing it. To achieve this goal and purpose, He has made subservient to man all resources and wealth in the heavens and the earth. Allah says:

“It is He Who brought you forth from the earth and made you dwell therein.”¹⁸

“We have indeed established you in the earth (giving you power therein), and provided for you therein (various) means of subsistence. How little thanks you give!”¹⁹

“It is He Who made the earth a bed for you and has threaded it with pathways for you. He sends down rain

¹⁷ The Qur’an, *Surah Al-‘Isrā’* 17:44.

¹⁸ The Qur’an, *Surah Hud* 9:61.

¹⁹ The Qur’an, *Surah Al-A‘rāf*: 7:10.

from the clouds. We bring forth by means of this (water) pairs of vegetation of diverse kinds.”²⁰

The human being is central to civilizational pursuits; however, such a pursuit is subject to the right relationship of human beings with their Creator. The human being as a vicegerent acts on the planet earth, which sets the stage for his urbanization activities. His role is to fulfil the command of Allah through worship, governance of the universe according to His laws, and exemplary conduct in manifesting the teachings of Islam based on the Qur'an and authentic Sunnah.²¹

The Children of Adam have had flashes of brilliance and responsible custodianship in their civilizational history, but there were also periods of decline, disintegration, and collapse. Hence, many chapters of the Qur'an call attention to the observable evidence of these historical phenomena, alluding to the monumental remains of great civilizations that collapsed into ruins because their inhabitants became ungrateful for Allah's favours, attributing success to themselves and being consumed by selfishness, arrogance, and oppression. Consequently, their urbanization ended up with devastation and destruction, as was the case with the peoples of Hud, Saleh, Pharaoh, and others. They stood condemned by their own actions, and their civilizations were annihilated. Such has been the way of Allah in treating those who gloried in the material aspects of urbanization, but neglected its faith-based values, particularly gratitude to the Creator, and justice and mercy to His creation and servants. The Qur'an says:

“Have you not considered how your Lord dealt with ‘Ād of Iram, possessors of tall statures and lofty columns, the like of whom have not been created in these parts of land? And (how He dealt with the tribe of) Thamūd who hewed out huge rocks in the valley (to make their housings)? And (how He dealt with) Pharaoh, lord of

²⁰ The Qur'an, *Surah Tāhā* 20:53.

²¹ Al-Tayyib Barghuth, *Manhaj Al-Nabi Salla Allah Alayhi Wa-Sallama Fi Himayat Al-Dawah Wa-Al Muhafazah Ala Munjazatiha Khilala Al-Fatrah Al-Makkiyah*, (USA: Al-Ma'had Al-'Alami Lil-Fikr Al-Islami, 1996), 59.

vast hosts? (All these people were) those who committed (all sort of) excesses in the cities, and they spread a lot of corruption and lawlessness therein, (So much) so that your Lord let loose on them the scourge and various kinds of punishments.”²²

The Qur’an stipulates the spiritual and ethical foundations on which urbanism is based, and the values that protect it from all manifestations of transgression and tyranny and anything that could lead to its corruption and devastation. Hence, many classical and recent Muslim scholars have emphasized the impact of monotheism on human urbanization, and the effect of its absence in undermining the nations and peoples, no matter how advanced their physical urbanization was. Al-Tartushi’s *Sirāj Al-Mulūk* explained that any civilized act can be achieved only when its components of religion and morals are available. He deduced the following maxim that summarizes the basis of civilization in justice:

“There is no ruler but with soldiers, no soldiers but with money, no money but with tax, no tax but with urbanization, and no urbanization but with justice; therefore, justice is the basis for all authorities.”²³

Thus, guided by the approach of the Qur’an, Al-Tartushi stressed that mercy and justice are the basis of competent government, and the key to a thriving urbanization (and associated prosperity and increased standards of living).

Beneficial Knowledge is the Basis for the Establishment of Civilizations

Beneficial knowledge means that which brings good to its holder and to others in this world and in the hereafter. It includes knowledge of the laws of individual and social human action, the causes and motives of human behaviour, and the requirements for repelling harms and achieving benefits. It reveals the characteristics of man

²² The Qur’an, *Surah Al-Fajr* 89:6-13.

²³ Muhammad ibn al-Walid Al-Tartushi, *Kitāb Sirāj Al-Mulūk*, (Skandarīyah: al-Maṭba‘ah al-Waṭanīyah, 1990), 1:54.

and his unique nature in his different dimensions. It clarifies the rules and norms that control the movement of society and the interaction of its components and sectors in terms of their emergence and growth, continuity and disappearance, survival and annihilation, goodness and corruption, development and decline, strength and weakness, devastation and urbanization. Without this knowledge, no other knowledge or work of man will be valid. Such knowledge is not measured by material standards or scientific degrees, but by the goals and values it achieves. A person may learn some kinds of knowledge that do not benefit him or anyone else; in contrast, beneficial knowledge serves as society's gateway to righteousness and goodness, and closes all gaps that enable corruption and sabotage.

Hence, the Qur'an repeatedly speaks of the stature of knowledge based on faith and fear of Allah. It shows that man's real status is first and foremost exalted by knowledge. Consequently, ignorance-based sovereignty contradicts beneficial knowledge, and thus cannot lead to prosperity or stability. Allah says: "Those who have been given knowledge know that whatever has been revealed to you from your Lord is the very lasting truth, and that it guides to the path of the All-Mighty, the Highly Praiseworthy."²⁴ Allah says: "O you who believe! be careful of (your duty to) Allah with the care which is due to Him, and do not die unless you are Muslims."²⁵

It is narrated by Al-Tirmidhi on the authority of Zaid bin Thabit (may Allah be pleased with him) that he said:

"The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) ordered me to learn some statements from writings of the Jews for him, and he said: 'For indeed by Allah! I do not trust the Jews with my letters'. He said: Half a month did not pass before I learned it, when he (peace be upon him) wanted to write to the Jews, I would write it to them, and when they wrote to him, I would read their letters to him."²⁶

Knowledge is measured by its benefit to man and society. Zaid bin

²⁴ The Qur'an, *Surah Saba'* 34: 6.

²⁵ The Qur'an, *Surah Al-i 'Im'rān* 3:102.

²⁶ Al-Tirmidhī, *Jami` al-Tirmidhī* 42: Chapter 22, Hadith No. 2715.

Thabit served his religion and society with skills. The more it benefits them, the more it is considered to be real knowledge. If knowledge turns into an instrument to harm man or society, it becomes an ordeal with dire consequences for human beings. *Surah Al-Naml* tells us that the Prophets David and Solomon (peace be upon them both) learned the material sciences of various industries, but this was underpinned by their moral strength of believing in Allah and giving credit to Him. They recognized that this knowledge is entirely due to Allah's grace upon them, and then they used it to preserve the religion, soul, honour, and money. Thus, they properly understood the lived reality, which was then dominated by glorifying the material aspect of knowledge and disregarding its moral and value-based dimensions. Therefore, the achievement of benefit through knowledge gives a sublime civilizational dimension, which is commanded and called for by the Qur'an, as Allah says:

“And relate to them the news of him to whom We gave Our commandments but he withdrew himself therefrom, the Satan followed him with the result that he became one of those who led astray (and became a pervert). Had We so willed, We would have exalted him (in ranks) thereby, but he remained inclined to (the material things of) this world and followed his low desires. His case therefore is like that of a dog, if you bear down upon it, it lolls its tongue out or if you leave it alone, it still lolls out its tongue. Such is the case with the people who cry lies to Our commandments; So narrate to them the account (of the people of old) that they may reflect.”²⁷

Beneficial knowledge means that which brings good to its holder and to others in this world and the hereafter, and makes him thoughtful, prudent, discerning, understanding, conscientious and aware of what he is doing. Allah says, “Those who have been given knowledge know that whatever has been revealed to you from your Lord is the very lasting truth.”²⁸ The knowledge that they acquired benefited

²⁷ The Qur'an, *Surah Al-A'rāf* 7:175-176.

²⁸ The Qur'an, *Surah Saba* ' 34: 6.

them, so they realized that what has been revealed to you from your Lord is the truth and not something else.

It is necessary that action is combined with and controlled by knowledge and trustworthiness for it to become effective and vibrant. In that way, it is headed in the right direction, so that it does not become absurd and free from the discipline of morals, religion, and humanity. It is fascinating that in Islam, action is crowned by knowledge and trustworthiness, whereby it becomes more powerful, blessed, and effective. Thus, action becomes connected to the right channels that nourish it, until it becomes a haven for those seeking equity and justice.²⁹ Hence, the Qur'an called for manufacturing, mining, and different trades that help man to achieve his mission as a vicegerent on this earth and to construct it. Furthermore, it paid close attention to the iron and steel industry and the development of various heavy and light industries.³⁰ It might be worth mentioning the case of the Prophet David (peace be upon him) being inspired to invent chain mail to prevent humans from their mutual violence – humans used technology to create weapons, but Allah inspired His Prophet to create means of protection.³¹ All of these industries can only be achieved through the beneficial knowledge that provides the individual, society, and civilization with strength and invulnerability among nations, and the ability to protect and defend their gains.

Knowledge, if not beneficial, would turn into a curse and destruction. The Qur'an referred in several places to nations and civilizations that excelled in learning, creativity, industry, and construction, but they were not guided by their knowledge to believing in the Oneness of Allah and building up the earth with righteousness and piety. Consequently, their knowledge and advanced civilization became a cause for decline and fall, accentuated by luxury and boastful pride. They behaved arrogantly in the land without any justification, acted unjustly, and were

²⁹ Raid Abdel-Rahim Asssi, *Power in the Qur'an*, (Palestine: An-Najah National University, College of Graduate Studies, 2009), 52.

³⁰ Al-Jumaily, B., *Siyasāt al- Tasnī fi dāwā Maqasīd al- Sharīyah*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyāah, 2006), 46.

³¹ The Qur'an, *Surah Saba'* 34: 10-11.

self-indulgent and ungrateful. Allah warns humanity to take a lesson from the ruins of previous civilizations:

“Have they never travelled in the land so that they could see how (miserable) the end of their predecessors was? They were superior to them in numbers, mightier in force and stronger in respect of the (firm) marks, (fortification and monumental buildings) in the land; yet all their acquisitions were of no avail to them. And when their Messengers (of God) came to them with clear proofs they (vainly) boasted of their own partial knowledge. But they were caught by the very thing (the calamity) which they used to treat very lightly. So when they saw Our punishment they said, ‘We believe in Allah alone, and We reject (all) that we used to associate with Him.’³² But their belief was of little use to them when they have (actually) seen Our calamity. Such is the law of Allah that has ever been in vogue in respect of His servants. It is at such times that the disbelievers suffer a loss.”³³

Arrogance, injustice and indulgence in materialistic desires are serious indications of the spread of ignorance and the lack of beneficial knowledge, according to the Islamic paradigm. In the case of previous nations and peoples who did not adhere to divine guidance, materialistic knowledge and the expansion of urbanization and civilization led individuals and their societies to be deceived by their partial knowledge and false power, and distracted them from seeing the way of Allah. Allah says:

“(He) said, ‘(All) this (wealth) that I have been given is because of the knowledge I possess.’ But did he not know that Allah had destroyed before him generations of people who were mightier than he and greater in riches and number? And the guilty shall not be

³² The Qur’an, *Surah Ghāfir* 40:77.

³³ The Qur’an, *Surah Ghāfir* 40:82-85.

questioned about their sins (their sins being self-evident).”³⁴

Therefore, the Qur'an cautioned people against being deceived by knowledge that is not combined with faith. Its reference in the above verse to the fate of the wealthy and powerful Qarun, the Korah in the English Bible, who was destroyed only after he attributed knowledge to himself, and was arrogant and boastful of his scientific power to the extent that he disbelieved in Allah, has a clear message. The message is that mere materialistic advancement of civilization and urbanization is insufficient to guarantee the goodness of human life and protect it from collapse. Allah says:

“Until when the earth receives its excellent nature and has decked itself fairly beautiful and its owners feel sure that they are its masters We unexpectedly command its destruction either by night or by day, so We render it a field that is mown down as though nothing had existed there the day before. Thus do We explain in detail the signs for a people who reflect.”³⁵

The cumulative errors resulting from the lack of beneficial knowledge are the real reason behind the destruction of a civilization and the halting of its progress, which causes it to perish, often at the hands of other civilizations. Nations and civilizations fall apart from the inside, before their enemies bring them down; enemies can effectively overcome their opponents when their opponents are mired in cumulative errors and weaknesses that make them ripe for defeat. It is Allah's law that He made social injustice a reason for the destruction of the economy, and thus the other sources of strength for a civilization.³⁶

Building civilization should be based upon beneficial knowledge that contributes to educating humans to fulfil their exalted role, and not just developing the external resources available to gratify personal desires (the latter of which has been the primary

³⁴ The Qur'an, *Surah Al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:78.

³⁵ The Qur'an, *Surah Yūnus* 10:24.

³⁶ Omar Ubaid Hasna, *Hatāyṭahāqāq al- Shūhud al- Haḍāri*, (Damascus: Al-Maktāb al-Islamīey, 1991), 48.

motor of the civilization of modern globalized capitalism since the so-called Enlightenment). Beneficial knowledge is an ethical and holistic development that aims to produce true humans. It is thus not a worldly act, which aims merely to improve human life on earth and cater to the material interests of the individual and society. Rather, it aims to enable man to perform righteous deeds in the service of the Creator, which is the ultimate objective of beneficial knowledge. This has a clear positive impact on human energies, contributing to mobilizing, pooling, and coordinating between individuals to achieve their ultimate common objective, so they become more focused, more effective, more innovative, and more far-reaching in their beneficent impacts.

A number of Western intellectuals emphasized the role of human awareness in building true civilization and noted that humans in modernity are substantially lacking in this awareness. Toynbee posited that humanity is gripped by a stifling crisis, no less wicked than the two World Wars, and that the future is bleak. He stated that a man-made catastrophe would possibly occur wiping out all of humanity and destroying its living space; the development of nuclear weapons during the twentieth century makes the prospect of the absolute destruction of all human civilization on the planet a very real one. Toynbee observed that man has increased his material strength to such a degree that it has become a threat even to the survival of the living space to the great loss of spirituality; indeed, the mathematician and philosopher René Guénon holds the view that increase in material knowledge in modern Western civilization has been accompanied by a commensurate spiritual decline. Generally, scholars who have considered the issue of man's spiritual input in civilization building find that it is closely linked to the beneficial knowledge that leads man to a holistic view, which takes due account of all his material, intellectual, and spiritual energies.³⁷

Toynbee argued that the only reasonable change in the composition of the living space that could save it from the catastrophic crisis of modern materialism would be the spiritual empowerment of man. He asserted that man, in addition to being composed of a nature and a body, remains endowed with a soul,

³⁷ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 65-66.

which has consciousness and moral agency. Consequently, man can choose either good or evil. Toynbee believed that the disease of modern society can only be cured by a spiritual revolution in the hearts and minds of humankind; social ills cannot be cured by institutional changes. Hence, the only effective cure, according to Toynbee, is spiritual, because every social institution is based on an ethos which is either good or bad, according to the spiritual foundation upon which it rests. Consequently, humanity needs a new spiritual foundation, and many voices from all around the world emphasize the urgent need for faith today.³⁸

This conclusion of modern analysts reiterates the stipulation of the Qur'an that knowledge that does not guide nations to believing in the Oneness of Allah and building up the earth with righteousness and piety would lead them towards luxury and boast, so they behave arrogantly in the land without any justification, act unjustly and become self-indulgent. These consequences would turn into a cause for decline and fall. This is exemplified in the following verse, in which Allah says: "As for (the tribe of) Thamud, We gave them guidance, but they preferred misguidance to guidance so the scourge of a humiliating punishment seized them on account of the (bad) deeds they had done."³⁹

Justice is the Basis for the Establishment of Civilizations

Justice is one of the most complex and critical philosophical concepts in the history of human social thought, to the extent that some intellectuals consider that the whole human history is nothing but a conflict over the issue of justice. Although the issue of justice is one of the ethical dialectics that has been discussed in Western philosophy since ancient times, it has generally been conceptualized in the context of other philosophical concepts, such as rights and duties. The significance of justice in societies lies in the fact that social relations between individuals and groups cannot be duly maintained without justice as a moral value.⁴⁰ Although the concept

³⁸ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 4, 78.

³⁹ The Qur'an, *Surah Fuṣṣilat* 41:17.

⁴⁰ The Arabic terms '*adl*' and '*adālah*' are used in this study as synonyms of "justice" for convenience, although some researchers distinguish between the two

of justice is major and central, there is no consensus among various philosophers and thinkers about its meaning, nature, and manifestations. Rather, intellectual perceptions have differed throughout the ages about its nature and spheres of application.

The complexity of the issue of justice throughout history arises from the fact that it is closely connected to other philosophical concepts such as rights, duties, freedoms, equality, goodness, and happiness, as justice is basically considered to be a proxy for the more fundamental question of how humans ought to live, and under what conditions. It is a humanitarian requirement linked to the journey of soul-searching, which can be achieved only by obtaining recognition from others. Such recognition means equivalence in value, which results in equivalence in rights and objectives. This means that justice stems primarily from the search for the correct or ideal situation for self-fulfilment; therefore, it is a solution to the problem of the incorrect situation of the self. The metaphysical foundations of all traditional societies provided a solid foundation for justice, rooted in spiritual beliefs, values, and laws, but in secular modernity attempts to develop a Kantian empirical science of justice have ultimately failed to get beyond the will (and whim) of contingent majorities and public opinion.

On the most quantifiable level – material prosperity, the *summum bonum* of modern secular civilization – the vast wealth that supposedly exists in modern usurious capitalism has served to exacerbate the gulf between the rich and poor, within and across nations. Consequently, the deeper question of what justice is, and how to move towards it, remains an intractable human problem.⁴¹ Hence, the issue of justice in this context remained as the problem of man, as confirmed by contemporary subjectivity-based philosophies. ‘*Adl* and ‘*adālah* are derived from the same linguistic root which is ‘*a d l*, alluding to justice and fairness. Some derivations of this root

terms. See, Ayat Adel Zakariyya Muhammad Hasan, *The Concept of Justice between Plato and Rawls*, MA Thesis, (Damanhour University: Faculty of Arts, Department of Philosophy, 2012), 9-12, 55-59.

⁴¹ Rabbani, H., *Justice and Human Values: An Analytical Study of the Theory of Justice in Contemporary Western Philosophy*, John Rawls-Paul Ricoeur, PhD Thesis, (Oran: Oran University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Philosophy, 2012), 98.

that illustrate its semantic connotations are listed below:

- *'Adala ashshay'* *'adlan* (he made a thing straight or even).
- *'Adala abhshay'* *'bishshay'* (he made a thing to be like and to stand in the stead of another thing).
- *'Tadala* (something became intermediate in quantity, quality, or proportion).

'Adl means fairness, that is, one takes his rights and perform his duties. *'Adl* also means beauty. It is the opposite of ugliness and the opposite of injustice. One of the most beautiful names of Allah is *Al-'Adl*, which means the Just, the Impartial Judge and the Embodiment of Justice. One might say someone is “one of the people of *Ma'dalah*”, i.e., he is of the people of equity.⁴²

According to the *Philosophical Dictionary*, “justice” for philosophers means the ideal, natural, or positivist principle that defines the meaning of truth, and it requires its respect and application. If justice is related to something that matches the truth, it indicates equality and integrity, and if it is related to whoever did it, it indicates one of the original virtues (wisdom, courage, chastity, and justice). From an Islamic perspective, which views the transgression of the will of the Creator as injustice, justice is not *part* of virtue; rather, it is the *whole* of virtue.⁴³

It is clear from these linguistic and terminological philosophical definitions that most understandings link justice to truth and affirm that justice is a supreme value of the heritage of mankind, although there is no consensus about a holistic and cross-cutting specific definition of it in human thought. For instance, ancient Egypt was one of the greatest civilizations in the world, whose penal and civil laws were “highly sophisticated”:

“All its people were completely equal before the law as is the case nowadays. Among the laws in force was that the perjurer was sentenced to death, and the guilty was punished by his nose, ear or tongue being cut off, or by exile, hanging, stabbing, beheading, burning while

⁴² Ibn Manzur, M. I., *Lisān Al-'Arab* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 87-88.

⁴³ Saliba, J., *The Philosophical Dictionary* (Beirut: The Lebanese Book House, 1982), 126.

crucified, or embalming while alive which was the most severe form of punishment”.⁴⁴

These draconian punishments would be considered abhorrent to the modern observer, but they were viewed as essential to the pursuit of justice and virtue in ancient Egypt. Similarly, the sister-civilization of Mesopotamia placed justice at the centre of state policy, as in the prologue and epilogue of *The Code of Hammurabi*:

“I am Hammurabi, the king chosen by gods to act on their behalf to rule people, make them happy, spread justice among them and eradicate the evil when the strong overpowers the weak...

“I am Hammurabi, the just and perfect king... I am the one who received the laws from Shamash, the god of sun, truth, and justice.”⁴⁵

In the Qur’an, justice is mentioned not just rhetorically but also in practice; it extends to include human feelings. It is justice in action and conduct, justice with the strong, and justice with the weak. This can be achieved only when it is enhanced by strengthening the relationship of man with his Creator, fulfilling His rights, glory be to Him, to the fullest extent, and then fulfilling the rights of others under man’s obligations towards his Creator, the Exalted.

Building justice in society requires establishing justice in exchange and distribution. The Qur’an gave dozens of examples of the application of justice and its role in the stability and prosperity of nations and civilizations. Justice was talked about as one of the most important foundations during a very early period of the Islamic Da’wa in Mecca and is one of the main strictly enjoined commands that the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), and all other Prophets (peace be upon them all) came with. These commands include worshipping Allah alone and associating nothing with Him in worship, which is the foundation of the message of Islam, and administering justice, which is the major pillar and basis of civilization after monotheism.

⁴⁴ Durant, W. *The Story of Civilization*, trans. Zaki Najib Mahmud, (Beirut: Dār Al-Jīl, 1988), 145.

⁴⁵ Dallo, B. A. *The Civilization of Egypt and Iraq*, (Beirut: Dār Al-Fārābī, 1989), 98.

Allah alludes to the connection between monotheism, economic justice, and peace in the following verses, alluding to the necessity for fairness and transparency in the market:

“And to Midian (We sent) their kinsman Shu’aib (as a Messenger). He said, “O my people! worship Allah, you have no one worthy of worship other than He. And give not short measure and (short) weight (today); I see you in (a state of) prosperity. But (for tomorrow) I fear lest there should befall you the punishment of a (dreadful) day that encompasses all (for destruction).” “And O my people! give true measure and full weight with equity and defraud not people of their possession and commit not inequity in the land as peace-breakers. The residue left to you by Allah (after your paying the dues of others) is better for you, if you are true believers. Yet I am not a guardian over you.”⁴⁶

Midian had a strong civilization, but they were polytheists and disbelievers. Moreover, injustice, underestimation, fraud, cheating, and corruption spread among them. Therefore, the call of Shu’aib (peace be upon him) focused on these matters with his people. First, he called them to monotheism, the core message of all prophets and messengers to their peoples. Monotheism and the rejection of polytheism is the primary duty and the highest demand placed upon mankind. For this purpose, Allah sent messengers, revealed books, and created all things. Then Shu’aib called them to reform their corrupted financial and economic practices, behave decently towards people, and abandon falsehood, cheating, injustice, and transgression in the land. He commanded them to be fair and just and give full measure and weight with equity. These are the ever-abiding righteous deeds that will benefit the servant on the day when mankind shall stand before the Lord of the Worlds.

While primarily addressed to the people of Midian, as articulated by Shu’aib (peace be upon him), the above verses implicitly command all people of all times to observe fair weights (and economic transactions in general) with justice, and not skimp

⁴⁶ The Qur’an, *Surah Hūd* 11:84-86.

the balance. This point is frequently reiterated in the Qur'an, and all these commands and prohibitions have the same general meaning. The purpose of this is to demonstrate the importance and seriousness of this matter. The people of Shu'aib had a great civilization and trade, but they were commonly accustomed to transgressing the measure and weighing unfairly, so this case highlights the need to connect material prosperity to spiritual virtue (i.e., justice).

The Qur'an indicated that indulging in injustice and unfairness was one of the causes of the destruction of various nations and the demise of their civilizations. Allah says:

“That is a part of the important news of the (ruined) townships (of the past), We relate them to you. Some of these (cities) still exist while others have been mown down (and perished). We did no wrong to them (-their inhabitants) but they wronged themselves. And when their Lord's command (about their punishment) came to pass, their gods, whom they called upon apart from Allah, were of no avail to them. In fact, they added nothing to them except (leading them to) destruction. Such is the punishing grasp of your Lord when He takes to task the peoples of the townships (after bringing home to them the truth) while they are steeped in wrongdoings. Surely, painful is His punishing grasp (and) severe.”⁴⁷

Injustice, which is the antithesis of justice, brings doom, torment, and calamity to nations as well as individuals. When Allah Almighty seizes a town and its inhabitants because of their disbelief, injustice, and corruption, His punishment is surely painful, severe, and beyond all comparison. While some extent of wrongdoing is inherent in human life at the individual and social levels, the Islamic paradigm posits that this is a cause for repentance and striving to rectify oneself and one's community. When injustice becomes endemic and normalized in a society, and its people do not attempt to reform, the demise of that civilization is at hand, pending Allah's pleasure, as described in the following:

⁴⁷ The Qur'an, *Surah Hūd* 11:100-102.

“Why, then, were there not among the generations that preceded you persons possessed of excellence who would forbid the perpetration of evil in the land. But there were only a few of those (who acted righteously and) whom We had saved from among them. And (all others) who had committed wrong pursued that (wanton) ease and plenty they were afforded with (and this led to their rebellion and disobedience), and they were guilty. And your Lord is not the One Who would destroy the townships unjustly (simply for their disbelief) while the inhabitants thereof (live in peace and) set things right. Had your Lord (enforced) His will, He would have certainly made the whole of mankind one community, but (since He did not like to enforce His will upon people) they would not cease to differ. Different, however, is the case of those on whom your Lord has had mercy. Indeed, it is for (the bestowal of mercy) that He has created them; yet (this) word of your Lord, ‘Verily I will fill Hell with the (rebellious) jinn and people all together’, has perfectly come true.”⁴⁸

The existence of those who enjoin what is right, forbid what is wrong, set things in order, act justly, and judge fairly is a great reason for protecting nations and granting them sanctuary from destruction and general punishments. Building justice in society requires establishing justice in exchange and distribution, which is a defining characteristic of a civilization worthy of the name. This is chiefly manifested in the way in which the weak and vulnerable (particularly orphans and widows/ single women) are treated. Allah says, “O you who believe! do not consume your (one another’s) property amongst yourselves by unlawful means.”⁴⁹ The family, economic, social, and political legislation and provisions that were mentioned in the *Surahs* of the Qur’an are enough to preserve the dignity of the human being and to achieve practical justice.

⁴⁸ The Qur’an, *Surah Hūd* 11:116-119.

⁴⁹ The Qur’an, *Surah An-Nisaa* 4:29.

Aggression was a dominant tendency in the *Jāhilīyyah* (the period of ignorance before the rise of Islam), and people's relations at that time were based on aggression, devastating wars, and predatory tribalism (including alliances and partisanships), whether it was just or unjust, and right or wrong. In this context, Gustave Le Bon says: "The Arabian Peninsula, before the advent of Muhammad (ﷺ), was nothing but a vast and permanent field of war and the warlike nature was firmly rooted in the Arabs."⁵⁰ However, when the Qur'an was revealed to those souls, it eradicated that aggression and prohibited all its forms, as Allah does not love the aggressors.

Conclusion

This study explains some of the salient and important aspects of the norms of the rise and fall of civilizations, as stated in the Qur'an. It concluded that the Qur'an gave explicit attention to the urbanization of civilizations, narrated stories of previous peoples who reached high levels of advancement and urbanization, and underlined the major factors of their collapse. The latter comprises knowledge that is of no benefit, and injustice in all its forms and manifestations. Accordingly, the study confirmed that the establishment and stability of civilizations are primarily based on beneficial knowledge and justice, the lack of which is a major factor leading to the collapse and destruction of civilizations. Furthermore, beneficial knowledge and justice are based on monotheism (i.e., the rejection of polytheism), which protects nations and grants them sanctuary from transgression and arrogance. Finally, the study encourages scholars to research more deeply into the lives of previous peoples and nations mentioned in the Qur'an with the view of discovering more features and norms of their weakness and collapse to serve as lessons for present humanity.

The eternal message of the Qur'an emphasizes that a civilization is only as good as the status and treatment of its weakest members. At the current juncture in human history, wealth is disgustingly concentrated in the hands of a tiny gang of super-rich

⁵⁰ Al-Zuhaili, W, *Effects of War: A Comparative Jurisprudential Study* (Damascus: Dār Al-Fikr, 2013), 457, (Le Bon, 1974, cited in Al-Zuhaili, 2013).

oligarchs by a usurious system of peonage whereby the vast majority of the Children of Adam struggle to live a decent and honourable existence (including those above the materialist poverty lines). Contemporaneously, the amazing potentialities of modern material “civilization” are misappropriated to continue hyper-capitalist war-based economies and social engineering projects to benefit the usurious elites, robbing most people of their fundamental rights with which they were endowed by their Creator (including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness). It is only by heeding the warnings of previous nations that the current Pharaonic paradigm can be overcome by a return to the intrinsic disposition of mankind: the worship of the Creator, and the justice and mercy enjoined upon us all.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY *KITĀB* JAWI SUFI WORKS
IN PATTANI, THAILAND

Mainstreaming Ethical Sufism of al-Ghazali

*Jajat Burhanudin*¹

Abstract

*The nineteenth century plays a decisive role in the history of Islam in the Malay Archipelago and Southeast Asia. It was the period that witnessed the consolidation of Malay-Islamic knowledge culture, which has impacted Malay religious life until present times. This article seeks to investigate the intellectual process that has led to the popularisation of Ghazalian ethical Sufism in the nineteenth-century Malay world. It presents Shaykh Daud ‘Abd Allah al-Fatani (1769-1847), the leading Malay ‘ālim of Pattani origin, as one of the greatest figures to be identified with this process. He adopted neo-Sufism, which had already been introduced to the Malay Archipelago in the seventeenth century, in his formulation of ethical Sufism, as articulated in his *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*, a Malay translation of al-Ghazali’s work with the same title. In this article, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* is given special attention considering its status as a leading Malay Sufi work in the genre of *kitab Jawi* in nineteenth century. And, more importantly, it presents the teachings of ethical Sufism that helped contribute to the emergence of mainstream Sufi thought in the region.*

Keywords: Daud al-Fatani, neo-Sufism, al-Ghazali, *kitab Jawi*, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*.

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Introduction

This article seeks to study nineteenth-century Malay *kitāb Jawi* works on Sufism with specific reference to those written by Malay 'ulamā from Pattani, Thailand. Special attention will be given to the work of Shaykh Daud 'Abd Allah al-Fatani² (1769-1847) titled *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn ilā Jannat Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Path of the Worshippers to Paradise of the Lord of the Universe).³ This work was one of the most influential to have appeared during the period. It is an indispensable source to the understanding of the mystical thought of nineteenth-century Malay Sufism or neo-Sufism. A Malay rendering of al-Ghazali's work with the same title, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, it is a faithful expression of nineteenth-century Malay Sufism, in which the spiritual ethics of al-Ghazali, described by Snouck Hurgronje as the great master of Sufism,⁴ constituted a dominant feature, to replace the Sufism of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of existence) which had enjoyed popularity in the previous centuries.⁵

Taking its Sufi messages as the main focus of analysis, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* is treated here as a primary source of an historical research on Islamic intellectual development in the Malay Archipelago in the nineteenth century, where the triumph of al-Ghazali in Sufi discourse can obviously be observed. The discussions start with the ways al-Fatani engaged himself in the neo-Sufism current in Malay Islamic thought, which was related to Meccan scholarship that established him as an 'ālim. As well, this paper will discuss the other Sufi works of al-Fatani, and of other Pattani 'ulamā', which contributed to the

² Henceforth, he will be cited as al-Fatani.

³ The manuscript of this text is preserved in Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur (MS 59) and in Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta (W 5). This work has been printed several times, but the edition which is still available is the one printed, but undated, by al-Ma'arif in Pulau Pinang.

⁴ Christian Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1931), 174, 219. The issue of al-Ghazali's place in Patani 'ulamā' was noted by Virginia Matheson and M. Barry Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition", *Journal of Malaysian Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 16, (1, 1988), 41.

⁵ Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature", 40-41; also S.M.N. al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970).

development of ethical Sufism of al-Ghazali in the Malay Archipelago.

Noteworthy is that although al-Fatani was familiar with the Sufi conception of *wahdat al-wujūd*, he sought to formulate and elaborate it within the framework of a *Shariah*-oriented Islam. He put the spirit of neo-Sufism in the dialogue with the long-established Sufism in Malay Archipelago. In this respect, Daud al-Fatani followed the path of his Jawi teacher in Mecca, al-Falimbani (‘Abd al-Samad bin ‘Abd Allah al-Jawi al-Falimbani), who introduced al-Ghazali’s Sufism into the heart of Malay Islamic intellectual tradition in the eighteenth century, and hence preparing the intellectual ground for Daud al-Fatani.

Daud al-Fatani and Neo-Sufism: An Intellectual Journey

The scholarly works on Islam in Southeast Asia demonstrate that Daud al-Fatani was at the heart of intellectual network of Malay with Middle Eastern ‘*ulamā*’ in Mecca in the eighteenth and the first half of nineteenth centuries.⁶ His migration to Mecca, which occurred after his Islamic education in *pondok* of Patani in 1780s,⁷ provided him with access to learning with the ‘*ulamā*’ of the Holy City. Several scholars with various disciplines of Islamic knowledge are identified as his teachers: Muhammad bin Ali al-Shanwani (d. 1817) and ‘Abd Allah al-Sharqawi (1737-1812), the ‘*ulamā*’ from al-Azhar University in Egypt who frequently travelled to Mecca for teaching Islam in Haram Mosque. Others were Shaykh Muhammad Salih bin Ibrahim al-Zubayri (1774-1825), Sayyid ‘Abd Allah al-Mahjub al-Mirghani (w. 1792) and Muhammad As’ad al-Hanafī al-Makki.⁸

⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 122-6; Francis R. Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Dā’ūd ‘Abd Allāh al-Fatānī in Mecca and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).

⁷ Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar Patani* (Khota Baru: Majlis Ugama dan adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2009), 313-4. In this book, Daud al-Fatani is said to have studied in Pondok Pauh Bok under the Patani ‘*ālim*, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Abd al-Mubin Pauk Boh al-Fatani (d. 1780).

⁸ Azra, *The Origins*, 124-6; Bradley, *Forging*, 70-3.

Next to his teachers mentioned, another *'ālim* should be mentioned. He was Ahmad Marzuki al-Maliki (d. 1842), who seems to have a special place in Daud al-Fatani's intellectual life. He wrote a commentary (*sharḥ*) on Marzuki's work *'Aqīdah al-'Awām* (The Common Belief), *Bahjat al-Saniyah fī al-'Aqā'id al-Sunniyah* (The Splendid Enjoyment concerning the Pleasant Belief), also known as *Tashīl Nayl al-Muram li Bayān Manzūmat 'Aqīdah al-'Awām* (The Attainment of Goals in Explaining *'Aqīdat al-'Awām*). Although Marzuki was known as an expert in hadīth, and of Maliki school of law,⁹ Daud al-Fatani undertook its translation into Malay with the hope of strengthening the Sunni belief (*aqīdah ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*) in Southeast Asia.¹⁰ A leading Jawi scholar of Java, Nawawi al-Bantani (Shaykh Muhammad Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani, 1813-1897), did likewise around half century later with his work *Nūr al-'Zulām 'alā Manzūmat al-Musammāt bi 'Aqīdah al-'Awām* (Light of the Darkness on the Treatise *'Aqīdah al-'Awām*).¹¹

Bahjat al-Saniyah is one of only two works that Daud al-Fatani had written in the form of commentary, the other being *Minhāj al-'Abidīn*. Judging from its contents, which deal with fundamental issues of Islamic belief, *Bahjat al-Saniyah* was meant to cater to especially the needs of common believers and beginners in Islamic learning. Not surprisingly, this work presents the discourse of *Shariah*-oriented Islam, which happened to be the intellectual interest among the Jawa of Mecca.¹²

Being as such, *Bahjat al-Saniyah* was purported to strengthen the discussion, and to broaden the readership of his previous work on the related subject of dogma, *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (The Precious Pearl on the Creed of the Believers). It was completed in 1816 and first printed in Mecca in 1880s. This

⁹ Azra, *The Origins*, 126.

¹⁰ Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Bahjat al-Saniyah fī al-'Aqā'id al-Sunniyah* (Yala: Sahabat Press, n.d.). This work was completed in 1829/1245 in Mecca, and copies of its manuscript are preserved in Islamic Art Museum in Kuala Lumpur (MI 244, 295, 359).

¹¹ Shaykh Muhammad Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani, *Nūr al-'Zulām 'alā Manzūmat al-Musammāt bi 'Aqīdah al-'Awām*, (Mecca: n.p, 1885). A copy of this work is preserved in the British Library in London.

¹² Daud al-Fatani, *Bahjat al-Saniyah*.

work appeared as an advanced work on the subject making references to a variety of Arabic sources and was thus most likely directed at educated Muslims. More importantly, it was written with the spirit of *Shariah*-oriented Islam under the Sunni theological school. In its opening pages, Daud al-Fatani states that the *kitāb* is “to compile the thought of ‘*ulamā*’ as the truth seekers concerning the foundation of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and the creed of those who hold tawhidic belief (*ahl al-tawhīd*)”.¹³

With these two works, Daud al-Fatani provided the Muslims of Southeast Asia with *Shariah*-based knowledge of the religion, which, for reasons that will be later explained, was of crucial importance in preventing them from the impact of Sufism of *waḥdatul wujūd*, and hence in the establishment of neo-Sufism. In fact, Daud al-Fatani wrote a specific work on this subject, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfi* (The Pure Spring in Explaining the Sign of the Sufis).¹⁴ The date of completion of this work cannot be identified.¹⁵ Its content seems to suggest that *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* was seeking to provide persuasive arguments in support of neo-Sufism outlined in *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*. While explaining in great detail the Sufi thought of *waḥdatul wujūd*, he at the same time strongly advised Muslims to uphold the *Shariah* principles. This means that *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* and *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* are two closely related works of the author articulating his intellectual journey.

As can be gleaned from its title, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* seeks to elaborate the meanings of the Sufi terms of *martabat tujuh*, the seven presences in Sufi thought associated with the teaching of Shaykh Muhy al-Din ibn al-‘Arabi (1165-1240). Daud al-Fatani mentions

¹³ Shaykh Daud Abd Allah al-Fatani, *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ‘Aqā’id al-Mu‘minīn*, (Patani: Matba‘ah Fatani, n.d.), 2.

¹⁴ The manuscripts of this work are preserved in Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia (MI117) and Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (MS232 and MS693). For this article, reference is made to an annotated translation of MS232 prepared by Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman, “Shayk Dāwūd al-Fatānī’s *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*: An Annotated Translation”, *Afkar: Journal of Aqidah and Islamic Thought*, (6, 2005), 77-118.

¹⁵ In the colophon, it is stated that *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* was transcribed by Abd. al-Rahman bin Abd. al-Samad and completed in Mecca in 1295/1878, thirty years after the death of Daud al-Fatani in 1847. See Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 118.

this Sufi *‘ālim* and his student Sadr al-Din al-Buni (1209-1274) as the main sources of his explanation on this *wujudiyah* Sufism.¹⁶ However, at the same time he emphasizes great caution not to fall astray in both religious ideas and practices.

In his explanation of *tajallī* (self-manifestation), one of the Sufi technical terms provided in *Manhāl al-Ṣāfi*, Daud al-Fatani maintains that this idea may lead the Sufi (the seeker) to a sort of excessive spiritual exercises. “And it is here [in the *tajallī*]”, so he writes, “that it is said where a seeker (*sālik*) may fall astray because he denies his acts, therefore, it is a must to strongly hold to the Prescribed Law (*Shariah*)”.¹⁷ In fact, the term *Shariah* is included in the list of technical terms of Sufism, with the meaning “to obey all God’s commands and to avoid all His prohibition”.¹⁸

Manhāl al-Ṣāfi may be viewed as adopting a moderate religious attitude towards the Malay intellectual heritage that has accumulated up to its time, in which Sufism had an important position, including *waḥdatul wujūd*. Historically speaking, Sufism was the first dimension of Islam to manifest itself in the Malay Archipelago. The idea of ruler (*raja*)-oriented Islam, which arose out of its initial Islamization that proceeded under the *raja* domain,¹⁹ provided a foundation for the rise of *waḥdatul wujūd*. And this Sufi notion emphasized the oneness with God, similar in substance to the rising idea of Sufi king (*raja Sufi*) of the time.²⁰ In a Sufi work by Hamzah Fansuri, *Asrār al-‘Arifīn* (Secret of the Knowers), the idea of *waḥdatul wujūd* may be observed in his explanation of the relation between the universe and the Creator. He stated that the “the existence of the universe and the oneness of Allah is one, because the universe cannot exist by itself; that the universe appears to exist, but it is truly delusive imagination (*wahm*); it is not real”.²¹

¹⁶ Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 84.

¹⁷ Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 104.

¹⁸ Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 107.

¹⁹ A.C. Milner, “Islam and Muslim State”, in *Islam in Southeast Asia*, edited by M.B. Hooker, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 30.

²⁰ Milner, “Islam”, 39.

²¹ Hamzah Fansuri, *Asrār al-‘Arifīn*, as quoted by Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, (Leiden: Batteljee & Terpastra, 1933), 127-9.

The above statement is then reiterated in the concluding section of *Manhāl al-Ṣāfi* where he says that the practice of upholding the *Shariah* is a prerequisite to attain the spiritual goal in the Sufi path, which is illustrated in the quoted saying of Sufis, “whoever does not preserve the roots (*uṣūl*) shall not arrive (*wuṣūl*)”. What is meant by *uṣūl* is the Qur’an and the tradition of the Prophet (ﷺ). These two pillars should be taken as the foundation for religious performance, in the sense that the Sufis are obliged to practice religious duties, “be it prayer or fasting or other than these two”, in line with the practices of the Prophet (ﷺ), “so that their legality become known, and as a result, their branches and fruits can be reaped, and they can be referred to as practice (*‘amal*)”.²²

In taking this position Daud al-Fatani gravitated to a moderate notion of neo-Sufism that attempted to transform the Sufism of *wahdatul wujud* into a *Shariah*-based Sufi stream in line with the rising discourse in both Mecca and Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. This new orientation towards *Shariah*-based Sufism is to be explained in relation to the interregnum power of the Wahabis in Mecca in the late nineteenth century.²³ It appears to have been inspired by the intellectual legacy of a leading neo-Sufi ‘*ālim* Ibrahim al-Kurani (1614-1690). But around the same time, Nuruddin al-Raniri, forerunner of neo-Sufi voices in the Malay Archipelago, had attacked severely the Sufism of *wahdatul wujud* thereby contributing to the decline in its popularity. As such, having been part of the Malay diaspora in Mecca with strong connection to Southeast Asia, Daud al-Fatani and other Patani ‘*ulamā*’ were directly impacted by the new trends in Islamic intellectual thought.

In this particular respect, Daud al-Fatani was in the same line of Sufi thought as Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili (1615-1693), another Malay ‘*ālim* of the Aceh kingdom. Al-Sinkili’s mystical teachings strongly emphasized the application of *Shariah* through which the path to the attainment of spiritual realities (*haqīqat* and *ma‘rifat*) could be realized. Like his teacher Ibrahim al-Kurani, he emphasized the practices of the prescribed Islamic rituals (*‘ibādah*), particularly

²² Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 110-11.

²³ Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Tanah Suci (Hijaz (Mekah dan Madinah) 1800-1925* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), 108-121.

dhikr (remembrance of God) as the foundation to grasp the spiritual unity of God.²⁴ With such line of mystical thinking, al-Sinkili affirms, as Johns argues,²⁵ “the intuition of mystics and the right of orthodoxy” at the same time. He conveyed his neo-Sufi messages in almost similar terms to *wujudiyah* Sufism.

The neo-Sufism of Daud al-Fatani may also be ascertained from his another work, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rīfat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Light for the Seekers in Knowing the Doctrine of Monotheism).²⁶ This small treatise (*risālah*) discusses the Sufi practice of *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), which is regarded as one of the main activities of a Sufi order (*ṭarīqah*). Daud al-Fatani is said to have been a follower of the Sammāniyyah order.²⁷ The treatise was thus most likely written as a guide to the method of reciting the formula of monotheism of the order to which he had strong linkage. In the introductory pages of this *risālah*, Daud al-Fatani states that the formula *lā ilāha illā Allāh* (there is no god but Allah) is the highest Divine words to which the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), his family, and his Companions consistently recited for remembrance of Allah.²⁸ This work is therefore to delineate the meaning and the significance of the formula, as well as the necessity and the ethical process entailed in its recital.

²⁴ See for instance Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi; Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud, Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 76-83.

²⁵ A.H. Johns, “*Daka'ik al-Huruf* by Abdul Ra'uf of Singkel”, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, (2, 1955), 56.

²⁶ Not much is known about the textual history of *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*. The version available until now, to which this discussion refers, is the one attached in the margin of his work mentioned, *al-Durr al-Tsamīn*,

²⁷ Azra, *The Origins*, 123.

²⁸ Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rīfāt Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Patani: Matba'ah Fatani, n.d.), 2-3.

Prelude to *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*: The Sufi Works of al-Falimbani

The neo-Sufism of Daud al-Fatani intensified with the appearance of his work *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*, as will be discussed. For now, it is important to explain this scholarly process in relation to the intellectual path of his *Jawi* teacher in Mecca, al-Falimbani. Al-Falimbani was most likely the main factor to have persuaded Daud al-Fatani to write this work. He had translated the works of al-Ghazali into Malay thereby presenting his Sufi ideas into the Malay Archipelago in the eighteenth century. His well-known four-volume work, *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā ‘Ibādah Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Path for the Travellers towards Devotion to God of the Universe), which was written in reference to an abridged version of al-Ghazali’s *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* (Reviving the Sciences of Religion), was completed in 1789 when Daud al-Fatani started learning with him in Mecca.²⁹ In fact, al-Falimbani had started working on the Sufi thought of al-Ghazali about a decade earlier, since he had completed writing *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Guide for the Travellers in the Path of the Virtuous Ones) in 1778. This Malay *kitāb Jawi* was composed in reference to al-Ghazali’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (The Beginning of Guidance).

As stated in its opening, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* was written to provide the Muslims of the Malay Archipelago with an extended Malay version of *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, which he highly praised. He describes it as a *kitāb* with profound Islamic knowledge that could lead to God-fearing consciousness (*taqwā*) among the Muslims, and which is therefore of great benefit for life in this world and in the hereafter; and Muslims of *mukallaf* age (those who have reached the age of puberty) are strongly encouraged to know the substance of this work.³⁰ As an extended version, however, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* is not solely based on *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*. Al-Falimbani added relevant and important points to the *kitāb*, referring to a variety of Arabic sources.³¹

²⁹ Bradley, *Forging*, p. 72.

³⁰ Shaykh Abd al-Samad al-Jawi al-Falimbani, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Patani: Matba‘ah bin Halabi, n.d.), 2.

³¹ al-Falimbani, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, 3-5. Several scholars are mentioned as the sources of al-Falimbani’s ideas, including al-Sha‘rani with his work *Yawāqut*

Al-Ghazali's Sufi teachings were further elaborated in al-Falimbani's *Sayr al-Sālikīn*. Like in *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani extended the discussion of *Lubāb Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, the basic text of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, to include many other scholars as sources of reference. He enlarged the explanation of each point taken from *Lubāb* to the point that *Sayr al-Sālikīn* no longer became a word-per-word translation, but rather an extended Malay version of *Lubāb* in the manner of *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*. In the opening of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani states that the *Lubāb's* combination of the treatment of the subjects of principles of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), jurisprudence *fiqh*, and Sufism, is the reason for its being translated into Malay; the subjects are greatly beneficial especially for those who are in the Sufi path. And to enhance the significance of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani added several relevant subjects into its discussions.³²

The above fact seems to be the reason why al-Falimbani held such an important position in the Islamic intellectual life of Southeast Asia. With the religious network that he established with Middle Eastern '*ulamā*', especially Muhammad al-Sammani from whom he learned Sufism and with whom he merged the Sammaniyyah and the Khalwatiyyah Orders,³³ this Malay '*ālim*' took the Sufism of al-Ghazali as the basis for the harmonization of Sufism and the *Shariah*. His *Sayr al-Sālikīn* together with *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* should be seen in this perspective. The two works render the Sufi ideas of al-Ghazali in language expressions and styles familiar to Southeast Asian Muslims. As a result, *Sayr al-Sālikīn* is acknowledged as a leading Sufi *kitāb Jawi* of the nineteenth century Malay Archipelago. It greatly contributed to the increasing appreciation of the Sufi ideas of al-Ghazali as the *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* of Daud al-Fatani has shown.

al-Jawāhir, Abd Allah al-Aydarus who wrote *al-Durr al-Thamīn*, al-Qushashi in his *al-Bustān al-Ārifīn*, and al-Sammani in *Nafḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*. See also Azra, *The Origins*, 131.

³² Shaykh Abd al-Samad al-Jawi al-Falimbani, *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādah Rabb al-Ālamīn*, vol. I (Singapore: Sulaymān Mar'ī, nd.), 3.

³³ Azra, *The Origins*, 116.

Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn: an Overview

Completed in Mecca in 1240/1825,³⁴ *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn* presents the Sufi ideas of al-Ghazali. In the last pages, Daud al-Fatani emphasizes the fact that the contents of the *kitāb* are derived from his sayings.³⁵ He translated the basic points of al-Ghazali’s work with the same title, as well as other points from other qualified sources.³⁶

In the introductory pages, Daud al-Fatani notes that *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* is a Malay version of the book he considered as the gift and grace of Allah through the hands of al-Ghazali. He described the *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* together with *Ihyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* (Revitalization of the Sciences of Religion) as the essence of *Shariah* and *ṭarīqah* of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), and the stopping places for those who are afraid of Allah ﷻ; as well, these two books open up the meaning and the objectives of the Qur’an and the hadith, the tradition of the pious Muslim generation, and the sayings of ‘*ulamā’*.³⁷

Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn is the kind of work that provides the believers with guidelines to achieve the highest and the most perfect status of religiosity according to the *Shariah*-based Sufi path. The contents of the book enumerate the ways how Muslims should perform and behave in the fields of both religious devotion (*‘ibādah*) and social relations (*mu‘āmalah*). In so doing, the ethical-religious morality constituted the substance of its discussions, which emerged as the mainstream Sufi thought in the nineteenth century. And al-Ghazali was the ‘*ālim* who had such a central position in this regard. His works influenced the Jawi of Mecca to cultivate the above trend of Sufism.³⁸ These factors provided Daud al-Fatani with

³⁴ The author stated that he, who had little knowledge and deeds, completed the translation of *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* by al-Ghazali on Friday 15 Jumādī al-Thānī 1240 (4 February 1825) in Mecca. He humbly noted that his translating this work was with the hands “which had weakness and impoliteness.” See Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn ilā Jannat Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Penang: al-Ma‘arif, n.d.), 146-7.

³⁵ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn*, 146.

³⁶ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn*, 4.

³⁷ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn*, 2.

³⁸ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 291-2. It should be stated that the works of al-Ghazali were also translated into other languages in the Malay Archipelago. One of the Javanese ‘*ulamā’* who studied in Mecca, Muhammad bin Salih bin ‘Umar al-Samarani or popularly known as Saleh Darat (1820-1903), translated some parts

strong reasons to translate the book of al-Ghazali into the Malay language.

Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn deals with the steps to achieve proximity to Allah ﷻ. The steps are termed ‘*‘aqabah*, literally meaning “steep road.” The book enumerates seven ‘*‘aqabah*, which are meant to demonstrate the Sufi path that the seekers have to undertake, and to emphasize the practices of Sufism that are integrated into the *Shariah* and orthodox doctrines, and hence to show departure from the Sufi notion of *waḥdatul wujūd*. *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* is not concerned with speculative Sufism which is well-known for its *martābat al-sab‘* (seven grades or stations), as one scholar puts it.³⁹

Detail explanation of the ‘*‘aqabah* is given below. The point to emphasize here is that the concept of ‘*‘aqabah* is a strong evidence of the *Shariah*-based Sufism in which the idea of *waḥdatul wujūd* does not exist. All the names of ‘*‘aqabah* are different from the steps of *martabat* in which the concept of emanation (*tajallī*) dominates and explains God-man relationship in terms of oneness, starting from *aḥadīyah* (the supreme unity of the divinity), *waḥdah* (divine solitude), *wāḥidiyah* (distinctive uniqueness), ‘*ālam arwāḥ* (the realm of spirituality), ‘*ālam mithāl* (of invisibility), ‘*ālam ajsām* (of bodies) and finally ‘*ālam insān* (of mankind).⁴⁰

of *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* into Javanese language, *Kitab Munjiyat Metik saking Ihya’ ‘Ulum al-Din* (1906). See for instance Jajat Burhanudin, *Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power: The Ulama in Colonial Indonesia*, (Ph.D Thesis, Leiden University, The Netherlands, 2007), 125.

³⁹ See for instance Bradley, *Forging*, 79, in which this scholar mentioned that the text (*Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*) “detailed the *martabat tujuh* (sevens steps) of Sufi consciousness one was to take in pursuit of oneness with God”. I argue that *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* does discuss different notions of Sufism, which is based on *shariah*; and the Sufi journey is formulated in terms of ‘*‘aqabah*, instead of *martabat tujuh*. Bradley refers to “the undated version of *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*” as a translation by Shaykh Daud’s another work on al-Ghazali with the same title. I doubt this. To my knowledge, it is al-Falimbani who made a translation of *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* with his work *Hidāyat al-Sālikin* (Guidance for the Travelers).

⁴⁰ See for instance J. Spenser Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

‘*Aqabah*: The Stages of Sufi Exercises

Daud al-Fatani takes ‘*aqabah* of knowledge (*al-‘ilm*) as the first one to be discussed. It is different from the original book of al-Ghazali, in which the first is titled ‘*aqabah al-‘ilm wa al-ma‘rifah* (‘*aqabah* of knowledge and gnosis). Although without any explanation, the removal of the term “*ma‘rifat*” may be related to his own Sufi thought. He tried to avoid the term that has been associated with the Sufism of *wahdatul wujud*, namely the step of knowing Allah ﷻ by His essence, not by His creature, and is above that of *Shariah*. Daud al-Fatani is here holding firm to the neo-Sufism perspective, which seeks to avoid the use of any term that would lend mystical interpretations.

Following the logic of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, it is evident that knowledge is put in place as being part of ‘*ibādah*. ‘*Ilm* and ‘*ibādah* are viewed as two gems and both have emerged as the research subject of writers, the learning materials of teachers or lecturers, and as the subject of preachers’ sermons. It was also due to ‘*ilm* and ‘*ibādah* that the messengers were sent along with their scriptures; and it is for the sake of both that God created the universe (*bumi dan langit*) and all beings inside it.⁴¹

The integration of ‘*ilm* and ‘*ibādah* is elaborated further as the book emphasizes the crucial role of knowledge, more especially that of *tawhīd*, in the perfection of worship. The book states that knowledge is superior to worship, based on a hadith “the superiority of an ‘*ālim* to a worshiper is just like I am to those of the *umma*”. This statement is made for specific reason, and therefore it does not mean that worship is less important. The book asserts that knowledge is to be the foundation of worship, otherwise it is useless, just like “the scattered dust (*debu bertaburan*)”, giving an illustration that knowledge is tree and worship is its fruits; the benefit of the tree (knowledge) is gained through the fruits it produces (worship).⁴²

In addition to emphasizing the necessity of searching for Islamic knowledge, the book also enumerates three disciplines that Muslims need to know. The first is the knowledge of monotheism

⁴¹ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, 10.

⁴² Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, 11.

(*‘ilm al-tawhīd*), through which the Muslims are required to understand the foundation of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), to know the attributes of God (such as existent [*wujūd*], non-origination [*qidam*], oneness [*wahdaniyah*] and power [*qudrah*]), to confirm that Muhammad is His Messenger with his tradition and the Islamic doctrines in the Holy Qur’an, and to uphold the true principles of faith (*‘itiqād*) according to the Sunni school.⁴³ The second is the knowledge of secret matters (*‘ilm al-sirr*), which refers to spiritual experiences. This *‘ilm* will enable Muslims to know God as the Creator of universe so that they would glorify Him, and to possess good intention and attitudes of sincerity as well as benevolence in behaviour. All of these are directed towards improving the worship to God. The third field of knowledge concerns the *Shariah*, which requires Muslims to know the Islamic pillars and perform on each of them (praying, fasting, alms-giving, and pilgrimage).⁴⁴

The second *‘aqabah* is repentance (*tawbah*). This denotes the process by which those who have committed sins decide to stop from doing anything religiously forbidden. In the *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, this *‘aqabah* is given great importance for two reasons. First, repentance is a way to obey God; continuing living in sins will make people stay away from virtues and doing good deeds. Second, repentance will make worship and obedience accepted by God; God will not accept the worship of someone who still indulges in things unlawful and forbidden.⁴⁵

As part of the path to get closer to God, *‘aqabah* of repentance is laden with difficulties and barriers. The seekers are strongly encouraged to leave all the sins behind them and begin a new life under the spirit of *tawbah*. Nevertheless, repentance is not the only one with challenges. There are two other *‘aqabah* that are replete with difficulties. The *‘aqabah* of obstacles (*al-‘awā’iq*) is the third and the *‘aqabah* of hindrance (*al-‘awāriq*) the fourth. In this respect, the book introduces the concept of ascetism (*zuhd*), that is, to

⁴³ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 13.

⁴⁴ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 13-4.

⁴⁵ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 16-7.

renounce and disassociate totally from the charms of the world as well as to control desires.⁴⁶

The book also sees the creature (*makhliūq*), precisely humankind, as source of jeopardy of true worship, with the argument that people after the *salaf* generation (the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions) are increasingly exposed to spiritual decline and moral corruption (*dalam fasad yang amat besar*). They are described as having broken their promises, betrayed their trust, and fought one another. Therefore, the book urges the people to keep aloof from public life, devoting all their time to worship Allah ﷻ.⁴⁷

Minhāj al-Ābdīn sets forth the concept of *taqwā*' (devoutness and righteousness) as a means of controlling lust and anger. This term is derived from the Arabic word *wiqāyah*, literally meaning protection and prevention. And a person who takes a firm resolve to refrain from sins and disobedience is called *muttaqī*; while the resolve he takes is called *taqwā*. In this book, *taqwā* is explained in great detail, concerning its role and significance in Muslims' religious life, and in reference to the Qur'anic verses in which *taqwā* is cited many times with the meaning mostly "God-fearing" (such as 5:27, 4:131, 2: 281, 2:41, and 24:52).⁴⁸ In addition, the book also elucidates several important points that may be described as practices of *taqwā*: safeguarding the eyes, ears and mouth (not to look at, to hear, and to eat everything that is prohibited by religion); and safeguarding the heart, that is to prevent the feeling of jealousy, pride, and hastiness, all of which would yield negative impact on worship.⁴⁹

The fifth *'aqabah* is impetus (*al-bawā'ith*), which inspires Muslim worship and devotion. The book makes clear that if you are in the right path of religious journey, and your way is made easy, while the obstacles and hindrances are alleviated, it is necessary for you to be consistent to know and to remember in your heart the feeling of fear (*khauf*) and hope (*raja'*). The feeling of both fear and hope is expected to function as incentives and prizes which are

⁴⁶ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 22-3.

⁴⁷ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 27-8.

⁴⁸ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 41-3.

⁴⁹ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 45-64.

necessary to encourage and induce people towards true worship and righteous deeds.

In relation to the impetus of worship, an issue that arises is the need to identify the factors that could lead to ruin of worship. The *'aqabah al-qawādiḥ*, as the sixth, deals with this issue. It consists of harmful activities that could spoil acts of worship and devotion. It is necessary for one, so the book states, to protect the good deeds you have done, by the mercy of Allah ﷻ, from those factors which have the potential of wasting and nullifying them.⁵⁰

The last station in the journey to get close to God is the *'aqabah* of praise (*al-ḥamd*) and gratitude (*al-shukr*). As the last station, the main point of this *'aqabah* is to render thanks to Allah ﷻ after having overcome all the difficulties and challenges with His mercy, gone through all the experiences in the previous *'aqabah*, and having been able to attain the objectives of worship that are free from all shortcomings and faults. And the praise and gratitude are rendered for the abundance of Allah's blessing (*ni'mah*), because they, especially gratitude, are a necessary condition for the preservation of a blessing. It follows that the rendering of thanks to Allah ﷻ is to serve as a guarantee for the continuity and permanence of Allah's blessing, otherwise the blessing would be taken away.⁵¹ Gratitude and praise are given much attention. With due regard to the difference between these two terms—that gratitude takes the form of internal action, while praise is an external one—both are to render thanks to Allah ﷻ, and this rendition means that Allah ﷻ is to be glorified and honoured.⁵²

Enhancing the Discourse

In addition to *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, Daud al-Fatani's adoption of al-Ghazali's Sufi ethics as the core subject of *Shariah*-based Sufism may also be gleaned from his other Sufi works, one of which is *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Collection of the Avails and the Jewels of Necklaces). Completed in 1824/1239, this book was first printed in Mecca (1885/6) and then Singapore but without a date. The

⁵⁰ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, 111.

⁵¹ Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, 128.

⁵² Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, 129-30.

undated version printed by Matba‘ah al-Nahdī in Pulau Pinang seems to be the one available in contemporary Southeast Asia.⁵³ This book appears to have been written in the same spirit as *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, which was completed in 1825. *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id* has several similar Sufi concepts and expressions as those of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*.

As is stated in its introductory pages, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id* was written to render religious advices which the author had collected from various sources. The author said, “I pick up them [religious advices] from the books of Sufi scholars, the hadith of the Prophet and the sayings of saints”; and these appear to be the reason why the author named this book *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*.⁵⁴ The book starts with a presentation of stories-based religious advices, like that of the Prophet Noah (عليه السلام) as he was protected by Allah from heavy storm, and that of the Prophet Moses (عليه السلام) for whom Allah disclosed those who were going to make crimes to himself and his community. These stories are treated as an illustration to emphasize the importance of asking for God’s protection (*ta‘uzu bi Allāh*). Daud al-Fatani wrote, “we are requested to seek for the protection in the name of Allah from all crimes by taking submission to Allah and knocking the door of His mercy”.⁵⁵

As well, the above stories provide us with lessons and examples of the ways to get close to Allah ﷻ and to attain salvation in the Hereafter, while for the life in this world, the book accentuates the belief that easiness will come amidst hardship. This last point is explained by the story of the Prophet Joseph (عليه السلام), which highlights the troubles he experienced before he came to the enlightened condition with the help of Allah ﷻ.⁵⁶

In addition, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id* shares the Sufi concept of *zuhd* (ascetism), which is of such importance to *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*. It is discussed in a specific chapter, *rafḍ al-dunyā wa al-zuhd* (leaving the

⁵³ See Matheson and Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, 23.

⁵⁴ Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā‘id* (Penang: Matba‘ah al-Nahdī, n.d.), 3.

⁵⁵ Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*, 3-6.

⁵⁶ Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*, 16-63. The story of the Prophet Joseph in this book is most likely identical to the author’s work, *Kisah Nabi Yusuf* (Mecca: Matba‘at al-Mīriyah, 1911/1329), as mentioned by Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 17.

world and ascetism), in which the book renders ample advice for an ascetic life, with references to the sayings and the practices of the Prophet (ﷺ) and his Companions. The saying of ‘Ali ibn Abī Tālib (عليه السلام) is one of the sources quoted, as ‘Ali said that he had great concern with two things: having strong courage and following the lust. He argued that strong courage could lead human beings to be strongly bound to the lust, and therefore to neglect the Last Day. For him, the world has been running towards the Last Day, and therefore the people should become the children of the Hereafter; that they need to dedicate their life for the sake of the Hereafter, and to keep away from worldly desire that keeps making one’s life perish, and in fact it is deceitful.⁵⁷

The next Sufi work of Daud al-Fatani in question is *Waṣāyā al-Abrār wa Mau’iza al-Akhyār* (Respectful Advices and Excellent Exhortation). The Rumi version of this work was prepared recently by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah, based on a manuscript preserved in Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (MS 589). This work was written on the basis of *Limurādat al-Akhyar wa Akhbar al-Abrār* by al-Arif bi Allah Shaykh Muhammad bin Umar al-Ghumri al-Wasiti. In the introductory pages, Daud al-Fatani wrote that he “had learned the messages and advices [and had read] the language of the *kitāb* ... so it attracted me, the poor, to translate some of its beneficial advices”.⁵⁸

This work begins the discussion with the so-called *amalan berharga* (the precious invocations), which are to be recited for many purposes and in different situations. For instance, for those who attempt to avoid suffering and ordeal, there is a specific invocation which is recommended to recite just before leaving the house. It reads as follows: *bismi Allāh ‘āmantu bi Allāh tawakkaltu ‘alā Allāh wa lā haula wala quwwata’ ilā bi Allāh al-‘alīyu’ al-‘azīm*. While for those looking for fortunes, the book provides a specific invocation as follows: *subhāna Allāh wa bi-hamdīhi subhāna Allāh al-‘azīm ‘astaghfiru Allāh*. This invocation is to be recited at the dawn. Many other invocations are given for many wishes, such as to be alleviated

⁵⁷ Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā'id*, 66-71.

⁵⁸ Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar Peringatan Akhyar*, transliterated by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah (Shah Alam: Hizbi, 1990), 2-3.

from poverty, despairing and miserable condition, sickness, and others.⁵⁹

The book continues rendering advice, stating that Muslims should be kind to others and always be close to Allah ﷻ. In this respect, the book introduces the term *muhsinin*, with the explanation that “they should worship God as if you see Him; if you do not, [you should believe that] He watches you”.⁶⁰ Another related advice is on the way to get Allah’s satisfaction (*riḍā’*), that He approves what the Muslims do in this world. The book presents four activities for this specific purpose, namely: be afraid of Allah (*khauf*), to beg for His grace (*raja’*), to love Allah (*maḥabbah*), and to long for Allah (*shauq*). Each of the four activities entails obligations to be upheld. The term *khauf* requires one to always perform the mandatory duties (*farā’id*) of Allah; those who do *raja’* must be sincere (*ikhhlās*); the feeling of being close to Allah (*muraqabah*) and be watched by Allah (*mushahadah*) is the essence of *maḥabbah*; and to long for Allah means that they should always do *dhikr* both with the tongue and the heart.⁶¹

In fact, this book gives a special discussion on *dhikr*, in reference to the tradition of the Prophet (ﷺ) and the Sufi practices, with the emphasis on the importance of the recital of *la ilāha illā Allāh* (no God but Allah), regardless of the ways and the styles of its recitation.⁶² After elaborating the Sufi concepts and practices of *dhikr*, the book states “it is urged for you to spend time for the worship to God, day and night; to enjoy your time with invocations (*awrād*) in order to gain God’s blessing in your lifetime. The happiness will be bestowed on you in the Hereafter as an unexpected reward for what you have done”.⁶³ Next to *dhikr*, the book also stresses the need to seek for forgiveness from Allah (*istighfār*) by reciting *astaghfiru Allāh* and some Qur’anic verses, such as *Surah al-Ikhlās* and *al-Fatihah*.⁶⁴ The book ends the discussion by

⁵⁹ Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 4-9.

⁶⁰ Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 10.

⁶¹ Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 12.

⁶² Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 27-33.

⁶³ Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 34.

⁶⁴ Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 35-9.

providing the readers with ten versions of invocations which are regarded as to have been practiced by the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ).⁶⁵

Another Sufi work that deserves mention is by the Pattani scholar, Ahmad al-Fatani titled *Sufi and Wali Allah*. This book has been revised and edited by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah.⁶⁶ It is divided into several chapters, the first two of which discuss the meaning of some Sufi terms and their benefits, and the answers to the questions asked by Putra Sultan Muhammad, the Sultan of Kelantan. Afterwards, Ahmad arranged his writings in the form of poetic advice, relating to the development of Sufism and mystical path (*tarīqah*) which occurred during his time. Ahmad also spoke about the *wali* (friend of Allah, saint) and *karāmah* (a miracle worked by saint). In this chapter, he included the names of some well-known Sufis and their attachments to the world of Sufism. Finally, Ahmad al-Fatani reminded his Muslim brothers to reflect on the consequences of their lives. He told them, among others, to ponder on the past glory of all great ancient states in human history that subsequently met their decline and destruction.

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion provides us with ample evidence that the ethical Sufism *ala* al-Ghazali increasingly grew to be a leading and widely recognized stream of Islamic thought in the nineteenth century Malay Archipelago. The translations and commentaries of al-Ghazali's works, including *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* by Daud al-Fatani, became a salient intellectual feature, augmenting the search for Sufi ideas relevant to the increasing demand of the *Shariah*. Instead of reconciling the two fields of Islamic knowledge, mysticism and *Shariah*, the rising discourse of the nineteenth century went further into the formulation of Sufism as a set of teachings that emphasize the inner aspects of religious practices and devotion, termed as ethics. The discussions of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* are in this line of intellectual discourse. It presents the mainstream voices of '*ulamā*' concerning the spiritual aspect of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. In this respect

⁶⁵ Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 45-8.

⁶⁶ Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani, *Sufi and Wali Allah*, prepared by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2018).

Daud al-Fatani was continuing what al-Falimbani had already laid down in his works, especially *Sayr al-Sālikīn*.

Turning to the issue noted in the beginning of this article, it should be stated here that the ethical Sufism of Ghazali is greatly influential in Muslims spiritual life. The works of this Sufi teaching by Malay '*ulamā*' are continuously studied and referred to as the Muslim scholars try to deal with contemporary issues, especially those related to spirituality. To be noted here is the growing Sufism in the contemporary era, known as urban Sufism, which takes the above-mentioned works to be its main sources of reference. Accordingly, the ethical Sufism of al-Ghazali constitutes one of the main pillars of what is termed as Islam Nusantara in present-day Southeast Asia.

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TRANS-NATIONALISM AND CIVILISATIONAL IDENTITY

Rumi on Land, Language and Love

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Abstract

In the twenty-first century, the eight-hundred-year-old teachings of a Muslim mystic-poet from West-Asia continues to inspire masses with the universal messages of liberty, love, and fraternity. Many of us can still read and enjoy Rumi's appealing poems in the original Persian language without difficulty – a very rare accident in the arena of world literature! The transcendental meaning of 'civilisational identity' has an evident presence in Rumi's poems, and his teachings are still relevant. This essay aims at presenting Rumi's borderless mentality and inclusive approach, which is, in many instances, in contrast with the modern tendencies of fragmentation and exclusivism. The discussions begin with a short 'Introduction', followed by four main headings. 'Civilisation, Imitation of Creation,' provides a brief overview of the transformation of the meaning of 'civilisation' from the classical period to the modern times. It also emphasises on the less visible yet essential role of art and literature in the formation of civilisational identity. 'Rise of Nationalism as Independent Identity' touches upon the establishment of nation-states, followed by an elaboration of the positive and negative aspects of 'Nationalism' as a recent development in human history. 'Trans-National Identity of Liberated Souls' offers a bird's-eye-view of Rumi's life across various lands. It introduces Persianate culture as medium of connection of many nations, and showcases Rumi, through his writings, as a borderless, nationless, profound, inclusive, translucent, and love-oriented intellectual. 'Language: Facilitator or

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Barrier focuses on the idea of communication at two levels: speechless communication and communication via tongue, referring to the esoteric and exoteric aspects of expression. Under this heading we shall also see how a shared language of a few countries – that has been a uniting factor in the history – can become a dividing factor when different ‘name-stickers’ are adopted to accomplish political agendas under the banner of nationalism. And finally, under ‘Conclusion,’ a concise summary of the paper is provided. The essay is complemented by relevant couplets by Rumi and two contemporary poets from Iran and Afghanistan. Fresh English translations of the couplets are provided.

Keywords: Rumi, Mathnawi, Civilisational Identity, Nationalism, Trans-nationalism, Persianate, Persian, Najeeb Barwar, Zabihollah Behrouz, Dari, Farsi, Tajik.

Introduction

Ideas and teachings of Jalāl al-Dīn Mohammad Balkī (d.1207), better known as Rumi, have attracted a wide range of audiences from various cultural and religious backgrounds. In the past seventy years, frequent conferences have been organized, and many speculative thoughts and controversial heated debates were exchanged at individual, national, regional, and international levels – trying to ‘define’ Rumi’s intellectual, cultural, and ideological dispositions. A theologian, philosopher, poet and mystic, his thought-provoking views and attractive tales are narrated mainly in his two poetic masterpieces, *Mathnawī-e Ma’ nawī* and *Divān-e Shams-e Tabrīzī*. Hundreds of millions have been inspired by these two works throughout the world. His prose writings are also profound but less popular.²

Rumi was a trans-national figure with the message of love and unity. Few factors contributed to his open mind, wide view, and tolerance towards others. The proper education he had under his

² Besides the two major poetic works that is the *Mathnawī-e Ma’ nawī* and *Divan-e Shams-e Tabrizi*, Jalal al-Din left behind three prose books namely *Fīhī Mā Fīhī* (*In It is What’s in It*), *Majāles-e Sab’ah* (*Seven Sessions*), and *Makātīb* (*Letters*).

learned father Bahā' al-Din Valad, and trainings he received from other grandmasters at the young age undoubtedly solidified his thought foundation. His life-changing encounter with Shams-e Tabrizi helped him break himself out of the cage of formal knowledge, social status, and academic positions. Travelling to other lands and encountering people of different languages and ways of life, was perhaps another experience that made him tolerant and flexible.

In order to develop a realistic perception of Rumi's worldview and be able to appreciate his civilisational contributions, it is important to keep an open mind that is clear from biases – national as well as ideological! An overall view of his life's journey to various lands, as well as familiarising oneself with his works, will help in achieving a fair assessment of Rumi's teachings.

Civilisation, Imitation of Creation

The meaning of 'civilisation' has undergone fundamental changes in the course of time. The concept has been a subject of discussion among philosophers, politicians and social scientists since the classical period, and still a matter of debate and confusion. The earliest deliberations on civilisation have been essentially theoretical – mainly revolving around the qualities or attributes of an 'ideal civilisation' from a philosophical, or rather metaphysical perspective. Plato introduced the ideal form of city-state, the 'Utopia,' as a collective entity shaped after the cosmic model.

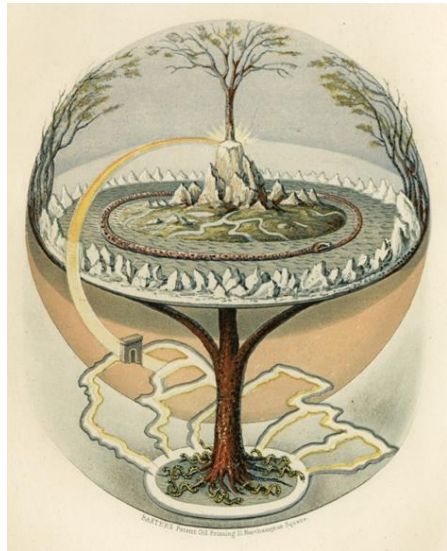
It was on the basis of such definitions that certain key indicators, such as the desirable type of governance, good citizens, proper social order and justice were discussed. Saint Augustine's *The City of God* is a remarkable example in which he presents the sons of Adam (Cain and Abel) as representative citizens of the two city types – the 'heavenly city' and the 'earthly city' – with an elaborate justification of the superiority of the former.³

³ Cain type belongs to earthly domain i.e. "the city of men," while the Abel type belongs to "the city of God." Naturally, from a God-oriented perspective, Abel is a truer representative of God than Cain, hence people are encouraged to willingly accept the citizenship of the city of God. See Saint Augustine, *The City of God* (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), Book XV, 478-79; also Book XVI & XVII,

The idea of an ideal society that would reflect the cosmic equilibrium in its perfection fascinated philosophers in various lands and of different timespans. The idea stimulated artists' imaginations resulting in the production of symbolic works of art that presented the doctrines that inspired them. A good example of artworks that were produced to depict the cosmic equilibrium and the connection between heaven and earth is Yggdrasill, the cosmic tree in Norse mythology.⁴ Yggdrasill represents the perfect universal equilibrium. Its roots are stretched into various wells, and its branches extended far into the heavens.⁵

Figure 1. Vision of Creation in Norse Mythology.

Yggdrasill, is the name of an immense mythological ash tree in Norse cosmology. It is a version of 'the tree of life' in Northern mythology. Yggdrasill is the axis of the universe around which all the nine worlds are arranged, and within which all creatures live. This illustration was published in 1895 by Henry G. Bohn.



In Indian philosophy, the creation is an embodiment of the Cosmic Man - Puruṣa. The term '*puruṣa*' in Vedic and Upanishadic teachings, refers to a Cosmic Being, the abstract sense of the Self, the Indestructible Principle from whose body the universe was created. The idea found visual manifestation in geometric diagrams as well as

521-608.

⁴ It is mentioned in the thirteenth-century *Poetic Edda*, from earlier traditional sources.

⁵ Rudolf Simek, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, trans., Angela Hall (D. S. Brewer, 2008), 375.

perception is a 'duty-oriented' process towards what is believed to be philosophically and universally 'right', the contemporary literature tends to define it as a 'rights-based' process. It is explained as a political membership by means of which one is entitled to certain civic, social, and political rights. And in exchange for enjoying such rights, the citizens will offer their membership duties. Such efforts have helped develop legal boundaries and rules of conduct that would set a legal framework for the relation between citizens and their nation-states on the one hand, and the engagement of countries with one another, on the other hand. This mere pragmatic approach, however, could not fully address issues that are ontological in nature, and has had its negative consequences. Schweitzer saw "very clearly that the modern civilised world, so self-styled, is not really a civilised world, but a world of 'Epigoni' inhibitors, rather than creators of any positive goods."⁷

Fortunately, contemporary academic publications are beginning to address the issues of the 'challenges confronting the theory and practice of citizenship in a globalised, socially fragmented, and multicultural world.' Muslims, having become the subject of various social and political discussions, are now being studied as minority communities within western societies – a promising initiation.⁸

Let us leave the theoretical aspects behind and use common sense as a platform for a tangible understanding of what constituted a 'civilisation.' When we speak of civilisation, we usually imagine a vast land with an advanced stage of social and cultural organisation that has enriched human lives for a rather long stretch of time. Civilisations have engraved their unfading marks on human history through leaving behind rich and profound 'art', in the civilisational sense of the word. Greatness of civilisations are marked by their advanced artistic productions that reflect their high ideals. A society

UBD Press, 2014), 11-32.

⁷ See Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *What is Civilization, and Other Essays* (Lindisfarne Press, 1989), 1-12.

⁸ See "Liberal Citizenship and the Search for an Overlapping Consensus: The Case of Muslim Minorities," in David Thunder, ed., *The Ethics of Citizenship in the 21st Century* (Springer, 2017), 145-178.

that lacks high art – regardless of how advanced and mighty it may be technologically, militarily, and economically – cannot be called a civilisation.

By ‘Art’ we mean a wide variety of creative activities, from visual and performing, to poetry and music, to architecture and traditional crafts. Arts have close affinity with the cultural identity of the people who created them and display their aesthetic and emotional sensitivities. Superior artistic productions exhibit perfect harmony between form and content: The aesthetic taste of peoples that share a civilisational identity is shaped by the artistic production that have developed deep and wide in time and space. Art is therefore the most remarkable civilisational feature. Kandinsky begins his famous book with the following remark.

Every work of art is the child of its age and, in many cases, the mother of our emotions. It follows that each period of culture produces an art of its own which can never be repeated.⁹

While art and architecture create a shared pattern of aesthetic taste that connect societies visually, literature connects them internally like an invisible yet strong web. It encompasses sophisticated and creative writings of philosophical and scientific nature in poetry and prose. Together they shape people’s thoughts and create an intellectual tradition. To understand a civilisation, one must familiarise oneself with language, land, and aesthetic sensitivities of the family of cultures that give meaning to it.

Rise of Nationalism as Independent Identity

‘Nation-state’ is a relatively new social and territorial structure in human history. The concept is essentially based on European developments of political economy and political geography. The term ‘nation-state’ is used when an “ethnic and cultural population inhabits the boundaries of a state, and the boundaries of that state are

⁹ Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, translated to English by M. T. H. Sadler (Dover Publications, 1977), 1.

coextensive with the boundaries of that ethnic and cultural population.”¹⁰

The association of a people who live within the territorial boundaries of a nation-state gradually gave way to formation of a new collective identity. This identity gradually developed into what was later branded as ‘Nationalism’ – a modern phenomenon that originated in Europe in the 18th century. Nationalism, in its early stages, manifested as movements aimed at upholding freedom, justice, and revival of cultural values – emphasising on taking pride in patriotism and national identity – one nation, one person. Heads of states often promote national pride with the intention of maintaining national unity on the one hand, and as a tool to solidify their position in power. In many cases the noble idea was hijacked by powerful global and/or local players to fulfil their capitalistic agendas.¹¹

Nationalism, within some nation-states, underwent potentially dangerous changes. It turned into a form of idealization of a nation that gave way to the rise of extremism, both at theoretical and active levels. Tendencies such as assumption of a nation’s superiority, failure to consider critical views, and resistance to new ideas gave nationalism an ego-centric edge of ‘uncritical acceptance and belief in superiority of a group by descent, race or culture.’ Nationalism in its extreme manifestations can lead to fascism, and can be an obstacle to the world peace.¹² Nazi Germany is a remarkable example of how nationalism can go off track, causing catastrophic harms to the world.¹³

While shared heritage can promote love and brotherhood in a cross-cultural panorama, nationalism could bring about opposite

¹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 86.

¹¹ “‘Made by Capitalism’ is on its label”, see Tom Narim and Paul James, *Global Matrix: Nationalism, Globalism and Terrorism* (London and New York: Pluto Press, 2005), 6.

¹² Amir H. Zekrgoo, “Reflections on Indo-Iranian Relations” in Anwar Alam, ed., *India and Iran – An Assessment of Contemporary Relations* (New Delhi: New Century Publications, 2011), 308-322; for an elaboration see Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, Future* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 90.

¹³ See John Cai Benjamin Weaver’s “Adolf Hitler’s account of ‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism’,” <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/8736>, retrieved 27 July 2022.

results. Cultures, metaphorically speaking, resemble pyramids – the wider the base of a pyramid the stronger and taller the structure! When cultures are fragmented into smaller units, they lose both their beauty and strength. Dividing cultures that share a civilisational identity under the banner of nationalism can bring about animosity. An overall glance towards nationalistic movements in the past century reveals that the exclusive attitude toward one's nation, has sometimes acted as an anti-civilisational force – undermining cultural and civilisational identities that are often trans-national. Divisions between politically shaped territorial spaces did not become a common practice until late eighteenth century.

Trans-national Identity of Liberated Souls

Rumi (d.1207) lived some 800 hundred years ago; that is some six centuries before the idea of nation-state was invented, and much earlier than many of the countries that now claim him appeared on the world map! It is worth mentioning here, that the development of mapping technology has had a game changing effect on defining borders of nation-states, and giving legitimacy to some political establishments, while others were harmed by the maps!¹⁴

Authority structures not depicted on maps were ignored or actively renounced in favor of those that were, leading to the implementation of linear boundaries between states and centralized territorial rule within them.¹⁵

Having said that, to avoid being trapped into the ever-changing socio-political maps that constantly shake our minds, it is

¹⁴ This trend is still in practice. New maps are being forged to serve political agendas. The case of 'Persian Gulf' is worth mentioning. In the last three decades we have been witnessing systematic mobilization of forces – in the political and academic arena – to undermine the historically documented name 'Persian Gulf', and impose a fabricated one (Arabian Gulf) in its stead. The agenda is being complemented by producing modern maps that distort historical facts.

¹⁵ Jordan Nathaniel Branch, *Mapping the Sovereign State: Cartographic Technology, Political Authority, and Systematic Change*. PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkley, 2011, "Abstract", see <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2tt0p94m>, retrieved 15 July 2022

important to remind ourselves of Rumi's civilisational and historical heritage. Historically speaking, Rumi does not belong to any of the political territories that are presently identified as independent states. Instead, he was an amazing product of a rich intellectual tradition that is shared by many nations, races, and ethnic groups.

A few countries have 'claimed' Rumi, based on certain historical and geographical evidences. Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan (arrange in alphabetical order) are among them. Place of birth, place of demise, and duration of residence have been presented as reasons for such claims. To give the credit based on the '*country of origin*' (a modern phrase used in most application forms for traveling to other countries) then Afghanistan and Tajikistan will have to find an undisputable historical proof to win the case. If duration of residence is accepted as the criterion, then Turkey will have an unchallengeable victory, with an additional bonus of having Rumi's tomb in its soil.¹⁶ Iranians consider Rumi one of their own due to historical and linguistic ties with the iconic poet from the one hand,¹⁷ and for keeping alive the intellectual tradition through producing valuable scholarly works by contemporary figures.¹⁸

There is a larger and perhaps more essential context in which Rumi can be studied – the 'Persianate identity.' Persian – in the broad meaning of the term – has connected people of a vast area that stretched from China to Balkans, and from Siberia to the Indian subcontinent; it was the literary and official language of a large region in Asia and Europe.¹⁹ Persian also refers to a language (also known as Dari, Farsi, and Tajik) and to the people that speak in it, or to an ethnic group. 'Persianate,' on the other hand, refers to a

¹⁶ In 1228 Rumi's father, Baha al-Din Valad, moved with his family to Anatolia and settled in Konia. Rumi spent most of his productive life in Konya, in the modern state of Turkey.

¹⁷ Most Iranians can read Rumi's work in the original language without difficulty, and have kept Rumi's teaching alive as an oral culture.

¹⁸ Franklin Lewis believes that most important Rumi scholars today are Iranian. For an elaboration see his *Rumi, Past, Present, East and West* (Oneworld Publication, 2000).

¹⁹ See Nile Green, *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (University of California Press, 2019), 1.

trans-national cultural identity. The term includes many societies that weren't necessarily Persian ethnically, but were connected through linguistic ties, aesthetic values, as well as cultural and artistic traditions. A historical study of the cultural transformation of societies in west-Asian and south-Asian regions reveals the remarkable influence of Persian culture on the societies under the rule of several dynasties. A general view of Persianate societies on a geographical map is provided in Figure 3.



Figure 3. Civilisational map of Persianate societies. Unlike the maps that exhibit divisions of lands according to political establishments of nation-states, map of a civilisation is closer to a map of nature, it looks less rigid, more relaxed, with a sense of inclusiveness.²⁰

The limitations of this study do not allow touching upon all dynasties and lands that are part of the Persianate culture but mentioning a few of them would paint a clearer picture for the reader.

Seljuqs (1037-1194), whose empire encompassed parts of Anatolia and the Levant in the west, to Central Asia in the north, and to Hindu Kush and the Persian Gulf in the east and south respectively, were Turkic-speaking rulers. Under the Seljuqs 'the court culture was largely Persianized; the process of Persianization accelerated in the thirteenth century'.²¹

²⁰ This map is a modified version of a map available at <https://www.bibleodyssey.org/en/tools/map-gallery/p/persian-empire>

²¹ C. E. Bosworth, "Turkish Expansion Towards the West," in *UNESCO History of Humanity, Volume IV: From the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century*, UNESCO Publishing, (Routledge, 2000), 391.

The Timurids (1307-1507) – also known as Gurkaniyan – were of Turco-Mongol origin. “Persian literature, especially poetry, occupied a central role in the process of assimilation of Timurid elite to the Perso-Islamicate courtly culture.”²² The area under the rule of this dynasty included lands from the modern-day Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, as well as some other areas in Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. “In almost all the territories which Temür incorporated into his realm, Persian was the primary language of administration and literary culture.”²³

In the Indian subcontinent Persian has been the *lingua franca* for some eight hundred years. Under the Ghaznavids (977-1186) Lahore (in the modern Pakistan) became Persianized, and later several Muslim dynasties ruled over large parts of northern, central and southern India; the dynasties are generally referred to as Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526). During this period, outstanding writers and poets produced brilliant Persian works that are still appreciated and loved. Amir Khosrow (1253-1325) is among my favorite Persian musician-poets. He is also known as ‘the father of Urdu literature’ and ‘the father of Qawwali’ – a kind of Sufi devotional song that is performed with musical instruments. But the most prominent glow of Persian language, art and culture was during the Mughal empire (1526-1857).²⁴ Persian language continued its administrative function for a long period during the British empire’s rule over India in the mid-eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. British officials often used Persian seals inscribed in Nasta‘liq style – a Persian style of calligraphy – as their official signature.²⁵

²² David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (Yale University Press, 2005), 130.

²³ Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 109.

²⁴ See Amir H. Zekrgoo, “Traces of Persian Art in the Domain of Indian Culture” (Persian) (2 & 1 (رد پای هنر ایران در عرصه فرهنگ هند، in *Nameh Farhang, Quarterly Journal on Cultural and Social Studies*, No. 18 (1995), 138-143; and *Nameh Farhang*, No. 19 (1995), 144-151.

²⁵ “See Amir H. Zekrgoo, “An Introduction to Persian Seals: Special Reference to Devotional Seals from an Eighteenth-Century Manuscript” in *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought & Civilization (ISTAC)*, Volume 27, Number 1 (2022), 153-170.

In Anatolia, under Ottomans (1299-1922), Persian language had a remarkable function as the carrier of civilisation, because it was a medium of historiography. Its poetic richness was deep rooted to the extent that ‘even Sultan Salim I, a bitter enemy of Iran,’ wrote poetry in Persian.²⁶

A study of Rumi’s writings, especially his two great poetic masterpieces – the *Mathnawi* and *Divan-e Shams-e Tabrizi* – portrays him as a borderless, nationless, profound, inclusive, translucent, and love-oriented soul. He metaphorically introduces his master, Shams-e Tabrizi, as a person who is in a state of spiritual intoxication, liberated from all conventional boundaries and attachments.

*I walked out of my house, a drunk man approached me,
With hundred rose-gardens and canopies, hidden in his glances
of mystery...*

*“To where do you belong?” I asked; he responded mockingly:
“Half from Turkistan, half from Fergana,” – O dear, can’t you
see!”*

*“One half from heart and soul, other half from water and clay,
“One half of untainted pearl, other half at the shore of a bay.”*

*Beggingly I said: “be my friend, as we are related,”
“I don’t discriminate strangers from friends,” he said!*

*“I have no hearty attachments, nor I wear a ranking turban,
My chest is bursting with words; must I relieve this burden!”²⁷*

‘Drunkenness,’ in the above couplets, refers to a state of liberation from all imposed conventions. ‘Wine’ represents the ‘beloved’ whose charm and beauty intoxicates the ‘lover’ and liberates him from mundane realities that govern mediocre people’s lives.²⁸ A liberated

²⁶ *Persian Historiography and Geography: Bertold Spuler on Major Works Produced in Iran, The Caucasus, Central Asia, India, and Early Ottoman Empire*, Translated from German by M. Ismail Marcinkowski (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional Pte Ltd, 2003), 68.

²⁷ Rumi, *Divan-e Shams-e Tabrizi*, Ghazal No. 2309, online edition. Translation to English by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix I.

²⁸ ‘Wine’ and ‘drunkenness’ are two important metaphoric terms in Persian mystical literature. They are part and parcel of the process of experiencing love – central

man's soul is purified by love. His transcendental vision does not discriminate between strangers and relatives. He is detached, unconcerned about outfits and ranks; yet his chest is a treasure of wisdom, ready to be explored. This sublime spiritual experience is referred to as a state of 'selflessness' (*bī-khudī* = بیخودی) – another familiar theme in Sufi tradition.²⁹

'Self' and 'selflessness' are key terms associated with the journey of self-realization. The higher Self is associated with the Divine spirit (الروح) that God blew into man's physical shell at the time of creation (Qur'an 15:29). The lower self, on the other hand, is associated with the ego – that destructive force within us that stands on the way of spiritual growth and liberation. The Qur'an refers to it as 'The self that commands to evil' (15:29). The seer, in the journey of spiritual growth, "will realise that the rays of the true Self will not shine unless the distracting sparkles of the ego are extinguished. In other words, 'selflessness' would lead to 'Self-realisation'"³⁰

*Strive for selflessness, find your 'Self' (in the Source),
Proceed fast, for God only knows of the right course.*³¹

'Self-interest' is a popular expression in global communication among nations. Countries often justify their unjust acts and legitimise their oppressive attitudes under the deceiving expression of 'national interest' – trends that are too often but greed and ego inflated to a national level! Rumi promotes 'selflessness' in order to attain self-realisation – which, according to a famous *hadith*, is the path to

element of Sufi teachings. For an elaboration see N. Pourjavady's "Love and the Metaphor of Wine and Drunkenness in Persian Sufi Poetry," in *Metaphor and Imagery in Persian Poetry*, ed., Ali Asghar Seyed-Gohrab (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), 125-136.

²⁹ Mohammad Iqbal Lahori (1877-1938) composed two celebrated books of poetry in Mathnawi style, after Rumi's lead, elaborating on the concepts of Self and Selflessness. The books are called اسرار خودی (Secrets of the Self) and رموز بیخودی (Hints of Selflessness).

³⁰ Amir H. Zekrgoo, "Sufi Sama and the Cosmology of Mandala," in *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought & Civilization (ISTAC)*, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Volume 13, Number 2 (2008), 203-204.

³¹ Rumi, *The Mathnawi* 4: 3218, English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 2.

God-realisation.³²

Humanity has paid a big price for the ‘interest-oriented relations.’ The global increase of animosity and violence are but symptoms of the disease of selfishness at a collective level! Rumi regards selfishness as demonic, a manifestation of Satan that works in opposition to angelic forces and intellect.

*Ego and Satan are a single entity,
Displaying themselves with double identity.*

*Angel and intellect are also essentially same,
For the wisdom of functions, they use a different name.*³³

The advice is to stay wise by taking the side of the angel of goodness and purify oneself from ‘The self that commands to evil’ (Qur’an, 15:29).

*Purify yourself from the impure attributes of the self
For only then you’ll see the clear essence of your “Self”*³⁴

*Kill your ego and resurrect the World (of Spirit),
The ego has killed its master, make a slave of it*³⁵

Trans-nationalism, as a civilisational mindset, has connected peoples of Persianate culture beyond the national borders for a very long time. It has created a sense of intimacy and kinship that is still felt. This kinship is even reflected in the names and surnames. Many people carry the name of a certain city – that is presently part of another country – as their surnames. I have Iranian friends with the surnames such as Herati or Kabuli (attributed to the cities Herat and Kabul, Afghanistan), Dehlavi (attributed to Delhi, India) Kashmiri (attributed to Kashmir, a disputed territory between Pakistan and

³² A hadith narrated from the Prophet reads: من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه. “Whoever knows himself, knows his Lord.”

³³ Rumi, *The Mathnawi* III: 4053-4054, English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 3.

³⁴ Ibid, I: 3457 English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 4.

³⁵ Ibid, III: 2504, English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 5.

India), Marvi (attributed to Marv/Merv, Turkmanistan), Qobadiani (attributed to Qubodiyon, Tajikistan), or Nakhjavani (attributed Nakhichevan, in the modern state of Azerbaijan). Similarly, I know people in India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia with the surnames such as Bukhari (attributed to Bukhara, Uzbekistan), or Shirazi and Isfahani (attributed to Shiraz and Isfahan, Iran.) The list goes on. This is among the subtle strings that preserves kinship cross borders.

The following poem, composed in by Zabihollah Behrouz (1890-1971) articulates this point charmingly.³⁶

*Tajikistan and Khorasan; They're both yours – O Brother!
Your body is in one land; your soul is in the other!*

*In Bukhara and Samarqand, Tashkent, Chach, Wakhsh and Khujand,
The bright culture of your ancestors is rooted in the land.*

*Kabul, Balkh, Herat, Ganja, Marv, and Hisar,
Like Shiraz and Isfahan – part of your Iran, they are!*

*Assemble we all must, the soil particles that are spread,
And the pure drops of water – the tears that you've shed.*

*We need another Rostam, to protect our glorious name,
Or else the brand of betrayal, will bring us endless shame.³⁷*

In the above couplets, names of ten cities and countries associated with the Persianate culture are listed. The last couplet emphasizes on the need for restoration of unity; hoping for the rise of a new Rostam³⁸ – a contemporary trans-national hero figure who would restore the spirit of kinship and brotherhood among the family of cultures that were once limbs of a single body.

Najeeb Barwar, a contemporary poet from Afghanistan, has echoed Zabihollah Behrouz's trans-nationalism in a poem entitled

³⁶ The poem has been posted online, <http://afghanpaper.com/nbody.php?id=80178> retrieved 29 July 2022

³⁷ English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo; For couplets in original language see Appendix 6.

³⁸ Rostam/Rustam is a legendary hero of unsurpassed power in Persian mythology. His life and heroism have been highlighted in the *Shahnameh* epic by 10th century Iranian poet Ferdowsi.

‘Bridge’ (پل). The poem was composed into a song that received wide audience.³⁹

*Where they draw a border, you build a bridge of connection,
Speak of Tehran, Samarkand, and ‘Sar Pol’⁴⁰ in every location.*

*When they talk about war, you respond with a wide smile,
Show them a window facing the landscape of toleration.*

*Say ‘NO’ to idolization of politicians -- no, no!
Put flowers on all the graves of separation.*

*With the mixed soil from Bukhara and of Nishapur,
Rebuild the ruins of Kabul, and end its devastation.*

*For the hair of girls caged in our beloved Pamir⁴¹ –
With flowers from Khorasan, make hair-decoration.*

*Bring over a cup from Balkh and wine from Shiraz,
Compose lyrics in a two-world state of intoxication.⁴²*

In his ‘Bridge,’ Barwar names ten cities that belong to a single family – now divided with artificial borders. The poet encourages his audience to build ‘bridges’ across the borders to restore the relation between kinfolks. The ten cities of Tehran, Samarkand, Sar-Pol, Bukhara, Neyshabour, Kabul, Pamir, Khorasan, Balkh, Shiraz – in the same order mentioned in the poem – are located in Afghanistan, Iran, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Language: Facilitator or Barrier

Rumi spoke of communication at various levels. His attitude towards expression and communication may be categorised under two general

³⁹ Najeeb Barwar’s poems are popular in social media, among the Persianate societies. Shafaq Siahpoosh, a singer originally from Afghanistan and very popular in Tajikistan, sang Najeeb Barwar’s ‘Bridge.’

⁴⁰ Reference to Sar Pol-e Zahāb (سر پل زهاب) a Kurdish county in Kermanshah province of Iran near the Iran-Iraq border.

⁴¹ Pamir is a vast plateau that is spread across Tajikistan, Afghanistan, China and Kyrgyzstan.

⁴² English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 7.

themes: Speechless Communication and Communication via Tongue. I have briefly touched upon the two modes of expression in a few of my writings as ‘Language of Presence’ (لسان الحال) and ‘Language of Tongue’ (لسان القال).⁴³ “The inner guiding light speaks to man in the “language of presence” through signs and inspirations, and connects him to a universal reality that is timeless and primordial.”⁴⁴ The language of tongue, on the other hand, “puts forward realities that are attributes of the time-bound world.”⁴⁵

The *Mathnawi* narrates an interesting story that revolves around the proper use of verbal and non-verbal modes of communication while expressing love. The story is about two lovers who have been separated for a long time. In his lonely moments, the lover would compose poems and write letters – expressing his deep affection for his beloved and complaining from the pain of separation. As there were no efficient postal services in those days, not all such letters were delivered; but the very opportunity of expressing his feelings via writing brought the man a certain degree of relief. The days of separation eventually came to an end, and the lovers found a rare opportunity of enjoying each other’s company in a pleasant environment without outside disturbance. In that exiting moment, the lover pulled out one of his highly poetic writings and began reciting the lines to impress his beloved.

*The girl gave her lover a seat by her side,
The man pulled out a letter and began to recite.*

*With melodious couplets he adored the girl,
With lamenting passages, he shed tears like pearl.*⁴⁶

The girl’s reaction, however, was not what the poor man had imagined! She seemed displeased with his lover’s action – or rather

⁴³ See Amir H. Zekrgoo, “Metaphors of Music & Dance in Rumi’s *Mathnawi*,” in *KATHA: Official Journal of The Centre for Civilizational Dialogue*, Universiti Malaya, Volume 8, 2012 (late publication 2014), 1-14; also, my “Sufi Sama and the Cosmology of Mandala,” in *International Mevlana Symposium Papers*, Volume 3, (Istanbul: Motto Publication, 2007), 1559-1583. Actual Printing 2010.

⁴⁴ Zekrgoo, “Metaphors of Music & Dance in Rumi’s *Mathnawi*,” p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 3: 1406-1407, English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 8.

his absence of action! Criticising the shaken lover, she appealed that the way he had acted in that rare opportunity was not indicative of true love:

*The beloved said: "If these are meant for me, –
At the time of union, it's waste of life – a fallacy!"*
"I'm with you, and you're busy with recitation!"
"This is no sign of a lover's genuine affection!"⁴⁷

Speech can actually act as a barrier when it comes to expressing the most profound and intimate feelings, love! ⁴⁸ The morale of the story is that 'mere words' are not sufficient for genuine expressions of love! This matter has been emphasised time and again in various passages of the *Mathnawi*; one of them is quoted below:

*On the nature of love, I spoke in elaboration,
In the presence of love, I got ashamed in every occasion.*

*The commentary of tongue is indeed appealing,
Yet a tongue-less love is far more revealing⁴⁹*

While the above discussions seem to support the effectiveness of 'speechless communication', Rumi's position with respect to the 'language of tongue' is equally profound. The poet tends to separate the 'form' of communication – i.e., the spoken or written forms of language – from its 'spirit' of communication. He claims that speaking in the same language does not necessarily establish communication; that in order to establish sincere connection via tongue, the elements of 'empathy' and 'intimacy' must be present. If such qualities are absent in a conversation, then one can feel estranged and lonely even among his closest friends!

⁴⁷ Ibid, 3: 1408-1409, English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 9.

⁴⁸ Love, in Rumi's words 'has a hundred different tongues'. See *The Mathnawi* 3: 3842.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 1: 112-113, English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 10.

*To share a tongue shows kinship and connection,
A man among strangers is like a prisoner in chain.*

*Indians and Turks may connect through a shared tongue,
While two Turks may be strangers in vain.*

*Therefore, the language of intimacy is of a different nature,
To be one in heart is indeed better than to be one in tongue⁵⁰*

To make his case even more tangible, Jalal al-Din Balkhi's creative mind produces an ingenious tale about four co-travellers that couldn't communicate, as each one spoke in a tongue that the others did not understand – Farsi, Arabic, Turkic, and Greek.⁵¹ Suffering from exhaustion and hunger, they came to possess a single dirham donated to them, which they had to share and spend it in agreement. Each individual struggled to get his own desired item from the menu! Unable to understand the other ones' tongue, each one announced the name of his favourite fruit in his own language. The Persian guy tried to encourage others to spend the coin on *angūr* (انگور), while the Arab disagreed, insisting on *inab* (عنب) instead. The Turk, fearing to lose his chance of getting a tasty bite, got engaged in the discussion and voted against 'inab, as he fancied *üzüm* (اوزوم). Now it was the Roman guy's turn to announce what he desired. Sternly, he asked everyone to leave aside the useless argument, and settle instead for 'stafyli' (استافیلی). The argument got heated and turned into a fistfight. Their fight, Rumi declares, had a single cause – ignorance; for all four men had actually been longing for grape, pronounced differently!

The story of ignorance is universal and timeless. Today we witness how one language (Persian) – that has been a remarkable factor of friendship and affection among millions of people in the region – is being used as a divider, using different 'name-stickers' (Dari, Farsi, and Tajik) to accomplish political agendas under the banner of nationalism. Najeeb Barwar, a contemporary Afghan poet, articulates the same idea beautifully.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 1: 1205-1207, English by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 11.

⁵¹ The tale is narrated in the *Mathnawi* II: 3681-3692.

*Borders no longer distance us, O brother!
You know well our origin is one.*

*Call it Tajiki, Farsi, or Dari – if you so desire,
In whatever name, Persian language is one!*⁵²

Conclusion

Jalal al-Din Rumi's inspiring works introduce him as a person with a fluid mind that transcends geographical borders. Thus, any attempt to put a stamp of 'national' ownership on him, would immediately display a clear contradiction to his character and teachings. Moreover, many nation-states that claim such ownership were shaped centuries after his lifetime!

Perhaps the most attractive aspects of Rumi's personality, was his amazing ability to come up with creative interpretations of familiar themes and tales that appeal to people of various ages, classes, and of different cultural backgrounds. His stories are crosscultural and his messages are universal. Persian, the language of his writings connects people that live apart in different national borders but share a 'Persianate identity.' In his writings he discussed language at the levels of 'form' and 'spirit' – the language of tongue, and the language of presence. He also referred to love – a profound abstract feeling that can be expressed 'in a hundred different tongues' – as a vital component of global communication. His 'love-oriented communication' is in clear contrast with the 'interest-oriented relations' that are causing animosity and violence today.

Rumi must also be studied as an outstanding contribution of the Islamic civilisation to global fraternity. He lived outside the mental boxes of individuals and groups. His ever-fresh liberating mind produced ideas that flow like life-bestowing water in many lands. He was highly intellectual, had a broad unbiased mind, possessed a vision beyond his time, lived life as a liberated soul, saw humanity as a whole and left behind a body of genuine works that are multi-layered, profound, spiritual, philosophical, creative, artistic,

⁵² Persian poem by Najeeb Barwar. English translation by Amir H. Zekrgoo. For couplets in original language see Appendix 12.

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musical, stimulating, entertaining, engaging, and most importantly – timeless and borderless. Let us cherish this treasure and maintain its wholeness.

* My sincere vote of thanks to Dr Sadra Zekrgoo who kindly accepted to go through the final draft of the essay.

Appendix 1.

از خانه برون رفتم، مستیم به پیش آمد	در هر نظرش مضمهر صد گلشن و کاشانه...
گفتم: ز کجایی تو؟ تسخر زد و گفت:	ای جان نیمیم ز ترکستان، نیمیم ز فرغانه
نیمیم ز آب و گل، نیمیم ز جان و دل	نیمیم لب دریا، نیمی همه دردانه
گفتم که: رفیقی کن با من که منم خویشت	گفتا که: بنشناسم من خویش ز بیگانه
من بی دل و دستارم در خانه خمارم	یک سینه سخن دارم هین شرح دهم یا نه؟

Appendix 2.

جهد کن در بی خودی، خود را بیاب زودتر - والله اعلم بالصواب

Appendix 3.

نفس و شیطان هر دو یک تن بوده اند	در دو صورت خویش را بنموده اند
چون فرشته و عقل که ایشان یک بدند	بهر حکمت هاش یک صورت شدند

Appendix 4.

خویش را صافی کن از اوصاف خود تا ببینی ذات پاک صاف خود

Appendix 5.

نفس خود را کش، جهان را زنده کن خواجه را کشته ست، او را بنده کن

Appendix 6.

ای برادر تاجیکستان هم خراسان تو است	گر خراسان تن بود این پاره ی جان تو است
در بخارا و سمرقند و خجند و وخش و چاچ	ریشه فرهنگ اجداد درخشان تو است
کابل و بلخ و هرات و گنجه و مرو و حصار	همچو شیراز و سپاهان است، ایران تو است
ذره ذره خاک او را جمع می باید نمود	قطره قطره آب پاکش اشک چشمان تو است
رستمی باید که باشد حافظ ناموس و ننگ	ورنه داغ بی وفایی نقش دامان تو است .

Appendix 7.

هر کجا مرز کشیدند شما پل بزیند	حرف تهران و سمرقند و «سرِ پل» بزیند
هر که از جنگ سخن گفت بخندید بر او	حرف از پنجره ی رو به تحمل بزیند
«نه» بگویند به بت های سیاسی - نه! نه!	روی گور همه ی تفرقه ها گل بزیند
مشتی از خاک بخارا و گل از نیشابور	با هم آرید و به مخروبه ی کابل بزیند
دختران قفس افتاده ی پامیر عزیز	گلی از باغ خراسان به دو کاکل بزیند
جامی از بلخ بیارید و شراب از شیراز	مستی هر دو جهان را به تغزل بزیند

Appendix 8.

آن یکی را یار پیش خود نشانند	نامه بیرون کرد و پیش یار خواند
بیت ها در نامه و مدح و ثنا	زاری و مسکینی و بس لابه ها

Appendix 9.

گفت معشوق این اگر بهر منست	گاه وصل این عمر ضایع کردنست
من به پیشت حاضر و تو نامه خوان	نیست این باری نشان عاشقان

Appendix 10.

هر چه گویم عشق را شرح و بیان	چون به عشق آیم خجل باشم از آن
گر چه تفسیر زبان روشنگر است	لیک عشق بی زبان روشنتر است

Appendix 11.

همزبانی خویشی و پیوندی است	مرد با نا محرمان چون بندی است
ای بسا هندو و ترک همزبان	ای بسا دو ترک چون بیگانگان
پس زبان محرمی خود دیگر است	همدلی از همزبانی بهتر است

Appendix 12.

مرزها دیگر اساس دوری ما نیستند	ای برادر اصل ما را خوب میدانی یکی است.
تاجکی یا فارسی، یا خویش پنداری دری	این زبان پارسی را هر چه میخوانی یکی است.

CENTRAL ASIAN WAQF STUDIES
DURING COLONIAL, SOVIET, AND INDEPENDENCE
PERIODS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Osman Bakar,¹ Sultonov Uktambek,² and Ganiyev Avazbek³

Abstract

This article is aimed at providing a literature review of waqf studies in Central Asia during the last 150 years since the 1860s and the 1870s until the present. One of the distinctive features of the economic development of the Islamic world is the institution of waqf, which is an integral part of the social history of Muslim society as well as one of its values. This feature is especially true of Central Asia now comprising the five independent republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, which used in the past to be flourishing centres of Islamic civilisation, and which are in possession of a rich waqf legacy. The bibliographical survey of waqf literature in Central Asia spans the whole 150-year period which is divided into three phases, namely the Czarist colonial period (1870s-1917), the Soviet period (1920s-1930s till 1992), and the independence period (1992 until the present). Special attention is paid to the historiography of waqf institution in the region, especially pertaining to waqf foundations, and the extensive waqf literature that was generated over the centuries by the institution. The article concludes with a summary of the significance of the study for contemporary waqf studies, particularly in Uzbekistan.

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Keywords: *Awqaf*, Central Asia, Russian empire, Turkestan, Soviet rule, *waqf* studies, colonial, independence, Uzbekistan

Introduction

The primary aim of this article is to provide a detailed bibliographical survey of *waqf* studies in the vast geographical region generally known as Central Asia.⁴ By *waqf* studies is meant the study of *waqf* (Islamic endowment) and its multi-faceted institution as it has been understood and practiced in Islam and its civilisation for more than fourteen centuries of its history. *Waqf* is basically a religious social practice that has its origin in Islam dating back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) in the early seventh century CE. This practice generated institutions that have impacted practically every sector of social and civilisational life, particularly education, economy, religious life, and welfare. So significant is *waqf* to Muslim communal life that hardly any Muslim community exists that is without having some form of *waqf* presence. The *waqf* institution has also generated what may be termed as *waqf* literature. The *waqf* literature is understood to mean not only writings on thoughts, practices and state policies pertaining to the *waqf* institution but also the literary output of the scholarly discourse on those writings.

The traditional *waqf* literature in Islam is known to be voluminous, given the perennial importance of *waqf* studies in the Shariah sciences, particularly jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the general importance of the *waqf* institution to the state's public policy. However, as Miriam Hoexter has noted, "for a long time the subject was rather marginal, attracting the interest of a relatively small number of students and scholars. By the end of the twentieth century this is certainly no longer true."⁵ M. Hoexter observed a significant

⁴ Post-Soviet Central Asia comprises five independent republics, namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. In the 1920s and the 1930s these republics were created as equal members of the Russian dominated Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In the pre-Soviet era, the whole region was known as Turkestan.

⁵ Miriam Hoexter, "*Waqf* Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)* 41, 4 (1998), 474.

change of interest towards waqf study beginning in the late 1970s or in the 1980s. Since then, waqf study is gaining greater visibility in the higher educational curricula of centres and departments specialising in Islamic studies. In her well-researched article, which is informative and insightful, she discerned three main stages in the development of waqf studies in the twentieth century. The first stage, which laid the ground for a scientific study of the waqf institution, concentrated on the legal aspects of the waqf. The second stage explored the broader implications of the waqf institution beyond the legal aspects.⁶ The third stage, which is based on information and insights gained from studies conducted in the first two stages, “consists of studies seeking to incorporate the *waqf* in general ideological, sociological and cultural conceptions.”⁷ Hoexter’s historiography of waqf studies highlighting the three stages of its development in the twentieth century may serve as a useful background to our own literature survey of Central Asian Waqf Studies that is more focused than Hoexter’s in terms of geographical coverage but broader in scope in terms of the historical period covered.

Our bibliographical study covers an extensive survey of waqf literature in Central Asia the production of which spans a period of about one hundred and fifty years. The period in view begins from around the middle of the second half of the nineteenth century CE and lasts until the post-Soviet era when five states in the region became independent following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992. It might be worth remembering that Central Asia or Turkestan as it was then known first came under the Czarist Russian rule or became its protectorates following the fall of its last Muslim khanates in the second half of the nineteenth century. The period under Czarist rule that lasted until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, is usually referred to as the colonial period. Next followed the Soviet period beginning in the 1920s and 1930s that saw the territorial delimitation of Central Asia into five republics and their incorporation into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and lasting until its dissolution in 1992. The post-Soviet period, from 1992 until the

⁶ Miriam Hoexter, “*Waqf* Studies in the Twentieth Century,” 475.

⁷ Miriam Hoexter, “*Waqf* Studies in the Twentieth Century,” 484.

present, is now referred to as the independence period. The periodization of modern Central Asian political history into the colonial, Soviet socialist, and independence eras is now taken in this article as the basis for adopting a similar periodization of the development of waqf studies in the region.

The Waqf Institution in Central Asia: A brief historical background

The set of universal values and traditions established during the one thousand three hundred years of the history of Islam in Central Asia has permeated the spirituality and consciousness of the people. One such value and tradition is the waqf institution. Since the waqf institution in Uzbekistan was liquidated in 1928 during the Soviet period, it is not well understood by most ordinary people today. In fact, it is difficult to study the cultural history of the region since the arrival of Islam regarding such vital spheres of life as education and libraries, healthcare, construction industry, agriculture, and the economic system if these were to be separated from the waqf foundation. This is because these all these sectors of societal life have been closely intertwined. For example, if we look at the education system in the region, we find that the duration of the activities of almost all madrasas, maintenance of the building, the financial support for teachers and students, and the provision of books all depend on contributions from the waqf foundation. The same is true for mosques, mausoleums, and cemeteries. In addition, people have made waqf donations for their descendants or to hold certain events. Real estate and money donated for this purpose have become an integral part of the economic system of the region.

The issue of waqf property in Central Asia has been studied for almost one hundred and fifty years since it became a colony of the Russian Empire. However, if we analyse studies devoted to the historiography of the waqf worldwide, it becomes clear that such works are lacking on Central Asia in comparison with other Islamic countries. It appears that the historiography of waqf relations in Central Asia has not been specifically studied save for the brief analytical opinions by researchers. For example, O. D. Chekhovich in his article on the analysis of Central Asian archeography expressed

some views on the study of foundation documents before 1917 and the Soviet period.⁸ Japanese researcher K. Kato attempted to compile a bibliography of works on the Central Asian *awqaf-nama*. However, it contains mainly a small number of works by Soviet, partly European, and Japanese researchers.⁹ An article entitled “Waqf” published in the 2002 edition of the “Encyclopaedia of Islam” by R. D. McChesney, devoted to the *awqaf* of Central Asia, also gives a brief overview of the research published in this regard.¹⁰ Some comments on the historiography of waqf in Central Asia were also noted in O. A. Sultonov's doctoral dissertation on the study of documents related to the relations of the Tashkent waqf in the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.¹¹

Waqf Studies in Central Asia: A Periodization

Studies to date on waqf property in Central Asia may be divided into several categories in terms of approach to the issue. For example, we can divide waqf studies into the practical category (1865-1928), studies of historical importance to the region (from 1928 to the present) from the ideological point of view (colonial, Soviet and independence periods), and the *fiqh* (jurisprudential) category or those studies dealing with socio-economic problems related to the waqf property, especially generational and charitable *awqaf*, trade and handicraft foundations, and agrarian foundations. Agriculture in the Bukhara Emirate was well developed, and the wealth of the population was one of the highest in Central Asia.¹² Here we analyse

⁸ O. D. Chekhovich, “Obzor arkhografii Sredney Azii, Srednevekovy Vostok,” in *Istoriya, kul'tura, istochnikovedeniya*. – Moscow, 1980, 267-280.

⁹ K. Kato, “Waqf-namas in Central Asia,” in *The Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT II)*. November 27-29, 1990, Tokyo, 239-250.

¹⁰ R. D. McChesney, “Waqf in Central Asia,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed., Peri J. Bearman et al., 2nd ed., Vol. 2, Leiden: Brill, 2002, 92-95.

¹¹ U. A. Sultonov, *Traditions, Reforms, and Problems in the Tashkent Waqf Economy (on the basis of historical documents, 16th - early 20th centuries)*. Abstract of (DSc) Doctoral Dissertation (In Uzbek, Russian and English). – Tashkent, 2016, 69-70.

¹² Avazbek O. Ganiyev, “Taxation and the Zakat (alms) System in Samarkand (Zerafshan okrug) During the Russian Reign (1868-1874).” *Turkish Online Journal*

studies on the waqf issue in the region during the three periods – colonial, Soviet, and independence – that have been identified but with specific reference to Uzbekistan.

(a) Waqf studies during the colonial period

Waqf studies during the colonial period began in the 1870s with the various works of local historians at the court of the Governor-General of Turkestan. Their research was aimed at finding solutions to problems related to land ownership and taxes in the country as well as the regulation related to the economic and administrative affairs. Of particular interest to us is the research work of A. L. Kuhn (1840-1888), who is known as a loyal administrator of the Russian Empire in Colonial Turkestan, an orientalist and an “appointed collector” of locally written sources. The main activity of Kuhn was related to the collection of local artefacts, especially rare manuscripts. Kuhn particularly, who took part in the Iskandarkul scientific expedition (1870) and military campaigns to the Shahrisabz principality (1870), Khiva (1873) and Khoqand (1876) khanates, managed to obtain many historical documents along with manuscripts. During this period, among his findings were more than 4,000 historical documents, in addition to manuscripts, which were handed over to the Imperial Public Library on behalf of the Governor-General K. P. von Kaufmann (1818-1882).¹³ Some of the documents related to the *awqaf* foundations of the Khoqand and Khiva khanates and the Bukhara Emirate are now kept in his personal archive in St. Petersburg.¹⁴ It is known that during the period 1869-1873 Kuhn collected and studied the originals and copies of documents related to the large waqf foundations of Samarkand region (*oblast'*), Kattakurgan and Turkestan districts (*uyezd*) and Khiva

of *Qualitative Inquiry (TOJQI)* 12, 7 (July 2021): 4537. <https://www.tojq.i/index.php/journal/article/view/4488>

¹³ His full name is Konstantin Petrovich Von Kaufman– Adjutant-General. From 1861 to 1865, he was director of the Chancellery of the Ministry of War of the Russian Empire, and from 1867 to 1882 Governor-General of Turkestan.

¹⁴ See U. A. Sultonov, “Russkiy vostokoved A.A. Kuhn i ego kolleksiya istoricheskix dokumentov mazara Ahmad Yasavi,” *Vostochniy arkhiv*. Issue 1. Moscow, 2014, 76-83.

khanate. However, for reasons unknown to us, his research in this area was not published in the form of articles. The only article on waqf was published in 1872 in the newspaper “Turkestanskije Vedomosti”.¹⁵

The analysis of statistical data on waqf is also reflected in the work of P. I. Khomutov (1848-1908), who worked as an assistant to the Office of the Governor-General of Turkestan and the Assistant Governor of the Syr-Darya region. His information on waqf lands and their income in the Syr-Darya region is of particular importance. It lists the subjects of waqf located in four parts (*daha*) of Tashkent city, as well as their property and income as of 1881.¹⁶

Articles published by lieutenant P. V. Blagoveshchensky (1866-1936) and colonial administrator A. Moskaltsev (second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century CE), who served in the commission for the inspection of documents on the property of the Syr-Darya region in 1887-1888, also reflected statistical data that are rather noteworthy. The articles were prepared in the late 1880s but published in 1891 and 1895. P. V. Blagoveshchensky particularly, in his article made an analysis of the content of the documents on the work of the waqf and the course and results of the inspection process, which were submitted to the commission set up in the region to consider this issue.¹⁷ A. Moskaltsev published a tabular analysis of the documents submitted by the waqf foundations in Tashkent district (*uyezd*).¹⁸ It contains the types of documents related to the waqf foundation's work, when and by whom the waqf foundation was established, the description and location of the waqf foundation's property, the distribution of income and the conclusion of the commission reviewing the case. This article is based on the notebook of the

¹⁵ A. L. Kuhn, “Vakufy,” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1872. №21.

¹⁶ National Archive of Uzbekistan (Tashkent). Fund number 1008, list 1, delo 84, 12-18.

¹⁷ P. V. Blagoveshchensky, “K voprosu o vakufakh v Syr-Dar’inskoy oblasti,” in *Sbornik materialov oblastnogo statisticheskogo Komiteta*. Tashkent, 1891, 21-29.

¹⁸ A. Moskaltsev, “Izsledovaniye vakufov v Tashkentskom uyezde,” in *Sbornik materialov dlia statistiki Syr-Dar’inskoy oblasti*. Issue 4. Tashkent, 1895, 31-83.

Syr-Darya regional land tax commission submitted to the regional administration on the same issue.¹⁹

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century CE, many articles were published on the topic of waqf in Turkestan. They were basically aimed at two directions in terms of content. The first direction is devoted to the problems of waqf foundation in the country and their role in the agrarian system and various spheres of socio-economic life, which are expected to be solved following reforms in the field of waqf.²⁰ A. P. Khoroshkhin (1841-1875), specifically in his article published in the newspaper “Turkestanskije vedomosti” in 1884, calculated the annual income of the waqf foundation's property, which in practice meant the income from them to the imperial treasury. The article also made unfounded assumptions that religious officials could create political upheavals with the help of funds from the waqf property.²¹

V. P. Nalivkin (1852-1918), the third supervisor of the Turkestan public school, studied the madrasas in the country and their waqf properties during his career and made several proposals to the government in this regard. For example, during the 1891-1892 academic year, he presented a report on the state of the madrasas of the Khoqand khanate period and the Muslim educational institutions of the Turkestan in 1893 on their waqf properties, income, distribution, and taxes paid. The report, which consists of six sections – introduction, waqf foundations, income and buildings, academic affairs, teachers and students, and a conclusion – analyses the

¹⁹ National Archive of Uzbekistan (Tashkent). Fund I-17, list 1, delo 31916, 126.

²⁰ M. Rostislavov, “Zametki (o vakfakh),” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1873. №50; M. Rostislavov, “Zametki po vakfnomu voprosu,” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1873. №79; I. Virsky, “Medrese, mecheti Samarkanda i ikh vakufy,” in *Materialy dlja statistiki Turkestanskogo kraia*. Issue 4. Saint Petersburg, 1876, 116-117; A. P. Khoroshkhin, “Wakufy Tashkenta,” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*, Tashkent, 1884. №32; [Gejns], “Waqf,” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1887. №38-39; I. P. Petrov, “O vakufakh v Samarkandskoy oblasti,” *Yuridicheskiy vestnik*. Moscow, 1891. Book 2, 264-174; B. Kaplun, “K voprosu o vakfakh,” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1906. № 121; Gippius. “Zametki o vakfakh.” Tashkent, 1906, 25 p. (written on typing machine). National Library of Uzbekistan, rare manuscripts department. No. PYa. 3589.

²¹ A. P. Khoroshkhin, “Waqf in Tashkent,” *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1884. №32.

activities of educational institutions, madrasas in Fergana region and their financial condition based on personal observations and statistics.²²

In 1899, Nalivkin, who held the position of State Councillor on Islam, on behalf of the Governor-General S. M. Dukhovskiy (1838-1901)²³ studied the activities of waqf institutions in Turkestan. The reason why Nalivkin's research was mainly focused on the Fergana Valley was that his report examined the state of waqf property in this region. The report was published in 1900 in eighty copies at the expense of the regional administration in the printing house of the Governor-General and sent to the regional boards for review.²⁴ The content of the study was published in 1904 in the annals of the Fergana region.²⁵ The article consists of three parts and deals with the theoretical issues of the foundation and the situation in the khanates and the colonial period.

The publications of the second direction were devoted to waqf documents and their significance. Among them were the articles published by M. N. Rostislavov, M. S. Andreev, A. A. Divaev, and L. Zimin, which tried to study the documents of the foundation on a scientific basis, to reveal their significance as a source in the history of the region.²⁶

The establishment of a scholarly study on the issue of waqf in the country was associated with the works of N. P. Ostroumov (1877-1929), V. V. Bartol'd (1869-1930) and V. L. Vyatkin (1869-1932). On August 29, 1897, Ostroumov specifically spoke at

²² National archive of Uzbekistan. Fund I-47, list 1, delo 328, 1-29.

²³ His full name was Sergei Mikhailovich Dukhovskiy – General of Infantry, Governor-General of Turkestan in 1898-1900.

²⁴ National archive of Uzbekistan. Fund I-1, list 12, delo 79, 28.

²⁵ V. P. Nalivkin, "Polojenije vakufnogo dela v Turkestanskom kraje do i posle ego zavoyevaniya," in *Yejegodnik Ferganskoy oblasti*, N.-Margelan, 1904, Issue 3, 1-56.

²⁶ M. Rostislavov, "Neskol'ko slov o vajnosti vakfnykh dokumentov v istoricheskom otnoshenii," *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1873. №21, 42, 49; M. S. Andreev, "O vajnom znachenii vakfnykh I inykh dokumentov dlja istorii kraja," *Protokoly zasedaniy iz obsheniya chlenov Turkestanskago Krujka lyubiteley arkhologii* (PTKLA). Tashkent, 1896. Issue 1, 19-20; A. A. Divaev, "Jalovannaya gramota, dannaya Timurom Turkestanskoy mecheti Azreta Yasavi," *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1901. №39, 41; L. Zimin. "Wakfnye dokumenty," *Turkestanskije vedomosti*. Tashkent, 1910. №285.

the meeting of the Turkestan Amateur Archaeological Circle (*Turkestansky krujok lyubiteley arkheologii*) about the label given by Amir Timur (r. 1370 CE-1405 CE) to the tomb of Ahmad Yassavi, noting that the study of such documents will give practical results in regulating both scientific and waqf affairs in the country.²⁷ To acquaint the public with the content of this document, its text was soon published by Divaev, and its translation into Russian was published in 1912 by A. I. Dobrosmyslov.²⁸

Although V. V. Barthol'd did not deal specifically with the issue of waqf foundations in Central Asia, he did not neglect this topic during his scientific visits to Turkestan. In addition to the important manuscripts that he saw during his scientific trip to Tashkent in 1902, he also wanted to get acquainted with the ancient foundations kept in the hands of the regional administration. He was especially interested in the Khwaja Ahrar's (1404 CE-1490 CE) *waqf-nama*, which reflects the socio-economic relations of the Timurid period. For this reason, he got acquainted with the copy of this *waqf-nama* that was kept in the Syr-Darya region administration from 940 AH/1533 CE and re-copied in 1292 AH/1875 CE and quoted an excerpt from its text. Unfortunately, while reviewing the relevant documents in the regional administration, Bartol'd came to the wrong conclusion that "... *most of the waqf-namas kept in the Syr-Darya region administration belong to the second half of the nineteenth century and have no historical and geographical significance*".²⁹

The fact was that the foundations of this period were much smaller in size than the medieval *waqf-namas* was due to the transformation of regional waqf ownership and document forms. Such *waqf-namas*, of small size but available in several hundred copies, are in fact the most valuable source for the study of the

²⁷ PTKLA. Tashkent, 1897, 1-3.

²⁸ PTKLA. Tashkent, 1897-1898, 75-80; A. L. Dobrosmyslov, *Goroda Syr-Dar'inskoy oblasti: Kazalinsk, Perovsk, Turkestan, Auliye-ata i Chimkent*. Tashkent, 1912, 141-147.

²⁹ V. V. Bartol'd, "Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan (1902)," in *Sobraniye sochineniye*, Volume 8, Moscow, 1973, 198.

historical geography, topography and toponymy of the Tashkent city and periphery.

V. L. Vyatkin, known as an archaeologist and orientalist, tried to study the problems of waqf property in the Samarkand region (*oblast'*) in his research during the colonial period. Vyatkin, who served in the Samarkand regional court, in his research paid great attention to historical documents, especially *waqf-namas*. This is evident in his major study of the historical geography of Samarkand. In this work he studied 151 documents from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries CE, including 133 *waqf-namas*.³⁰ His article on the property of the Samarkand waqf properties was based on the report of Kuhn on the state of waqf foundations in Zarafshan district (*okrug*) in 1869-70.³¹

(b) Waqf studies during the Soviet era

Changes in the political system in the country after the 1917 revolution further aggravated the situation regarding waqf properties. During the period 1918-1928, when the ownership of the waqf still existed in the Turkestan ASSR and the Uzbekistan SSR, this issue was resolved to help eliminate the reform of the waqf property and obtain the relevant documents. Vyatkin's research during the decade 1920-1930 particularly was both scientific and practical. Vyatkin, who was working as a researcher at TsUARDEL (*Sentral'noe upravlenie arkhivnym delam* – Central Office of Archival Affairs) at that time, came up with an initiative to keep the documents related to the waqf relations in the state archives. As a result, TsUARDEL sent a commission of specialists to all regions of the Republic of Turkestan to collect not only the local archives that existed before 1917, but also the waqf documents in the hands of the population.

Of specific interest is that in addition to Vyatkin, Bartol'd and A. E. Schmidt were members of the commission that visited Bukhara in September-October 1920. Vyatkin remembered that in 1924 he got acquainted with the *waqf-namas* of Bukhara, which were taken away

³⁰ V. L. Vyatkin, "Materialy k istoricheskoy geografii Samarkandskogo vilayeta," *Spravochnaya knijka Samarkandskoy oblasti*. Samarkand, 1912. Issue 7, 2-83.

³¹ V. L. Vyatkin, "O vakufakh Samarkandskoy oblasti," *Spravochnaya knijka Samarkandskoy oblasti*. Samarkand, 1912. Issue 10, 95-107.

from Bukhara in those years. Later, when he worked as a director of the Samarkand Regional Museum, the topic of the waqf did not escape his attention. According to his letter to *Sredazkomstaris*³² on February 7, 1925, he also put forward the idea of collecting the remaining endowments in Surkhan-darya, Kashka-darya and Khorezm through the authorities and keeping them in a special place. In the letter, he wrote: “... *there is no point in waiting for the population to voluntarily submit their endowments. On the contrary, it is necessary to collect, even if the pressure is posed*”.³³ During these years, Vyatkin for a long time conducted research on the waqf of the Ishrat-khana mausoleum in Samarkand that belonged to the Timurid period. However, this article, which was completed in 1931, was only published in 1958, long after the scientist's death.³⁴

Another researcher in the field of waqf in the 1920s and 1930s was P. P. Ivanov (1893-1942), who was one of the most prolific Central Asian scholars of that period. Some of his articles and a book on the archives of the Khiva khans were published during his lifetime, and his fundamental research, “The Economy of the Juybari Khwajas” (*Khozyastvo djuybarskikh sheykhov*) was published in 1954, after the scientist's death.³⁵ It should be noted that some of the research works of P. P. Ivanov, who died in World War II, have not been completed and are now kept in the archives of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Among his research works preserved as a draft on waqf issues are some that are not well known in the scientific community. Among them, two main works are devoted to the issue of waqf in the Turkestan in 1924-1925. According to the analysis of these materials, Ivanov's work in the field of waqf was

³² *Sredazkomstaris* – later *Turkomstaris*. Turkestan Committee for the Protection of Monuments of Art and Antiquity was first established in 1921 as an institution engaged in the registration and protection of art and historical monuments in Turkestan. The institution operated under the name *Sredazkomstaris* from 1923 and *Uzkomstaris* from 1928 (until 1946).

³³ National archive of Uzbekistan. Fund P-1591, list 2, delo 25, 39-40.

³⁴ V. L. Vyatkin, “Vakufny document Ishrat-khana,” *Mausoley Ishrat-khana*. Tashkent, 1958, 109-136.

³⁵ P. P. Ivanov, *Khozyastvo djuybarskikh sheykhov. K istorii feodal'nogo zemlevladieniya v Sredney Azii v 16-18 vv.* Moscow–Leningrad, 1954, 3-4.

carried out after 1917 on the “order” of the government of TASSR. It is therefore provided with statistics on the post-revolutionary period by the relevant state structures. Around 1926-1927 he conducted research on endowment properties in Central Asia and Tajikistan and was one of the first to attempt to study the state and future of waqf property in the period 1918-1924 based on statistical facts.³⁶ In them, although sometimes the researcher’s views were incomplete, the conclusions he put forward about the impact of the revolution and national boundaries on waqf ownership in the region are noteworthy.

At the same time, in the autumn of 1928, with the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and the Council of People’s Commissars on “the abolition of waqf property”, the waqf property in the territory of Uzbekistan was liquidated. This has also dramatically changed the direction of research in the field of waqf relations in Central Asia. After that, the subject of the waqf was under the influence of the ideology of the new system and carried out mainly in the field of land ownership and diplomacy. Preliminary research in this area was conducted by Professor R. Fitrat and A. Kh. Khamraev.

In his article on agrarian issues in Central Asia, Fitrat expressed some views on the *waqf-nama* of Muhammad Shibani-khan's (r. 1501 CE-1510 CE) daughter-in-law, Mehr Sultan in the 1520s CE.³⁷ This article attracted the attention of Ivanov at that time, and he prepared a review that reflected his views. Unfortunately, this discussion of the content of the debate has not been completed. R. G. Mukminova later researched the *waqf-nama* and published its text and translation into Russian. Khamraev tried to reveal the history of Sayyid Shah Nimatullah Wali (1330 CE-1431 CE),³⁸ the founder of the Nimatullahiya Sufi brotherhood, in Samarkand based on the eight legal acts (*yarlyk*) issued by Shibani and Janid rulers.³⁹

³⁶ See U. A. Sulstonov, *Toshkent vaqf mulklari tarixi: tarixiy hujjatlar tadqiqi va talqini (1507-1917)*. Toshkent, 2021, 19-20.

³⁷ R. R. Fitrat, “Tri dokumenta po agrarnomu voprosu v Sredney Azii,” *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR*. Issue 2. – Leningrad, 1933, 69-73.

³⁸ Shah Nimatullah Wali returned to Kerman in the 1470s CE. The tomb in Samarkand's Bagi-Mazar district is said to belong to his son Amir Khalilullah.

³⁹ A. Kh. Khamraev, “Neskol’ko obrazsov nasledstvennogo vakfa,” *Bulletin of*

The 1950s and the 1980s were, in fact, the most productive period in the history of the Central Asian waqf historiography, and were carried out in the following two directions:

1. Within the framework of waqf relations.
2. Within the framework of land-water relations.

The work of the first group is mainly related to the activities of well-known medievalists O. D. Chekhovich (1912-1982) and R. G. Mukminova (1922-2007).⁴⁰ Chekhovich's research is devoted to the history of Central Asian Islamic diplomacy and agriculture, and during the period 1945-1980 he published many articles on the subject. Of particular importance, in the late 1940s, he studied 2,338 historical documents from the early sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries that are kept at the Academy of Sciences. Among other types of documents, he conducted a preliminary analysis of 66 *waqf-namas*. He described 26 rolls of document that were handed over in 1950 to the Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science Uzbekistan, by a citizen of Bukhara, and gave preliminary conclusions about the *waqf-namas* of the last Timurids and Janids period. Later, she and her co-authors studied the relations of waqf in the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, for examples, the waqf properties of Ismail Samani, Abd-al-Rahim Isfijabi, Sayfiddin Bokharzi, Khwaja Ahrar and others. Several dozens of articles have been published on the mentioned topics. Among them it is necessary to mention the major studies such as "Documents on the history of agrarian relations in the Bukhara Khanate (Acts of feudal land ownership of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries)",⁴¹ "Bukhara documents from the fourteenth century",⁴² "Samarkand documents of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries (On the possessions of Khwaja

SAGU. Issue 25. Tashkent, 1947, 205-217.

⁴⁰ O. D. Chekhovich's scientific activity was specially studied by U. Abdurasulov. See U. Abdurasulov, "Olga Chekhovich: Two Facets of a Soviet Academic," *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 5 (2015), 785-804.

⁴¹ O. D. Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii v Bukharskom khanstve, Issue I, Akty feodal'noy sobstvennosti na zemlyu 17-19 vv.* Ed. by A.K. Arends, Tashkent, 1954, 263 pp.

⁴² O. D. Chekhovich, *Bukharskiye dokumenty 14 v.* Tashkent, 1965, 331 pp.

Ahrar in Central Asia and Afghanistan)”,⁴³ and “Bukharan waqf from the thirteenth century”.⁴⁴

Several works by R. G. Mukminova dedicated to the medieval socio-economic history and urban life are also related to the waqf foundations. In her major work “On the history of agrarian relations in Uzbekistan in the sixteenth century based on materials from Wakf-name” she prepared the original text and translation into Russian of the *waqf-namas* of the two madrasas of Muhammad Shibani-khan which were built in Samarkand. The construction of the *madrassa* was completed by his daughter-in-law, Mehr Sultan. Mehr Sultan founded large waqf properties for the *madrassa*. Today, two copies of this *waqf-nama* from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries are preserved in St. Petersburg and Tashkent.⁴⁵

The works of Chekhovich and Mukminova soon help turn the topic of the foundation into one of the most pressing issues in the history of the region. As a result, in the late 1960s and early 1990s, several researchers conducted research on waqf ownership. Two of them wrote doctoral dissertations. One is Z. A. Kutibayev who studied the waqf property of Khwaja Ahrar in Samarkand and Tashkent. His research title was “On the history of the waqf properties of Khwaja Ahrar and his descendants.” The other is G. A. Juraeva who studied the waqf documents of the late Middle Ages in Bukhara. His dissertation title was “Waqf documents as a source of the socio-economic history of Bukhara in the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries.”⁴⁶

The works of R. N. Nabiev, O. Jalilov and several other

⁴³ O. D. Chekhovich, *Samarkandskiye dokumenty*, 15-16 vv. (O vladeniya Khodja Ahrara v Sredney Azii i Afghanistane). Faksimile, kriticheskiy tekst, perevod, vvedeniye, primechaniya i ukazateli O. D. Chekhovich, Moscow, 1974, 461 pp.

⁴⁴ O. D. Chekhovich, *Bukharskiy vakf 13 v.* Faksimile, izdaniye teksta, perevod s arabskogo i persidskogo, vvedeniye i kommentariy A. K. Arends, A. B. Khalidova, O. D. Chekhovich, Moscow, 1979, 134 pp.

⁴⁵ R. G. Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otmoshenii v Uzbekistane 16 v.* Po materialam “Vakf-name”, Tashkent, 1966, 354 pp.

⁴⁶ Z. A. Kutbayev, *K istorii vakufnykh vladeniya Khodja Ahraraiyego potomki*. PhD Thesis manuscript, Tashkent, 1970; G. A. Djuraeva, *Vakfnye gramoty kak istochnik po sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoy istorii Bukhary v 16-17 vv.* PhD manuscript, Tashkent, 1985.

researchers are also devoted to the relations of waqf in the region, focusing on the problems of land tenure, urban life and historical topography, and documentation. The study of R. N. Nabiev, which is of particular importance, is on the documents of *awqaf* belonging to the territory of the Khoqand khanate, which are kept in the fund of the National Archive of Uzbekistan from 1970-1975. While the scientist published a separate article on his research, the study was published as a book entitled “Waqf economy of the Khoqand khanate” long after his death. In the book many documents related to the waqf economy in the Khoqand khanate were studied. Of particular significance, translations into Russian of historical documents (mainly legal acts) and short commentary on them were made.⁴⁷ O. Jalilov published articles on monetary endowments and endowments of the Khiva khanate.⁴⁸

Although one more group research was carried out in the context of land-water relations in the region, as noted above, some comments were also made about the waqf properties. N. Mahmudov particularly studied the impact of waqf ownership on the agrarian system, management of waqf property and taxes of the Timurid and partly of the Shibanid period⁴⁹. Most of the other researchers spoke about some aspects of the waqf in the land ownership of the Bukhara Emirate (M. A. Abduraimov),⁵⁰ Khiva Khanate (A. Shaykhova)⁵¹ and Khoqand Khanate (A. Mukhtarov).⁵² In the works of historians, opinions were expressed on the state of waqf ownership in relations to the process of reforms in the agrarian system of the colonial period.

⁴⁷ R. N. Nabiev, *Vakfnoye khozyaystvo Kokandskogo khanstva*, Tashkent, 2010, 639 s.

⁴⁸ O. Zhalilov, “Khiva xonligida pulni vaqf etish to’g’risidagi hujjatlar (19–20 asr boshlari),” *O’zbekistonda ijtimoiy fanlar*. Tashkent, 1989. №1, 45-47.

⁴⁹ N. Makhmudov, *Zemledeliye I agrarnye otnocheniya v Sredney Azii v 14-15 vv.* Dushanbe, 1966, 128pp.

⁵⁰ M. A. Abduraimov, *Voprosy feodal’nogo zemlevladieniya I feodal’noy renty v pis’makh Emira Haydara*, Tashkent, 1961, 29-31.

⁵¹ A. Shaykhova, *Yuridicheskiye dokumenty kakistochnik po istorii sotsial’no-ekonomicheskikh (priimushestvenno agrarnykh) otnochenii v Khivinskoy khanstve v 19 nachale 20 veka*. PhD Thesis manuscript, Tashkent, 1989.

⁵² A. Mukhtarov, *Ocherki istorii Ura-tyubinskogo vladieniya v 19 v.*, Dushanbe, 1964, 62-64.

During this period, in other scientific institutions of the former Soviet Union, *waqf-nama* documents of O. G. Bolshakov's Qarakhanid Ibrahim Tamgach-khan (r. 1050-1068) madrasa in Samarkand and the waqf documents of Ahmad Yassavi's (d. 1166) shrine of V.K. Shukhovtsov have also been published.⁵³

Research on the history of awqaf in Uzbekistan after 1991

Research in this category covers the period from the 1990s to the present. In these studies, the concept of waqf property began to be treated as a cultural value based on religious traditions, rather than on the financial backbone of Islam as before. S. D. Boltabayev's dissertation on the history of waqf property in Turkestan region, and later B. B. Mallaboev's dissertation on the state of waqf property belonging to the descendants of Khwaja Ahrar in the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries were published. However, these studies also contain documents about waqf and some unscientific conclusions on property issues. For example, Boltabayev wrongly concluded that the documents on the waqf of land, cells and housing, or the documents on the lease of the waqf's property, the sale of the waqf with a boat or a bay, are also different forms of *waqf-nama*.⁵⁴ In fact, the form of a waqf document does not change with variations in the waqf property. Documents on the lease and sale of waqf property were also to be interpreted as types of *waqf-nama* related to waqf ownership rather than as just any form of waqf letter.

In the case of B. B. Mallaboev, the concept of "waqf property belonging to the descendants of Khwaja Ahrar" is controversial in relation to the waqf foundation founded by Khwaja Ahrar.⁵⁵ The reason is that none of the Khwaja Ahrar *waqf-namas* mention that the property was endowed in favour of his descendants. On the contrary,

⁵³ O. G. Bolshakov, "Dva vakfa Ibrahima Tamgach-khana v Samarkande," in *Strany i narody Vostoka*. Issue 10. Srednyaya i Sentralnyaya Aziya, Moscow, 1971, 170-178; V. K. Shukhovtsov, "Pis'mennye dokumenty iz goroda Turkestana," *Kazakhstan v epochu feodalizma*, Alma-Ata, 1981, 164 -191.

⁵⁴ B. B. Boltabayev, *19 asrning ikkinchi yarmi 20 asr boshlarida Turkiston o'lkasida vaqf mulklari*, PhD thesis manuscript, Tashkent, 1995.

⁵⁵ B. B. Mallaboev, *Chorizming Turkistonda vaqf mulkchilik siyosati (Khoja Ahror avlodlari vaqf mulklari misolida)*. PhD Thesis manuscript, Tashkent, 2004.

it is said that it was divided into madrassas and mosques. Therefore, it cannot belong to the “generational” type of waqf. That is why there is no special section for generations from the income of the waqf. The descendants of Khwaja Ahrar could only manage these estates in the positions of trustees (*mutawalli*) and teachers (*mudarris*). The dissertation also ignores awqaf established by various officials in recent years under the name of Khwaja Ahrar waqf property, and the relationship between the descendants of Khwaja Ahrar in Samarkand, Tashkent, and other regions in the management of waqf property as well as internal and external problems have also been neglected.

Over the last twenty years, a lot of research output on the topic of waqf has been published in Uzbekistan. An analysis of the research output shows that the focus is on the study of waqf property in the Bukhara khanate and emirate (G. A. Djuraeva, M. Usmonova, H. Turayev, N. Ismatova),⁵⁶ Khiva khanate and cash waqf (O. Jalilov, Q. Yaqubov)⁵⁷ and partly in the Khoqand khanate, Colonial and Soviet Turkestan (U. Sultonov, Sh. Muhamedov, I. Alimov).⁵⁸

⁵⁶ G. A. Djurayeva, “Vakfny document 1540 g.,” *Vostochnoye istoricheskoye istochnikovedeniya i spetsial’niye istoricheskiye dissipliny*. Issue 3, Moscow, 1995, 190-198; G. A. Djurayeva, “Issledovaniye vakfnokh dokumentov fonda Instituta vostokovedeniya ANRUz,” *Istoriya Uzbekistana*, Tashkent, 2004, №2, 40-49; Usmonova M. Ismoil, “Somoniyy vaqfnomasi,” *Sharqshunoslik*, Tashkent, 1995, №6, 24-31; H. Turayev, “Vakfny document arxitekturnogo kompleksa Xalifa Xudoydod v Buxare (18 v),” *Iz istorii kul’turnogo naslediya Buxary*. Issue 7, Bukhara, 2001, 85-95; H. Turayev, “Vakfy Djybaridov,” *Iz istorii kul’turnogo naslediya Bukhary*. Issue 10, Bukhara, 2006, 31-36; N. Ismatova, *Buxoro amirligida ayol voqifalar* (19 asrning ikkinchi yarmi 20 asr boshlari), Tashkent, 2020, 207 pp.

⁵⁷ O. Jalilov, “Xazinamizdagi Xeva vaqf hujjatlari,” *Sharqshunoslik*. Toshkent, 1993. №4, 62-71; O. Jalilov, “Xeva madrasalari va ularning iqtisodiy ta’minoti haqidagi hujjatlar,” *Sharqshunoslik*, Tashkent, 1997, №8, 122-133; Q. Yaqubov, “Xiva xonligi vaqf daftarlari haqida ba’zi ma’lumotlar,” *O’zbekistonda ijtimoiy fanlar*. Toshkent, 2013. №4, 58-60.

⁵⁸ U. Sultonov, “Qaffol Shoshiy mozori vaqflari,” *O’zbekiston tarixi*, Tashkent, 2009. №1, 36-41; U. Sultonov, “Qo’qon xonligi vaqf munosabatlariga doir hujjatlar tadqiqi muammoalri,” *Sharqshunoslik*, Tashkent, 2011. №15, 144-150; U. Sultonov, “Toshkentning 19 asr ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy va madaniy hayotiga oid vaqfnomalar (fors tilidan tarjima),” *O’zbekiston tarixi. Xrestomatiya. 3-jild* (16-19 asrlar), Tashkent, 2014, 112–122; U. Sultonov, “Traditions, Reforms and Problems in the Tashkent Waqf Economy; Sh. Muhamedov,” in *Istoriko-istochnikovedcheskiy analiz*

However, in the last decade, research on the topic of waqf studies has been limited not only to the general situation in the khanates and the colonial period or territorial units, but also to the direction of various issues. Of particular concern is that the region needs to deal with numerous issues, such as waqf administration and management⁵⁹, cash waqfs⁶⁰, the role of waqf in the traditional education system, and book waqfs.⁶¹

As a result of the analysis of the emerging historiography of the subject, the waqf issues that need to be addressed became clearer. Unfortunately, the state of waqf property in the Fergana Valley, Khorezm and the southern regions of Uzbekistan (Kashka-darya, Surkhan-darya) in particular, especially until the nineteenth century, remains almost unexplored.

Hence, in the future, through the study of historical documents relating to these centuries, it is necessary to clarify the status of the waqf foundations of these periods. Another problem is that the translations and descriptions of historical documents that serve as a source for foundation research are very few. For this reason, it is necessary to establish scientific-explanatory translations of documents on the subject, at least catalogues of domestic and foreign

gosudarstvennogo regulirovaniya islama Rossiyskoy imperiyey v Turkestaney (1864-1917), Tashkent, 2013, 127-157; I. Alimov, *O'zbekistonda vaqf mulklarining tugatilishi (1917-1929)*, Tashkent, 2009.

⁵⁹ U. Sultonov, "Waqf Administration in Tashkent Prior to and After the Russian Conquest: A Focus on Rent Contracts for the Kukeldaš Madrasa," *Der Islam*. 2012. Bd. 88, ss. 324–351; U. Sultonov, "Ahmad Yassaviy mozori vaqf xo'jaligi boshqaruviga doir," in *Markaziy Osiyo tarixi zamonaviy medievistika talqinida*, Tashkent, 2013, 312-328; Q. Yaqubov, "Mauhammad Rahimxon II madrasasi vaqf xo'jaligi: ma'muriy boshqaruvi, tuzilishi va iqtisodi," *O'zbekiston tarixi*, Tashkent, 2015. №3, 13-23.

⁶⁰ A. Khaliyarov, "Xiva xonligida pul vaqfining huquqiy va iqtisodiy asoslariga doir," *O'zbekiston tarixi*. Toshkent, 2014. №4, pp. 12-23; A. Khaliyarov, "Xiva xonligida pul vaqfining ishlatilishiga doir," *Imom Buxoriy saboqlari*. Toshkent, 2014. №4, pp. 51-53.

⁶¹ Sh. Ziyodov, "Juybor xojalarining Govkushon kutubxonasiga vaqf qilingan kitoblar," *O'zbekistonda ijtimoiy fanlar*. Toshkent, 2014. №1-2, pp. 51-56; Sh. Ziyodov and U. Sultonov, "Toshkent madrasalarining vaqf kitoblari masalasiga doir," *Imom Buxoriy saboqlari*, Toshkent, 2015. №2, pp. 3-7.

funds. Of course, this will not only increase the number of studies on the topic of the foundation, but also strengthen their resource base.

Conclusion

In short, it is possible to divide the publications of the colonial period into two categories, theoretical and scientific as well as statistical, which were aimed at solving problems in the field of waqf studies. The only thing that connected them was the attempt to "positively" solve the existing problems in the waqf system in the country. Therefore, the research output was sought to be implemented primarily because of the need to solve problems in the system of governance, not because of scientific interests. The research in the second period was developed in the fields of diplomacy and medieval studies. However, waqf ownership has not been studied along with the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence wherever necessary, nor has it been treated in depth as an Islamic institution. At first glance, the studies in the categories analysed in the foregoing pages seem to be very numerous and diverse in their publications on waqf ownership in Central Asia. From their detailed analysis it may be seen that there are enough ambiguous and unresolved waqf issues in the region, particularly those pertaining to the waqf foundation that need further scientific study and investigation.

Based on this article we would like to make several concluding statements. First, the article has provided some new materials on waqf literature on Central Asia that were previously not made available in the English language. These new materials, which are mainly drawn from Russian sources, throw important light on the prospects for a more promising era of waqf studies in Central Asia. Second, the article confirms the extensive waqf legacy from Central Asia of the classical period, which testifies to the historic importance of the region as a flourishing centre of waqf culture and hence of Islamic civilisation. This legacy may now serve as fertile sources for more intensive and creative waqf studies in the region. Third, the three-phase periodization of the waqf literature review that we have conceptualised corresponding to the three-phase political history of Central Asia that is loaded with ideological significance may now be presented as our initial response to Hoexter's expectations of a more

creative third stage in the development of waqf studies. She outlined her expectations as follows: “the third stage consists of studies seeking to incorporate the waqf in general ideological, sociological, and cultural conceptions.”⁶² We believe that this article has not only contributed to a better understanding of the scope of waqf studies in the twentieth century but will also help prepare a better ground for ideological, sociological, and cultural conceptions of the waqf institution in Central Asia. And fourth, with Islamic civilisation studies gaining wider acceptance, waqf studies worldwide in general and waqf studies in Central Asia in particular will likewise attract a growing interest among students and scholars.

⁶² Miriam Hoexter, “*Waqf* Studies in the Twentieth Century,” 484.

BRIDGING TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THAI ISLAM

The Political and Religious Roles of Surin Pitsuwan (Abdul Halim)

Imtiyaz Yusuf¹ and Pham Thuy Quynh²

Abstract

Dr Surin Pitsuwan (Abdul Halim bin Ismail Pitsuwan) (28 October 1949 – 30 November 2017) was a prominent Thai Muslim politician of national and international stature with a colorful career as a journalist, an academic, a member of the Parliament and served first as Deputy Foreign Minister and next as the Foreign Minister of Thailand from 1992 to 2001, culminating in his career as the Secretary General of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) between 2008 and 2013. Born and bred in a traditional Malay family in Nakhon Si Thammarat, he acquired the pondok and modern education in Thai and American universities. He played an important role in bridging tradition and modernity in Thai Islam by promoting the Thai Muslim community's educational, intellectual, and political upliftment, thereby constructing its integrative face of Islam in Thailand - a Buddhist-majority country. Dr Pitsuwan was an ardent promoter of democratic practice, human resources development and upholding human rights through peaceful means. This article employs qualitative and subjective approaches by drawing data from the speeches, writings, and personal interactions with Dr Pitsuwan. It highlights that peaceful coexistence between the Thai Muslims and the Thai Buddhists is a reality and not an exception.

Keywords: Pitsuwan, Islam, Thailand, Democrat Party, ASEAN, pondok.

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1. Background

This paper is probably the first academic paper in English to document and discuss the role of Dr Surin Pitsuwan (Thai: สุรินทร์ พิศสุวรรณ; also known Abdul Halim bin Ismail Pitsuwan) (28 October 1949 – 30 November 2017), a prominent Thai Muslim politician of high national and international stature. Pitsuwan was born and bred in a traditional Malay family from Nakhon Si Thammarat in southern Thailand. He acquired the *pondok* (traditional Malay *madrasah*) and modern education in Thailand and American universities. This unique educational background enabled him to play an important role in bridging tradition and modernity in Thailand's Muslim minority community by engaging in efforts for the Thai Muslims' educational, social, economic, intellectual, and political upliftment, thereby constructing an integrative face of Islam in Thailand.

This article employs both qualitative and subjective approaches. It draws information from speeches, writings, and personal interactions with Pitsuwan during his lifetime.

2. The Faces of Islam in Thailand

Like all other world religions, Islam operates at global and local levels. The global identity of Islam is constructed in pan-Islamist terms of *ummah* or the world Muslim community. In contrast, most of the local Muslim identities in the world are construed in tribal, ethnic, and communal terms, as seen in Africa and the Middle East, Southeast, and South Asia.

Thailand is a religiously pluralistic country with a Buddhist majority of 92-94%, Muslims constituting about 5-7%, and Christians and others 1% of the total population of 70 million. However, the Thai constitution does not declare Buddhism as the official religion of Thailand.

Apart from the Malay Sultanate of Patani (1457-1902) in the south of Siamese kingdom Islam came to Thailand from the South, Central and North directions. It first arrived in southern Thailand in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the Malay, Indian and Arab traders.³ Secondly, Islam arrived in Central Thailand during the

³ Raymond Scupin, *Thai Muslims in Bangkok: Islam and Modernization in a*

fifteenth century through Persian Shias, Indonesian Sunnis, Cham, and Indian Muslims stationed in Ayudhya. Cham Muslims migrated to Ayudhya due to the collapse of the Champa kingdom in 1491, while Indonesian Muslims from Makassar settled there following the Dutch conquest of the island between 1666-1669. Thirdly, the Indian, Bengali, and Chinese Muslims arrived in the North of Thailand between the 1870s and 1890s respectively.⁴ With the establishment of the new capital Bangkok in 1782 by King Rama I of the Chakri dynasty and consolidation of control over Pattani there emerged Malay, Iranian, Pathan, Cham, Indonesian, and Malay Muslims communities in the new capital.⁵

Islam in Thailand operates in three configurations defined by history and location:

1) The ethnic Malay-speaking Islam is practiced in the deep South's Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat provinces. These southern Muslims comprise about 44% of the Thai Muslim population of about 5-7 million.

2) The integrated ethnically Malay but Thai-speaking Islam is practiced in the upper Southern provinces of Satun, Songkhla, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Phuket, Krabi, and Phangnga, the majority of whom were migrants from Kedah and Perlis in Malaysia.

3) The multi-ethnic Thai-speaking integrated Islam of central Thailand provinces of Bangkok and Ayudhya as well as those of North and Northeast Thailand; this group comprises Muslims of Persian, Malay, Cham,⁶ Indonesian, Indian, Bengali, Pathan, and Chinese ethnic backgrounds. Overall, Thai Muslims make up the largest

Buddhist Society, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1978, 1-2.

⁴ Suthep Soonthornpasuch, *Islamic Identity in Chiangmai City: A Historical and Structural Comparison of Two Communities*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1977, 37-75.

⁵ Raymond Scupin, *Thai Muslims in Bangkok*, 19-29.

⁶ Raymond Scupin, "Cham Muslims of Thailand: A Haven of Security in Southeast Asian." *JOURNAL Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 10 (1989): 486-491. Also, Seddik Taouti, "The Forgotten Muslims of Kampuchea and Vietnam," *JOURNAL Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 4 (1982): 3-13. See also Suthep Soonthornpasuch, *Islamic Identity in Chiangmai City*. Also, David Wilson and David Henley, "Northern Comfort: The Contented Muslims of Chiang Mai," *Bangkok Post Outlook Section*, 4 January 1995, 33, 40.

minority religious group in the country, constituting "a national minority rather than a border minority."⁷

Despite constant pressure from the hardline and Buddhist fundamentalists, the 1997, 2007 and 2014 Constitution of Thailand did not recognize Buddhism as Thailand's official religion. However, coming under further immense pressure from Buddhist fundamentalists, Thailand's 2017 Constitution gave a prominent constitutional position to Buddhism. This move was mainly in response to both the rise of new Buddhist religious movements such as Santi Asoke and the Dhammakaya Temple, which are regarded as heretical sects by the Sangha Supreme Council, the rise of scandals involving sex, drugs, money, murders and other mischievous deeds within the Buddhist religious community and moral laxity at large. It was also a response to Muslim separatism in the deeper south region of Thailand in Pattani and other provinces.

Section 67 of Thailand's 2017 Constitution states:⁸ "The State should support and protect Buddhism and other religions. In supporting and protecting Buddhism, the religion observed by the majority of the Thai people for an extended period, the State should promote and support education and dissemination of dharmic principles of Theravada Buddhism for the development of mind and wisdom. It shall have measures and mechanisms to prevent Buddhism from being undermined. The State should also encourage Buddhists to

⁷ Omar Farouk "The Muslims of Thailand" in Lutfi Ibrahim (ed.) *ISLAMIKA* (Kuala Lumpur: Sarjana Enterprise, 1981), 97–121. See also Imtiyaz Yusuf, "Muslims as Thailand's Largest Religious Minority" in Syed Muhammad Khairudin Aljunied, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Islam in Southeast Asia* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, and NY: Routledge, 2022), 234–49.

⁸ Khemthong Tonsakulrungruang, "Buddhist Politics and Thailand's Dangerous Path", *New Mandala*, 2016, <https://www.newmandala.org/buddhist-politics-and-thailands-dangerous-path> [accessed 17 October 2022]; Khemthong Tonsakulrungruang, "Thailand's Constitution Capitulates to Buddhist Domineering", *East Asia Forum*, 2018, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/01/24/thailands-constitution-capitulates-to-buddhist-domineering> [accessed 17 October 2022]. Méricau, Eugénie, "Buddhist Constitutionalism in Thailand: When Rājadharmā Supersedes the Constitution," *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, 13 (2018), 283–305, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/asjcl.2018.16>

participate in implementing such measures or mechanisms.⁹

Overall, Thai Muslims make up the largest minority religious group in the country, constituting "Thailand's largest religious minority."¹⁰

3. Thailand's Muslim Leaders

Thailand has two types of Muslim leaders: the Malay-speaking Muslims of the deep south who converse their religio-social discourse in the Kelantan-Patani Malay dialect, while the rest discourse about Islam in Thai.

Thailand, formerly known as Siam, has produced its crop of Muslim scholars and political leaders, the most prominent among them being Shaykh Daud bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani (1740-1847),¹¹ Shaykh Wan Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain Mustafa al-Fatani (Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani) (1856-1908), Haji Sulong¹² (1895-1954) from the Patani region in the south, who discoursed in Malay and Arabic. While in upper and central Siam, the Thai-speaking Muslim religious leaders who discoursed in the Siamese language emerged.

The first *Chularajmontri* or *Shaykh al-Islam* of Siam appointed by the Ayudhya King Phrachao Songtham (1620-28) was the Persian Shia scholar Shaykh Ahmad Qomi (1543-1631). Shaykh Qomi also served as the King's Minister of Foreign Trade. He was entrusted with the task of Muslim community affairs.¹³

The first thirteen *Chularajmontris* were Shia Muslims, who

⁹ Thailand's Constitution of 2017, https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Thailand_2017.pdf?lang=en

¹⁰ Intiyaz Yusuf, "Muslims as Thailand's Largest Religious Minority," 234-49.

¹¹ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian & Middle Eastern "Ulama" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth* (Crows Nest, and N.S.W.: Univ of Hawaii Press, 2004), First Edition, 112, 122-126.

¹² On the significance of HJ Sulong in Thai Islam, see Joseph Chinyong Liow, "Religious Education and Reformist Islam in Thailand's Southern Provinces: The Roles of Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir and Ismail Lutfi Japakiya," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 20, no. 1 (1 January 2010), 29-58.

¹³ Omar Farouk, "Shaikh Ahmad: Muslims in the Kingdom of Ayutthaya," *JEBAT – Journal of the History Department, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia*, 10 (1980/1), 206-14. Also, Raymond Scupin, "Islam in Thailand Before the Bangkok Period," 63-64.

were the descendants of Shaykh Qomi. From those times until 1934, which marked the end of the last Shia *Chularajmontri*, the religious jurisdiction of *Chularajmontris* did not extend to the southern independent Malay kingdoms. However, with the incorporation of the Malay kingdom of Patani in 1906, Islam became the largest minority religion in Thailand; this also created the problem of integrating southern Malay Muslims into the Siamese/Thai nation.

Thailand became a constitutional monarchy in 1932; it faced new linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and religious problems relating to southern Thailand's Malay Muslim majority provinces. In 1945, the Thai government passed the Patronage of Islam Act which sought to "institute a link between the central authority and the religious notables of the Muslim community."¹⁴ The Patronage of Islamic Act of 1945 marked the official establishment of the Islamic Centre of Thailand headed by the *Chularajmontri/Shaykh al-Islam* and the Provincial Council for Islamic Affairs. Since then, the last five *Chularajmontris* until the present have been Sunni Muslims.

Since Thailand entered the Constitutional Monarchy Era in 1932, many new Muslim religious and political leaders have emerged, such as Chaem Phromyong (1910-1989), who was appointed the first Sunni *Chularajmontri* under the Islamic Patronage Act of 1945. He was a close associate of Pridi Phanomyong, who became Prime Minister in 1946.

The main function of the *Chularajmontri* was to help resolve tensions in the deep South by assisting in the integration process of the southern Malay Muslim provinces into the Thai nation. Chaem Phromyong held the office of the *Chularajmontri* for two years (1945-47) and fled with Pridi to China when Pridi's government was overthrown through the military coup led by Phibun Songkram (1948-1957).

The first Thai Muslim to be appointed to the Thai cabinet since the establishment of the constitutional monarchy was Phya Samantharathaburin, also known as Tui Samantharath or Bin

¹⁴ Surin Pitsuwan, *Islam and Malay Nationalism: A Case Study of Malay-Muslims of Southern Thailand* (Bangkok: Thai Khadi Research Institute Thammasat University, 1985), 100.

Abdullah (1871-1963) from Satun province in southern Thailand. He was appointed as a cabinet minister twice by Prime Minister Phya Phahonpayuhasena during the fifth and seventh Assembly terms between 1933-1934 and 1937, respectively.

Another prominent Muslim appointed to the cabinet was Che Abdullah Langputeh (1898-1986) from Satun province. He became a member of the Thai parliament for five terms between 1943 to 1973. He was appointed as a minister three times, first as a minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Phibun Songkram between 1948-1949 and as Deputy Minister of Public Health in the cabinet of Prime Minister Pote Sarasin in 1957. And again, in the same position during the era of Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn in 1958.

Che Abdullah stood up for the defense of the cultural rights of the Malay Muslims and prevented the implementation of harsh government policies from being implemented in Satun. He also served as a member of the Central Islamic Committee from 1947 onwards. He is remembered for wearing the *songkok* (Malay hat) in Parliament and taking time from the Cabinet meetings to perform prescribed Islamic prayers. He also called for recognizing the *Jawi* dialect of Malay spoken in southern Thailand as an additional national language.

The Democrat Party, which is the oldest existing political party, founded in 1945, also had prominent Muslim politicians such as Lek Nana, a Thai businessman from Bangkok who had served as Deputy Foreign Minister in the Government of Seni Pramroj (1975-1976), and as Minister of Science and Technology in 1985 during the term of the Prem Tinsulanonda Government (1980-1988). Lek Nana had also served as Secretary of the Democrat Party during the party leadership of Bhichai Rattakul. Another member of the Democrat Party, Mr Siddig Shareef, was appointed Deputy Minister of Education during the reign of the earlier mentioned Prime Minister Seni Pramroj for one year in 1976.

Den Tohmeena (1934 –) of Pattani province and the son of the famous Pattani scholar Haji Sulong who disappeared in 1954, has been elected to the Parliament seven times since 1976 and once as a senator. Den Tohmeena served as the Deputy Minister of Public Health in the cabinet of Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan from 1990-1991 and as Deputy Minister of Interior between 1992-1995 in the cabinet of

Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai.

Den Tohmeena and Wan Muhammad Nor Matta, both from the southern provinces of Pattani and Yala, respectively, and other southern Malay Muslim politicians founded the *Wadah* political faction in 1988. In 1996, Wan Muhammad Nor Matta was elected first as the Speaker of the Parliament and later as the President of the National Assembly. He also served in the positions of the Minister of Transport, Minister of Interior, and Deputy Prime Minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra between 2001-2005. Further on, as Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives again in the Thaksin government between 2005-2006.

Another Muslim bureaucrat cum politician from Bangkok, Aree Wongaraya, was appointed Deputy Minister of Education in the 2005-2006 Thaksin cabinet. Subsequently, in the interim government led by General Surayud Chulalanont set up after the military coup in 2006, Wongaraya was appointed the Minister of Interior.

Among Thai-speaking Muslim religious scholars are Direk Kulsiriswad, also known as Ibrahim Qureshi (1922-2005); Marwan Sama Onn; Professor Hassan Madmarn (1941-2012), former Director of the College of Islamic Studies, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani campus; Ajarn Shafii Napakorn and Dr Ismail Lutfi Japakiya, the Rector of Fathoni University, in Yarang District of Pattani, who is well versed in both Malay, Arabic and Thai languages.¹⁵

¹⁵ Imtiyaz Yusuf, *Faces of Islam in Southern Thailand* (Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington, 2007), accessed December 13, 2017, <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/3536>; Joseph Chinyong Liow, "Religious Education and Reformist Islam in Thailand's Southern Border Provinces: The Roles of Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir and Ismail Lutfi Japakiya," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 21, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 29–58.

4. Dr Surin Pitsuwan (28 October 1949 – 30 November 2017)



The most famous and internationally renowned Thai Muslim politician and leader was Dr Surin Pitsuwan from the Democrat Party, a person of Malay descent from Nakhon Si Thammarat. His father built the Pondok Ban Tan in Nakhon Sri Thammarat, which continues today. Pitsuwan had dreamed of making it modelled on the Oxford model, which initially combined religious and general education.

Pitsuwan received his primary and secondary education in a Buddhist temple school in his home province. He was awarded the American Field Service (A.F.S.) exchange scholarship and was a high school exchange student in Minnesota, U.S.A., from 1967-1968. He returned to Bangkok and attended Thammasat University for two years before winning a scholarship from Claremont Men's College, Claremont, California, to complete his B.A. in Political Science (cum laude) in 1972. He then went on to Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A., where he received his MA and PhD in 1974 and 1982, respectively, in the field of Political Science and Middle Eastern Studies.

The Winston S. Churchill Association and Rockefeller Foundation Fellowships supported his Harvard career. He also spent a year and a half studying Arabic and conducting research at the American University in Cairo from 1975-1977. He was concurrently a fellow at the Higher Institute of Islamic Research, Cairo, Egypt. He

worked as a columnist for *The Nation* and the *Bangkok Post*, the two leading English daily newspapers in Bangkok, from 1975-1992.

From 1978-1983, Pitsuwan taught at the Faculty of Political Science at Thammasat University, and from 1984-1986 he was an assistant to the Deputy Dean for Academic Affairs. While teaching at Thammasat University in 1984, he ran for a Parliamentary seat in Nakhon Sri Thammarat, his hometown.

Pitsuwan won and was returned to Parliament eight times since 1986. As an MP, he was appointed Secretary to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Chuan Leekpai), Secretary to the Deputy Minister of Interior, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs during 1992-1995, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1997 to 2001. When Thailand was the Chair of the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and the ASEAN Regional Forum (A.R.F.) in 1999-2000, Foreign Minister Pitsuwan played a central role in building peace and security in East Timor. As the Foreign Minister, he also helped the UN negotiate peace during the Aceh conflict in Indonesia.

He was nominated by the Royal Thai Government and endorsed by ASEAN Leaders as the ASEAN Secretary-General for 2008-2013.¹⁶ During this period, he played a central role in relief operations in Myanmar in the aftermath of the devastating Nargis cyclone forcing it to open to receive humanitarian aid and relief services. He once told us Southeast Asia has states not yet nations and that the ASEAN group of nations moves at a speed comfortable to all.

Pitsuwan was a Deputy Leader of the Democrat Party Thailand. He also served on the National Reconciliation Commission (N.R.C.), which brought peace and security back to Thailand's deep South. He had a brilliant and sharp mind of excellent intellectual capability, eloquence, and political perceptiveness. His active role as the Secretary-General of ASEAN and internationally renowned public figure had taken a toll on his health, though he did not have any major disease except hypertension. He died suddenly of heart attack on 30 November 2017 at the age of 68. There was talk that he

¹⁶ "Secretary-General of ASEAN Surin Pitsuwan," *ASEAN / ONE VISION, ONE IDENTITY, ONE COMMUNITY*, accessed February 3, 2019, https://asean.org/?static_post=secretary-general-of-asean-surin-pitsuwan.

could even become Thailand's next prime minister in the elections in February 2019. Pitsuwan was a giant of man, both respected nationally and internationally and always available to help every section of the society he loved. The motto of his *alma mater*, Thammasat University, where he also taught for a while, is "where we learn to love the people."

Posthumously in 2019, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) of Sweden and the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University jointly set up "Dr Surin Pitsuwan Fellowship." The fellowship is open to PhD candidates or Master's students from any of the ten ASEAN countries at Thammasat University.¹⁷

5) Pitsuwan's Historic Achievement – Solidifying ASEAN

As Secretary-General of ASEAN, Pitsuwan's historic achievement was to raise the organization to a global profile as a "networked secretariat." He travelled nearly every day. He once told Supachai Panitchpakdi, the former commerce minister, finance minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand who also served as Director-General of the World Trade Organization and Secretary-General of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, "My office is in the sky."¹⁸ And he once told us, "I rarely sleep on earth, mostly in the skies."

Pitsuwan was acknowledged as a person of high caliber, and he moved easily among the top Thai and international statespersons, kings, queens and people like Henry Kissinger, Kofi Annan, Madeline Albright, Sadako Ogata, Hillary Clinton, Tun Mahathir, Suharto, Anwar Ibrahim and others.

His entry into national politics and world level was unique; he used to say he was a child of the *pondok*, a Buddhist temple school and Harvard. Before embarking on his political career, he told us

¹⁷ "Dr Surin Pitsuwan Fellowship: International IDEA and Thammasat University Seal the Partnership | International IDEA," accessed 27 July 2022, <https://www.idea.int/news-media/news/dr-surin-pitsuwan-fellowship-international-idea-and-thammasat-university-seal>.

¹⁸ "Surin Pitsuwan: Memories of a True Comrade in Arms," *The Nation*, accessed 3 February 2019, <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/detail/opinion/30333446>.

once that he had sought the advice of the former Thai Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun. Anand told him that in Thailand, people become politicians because of wealth and connection, so he had to prove that he had good credentials and could work hard. He proved that *anak/dek pondok* could rise to world-level recognition through sheer hard work. His success story has become an inspiration and role model for many young Thai Muslim youth.

Visiting U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton once asked Pitsuwan how serious he was about implementing the ASEAN Charter with its three pillars of political, security, economic and socio-political community. Pitsuwan answered that he was dead serious and gave America's top diplomat an extended explanation comparing the ASEAN Charter to the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Impressed, Clinton quipped, "Yes, Professor", as Pitsuwan ended his exposition.¹⁹



Anand Panyarachun (the former Prime Minister of Thailand, (left), with Henry Kissinger, the former U.S. Secretary of State at a meeting with Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai during a visit to Thailand in 1998. Foreign Minister Surin Pitsuwan, a future ASEAN Secretary-General, is standing right.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ "A Low-Key Meeting in 1991 Gave Rise to the ASEAN Free Trade Area,"



UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (right) meets with Surin Pitsuwan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at Bangkok International Airport.²¹

6. Pitsuwan's Religious, Political and Social Views – A Man of Glocal Stature and Perspectives

Pitsuwan was a pious practising Muslim who managed excellently in bridging tradition and modernity in Thai Islam. He could converse with Thai Muslims, Buddhists, and Christians around the country. He was at home in both Thailand and the world.

7. Traditional and Reformist Islam in Thailand - *Kaum Tua* (Malay) / *Khana kau* (Thai) and *Kaum Muda* (Malay) / *Khana mai* (Thai)

Thai Islam developed multifacetedly during modern and contemporary times as it came under the influence of theological trends developed in the region and the Muslim world. Since the 1920s, Islam in Thailand has acquired different faces. These faces are those of traditional and reformist Islam. The traditional Islam or

Nikkei Asia, accessed 16 August 2022, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/A-low-key-meeting-in-1991-gave-rise-to-the-ASEAN-Free-Trade-Area>.

²¹ "United Nations Photo - F0b.Jpg," accessed 16 August 2022, https://dam.media.un.org/asset-management/2AM9LO55E9MO?FR_=1&W=1366&H=600.

Kaum Tua (Malay) / *Khana kau* (Thai) represents Islam which is syncretic in orientation. At the same time, the reformist Salafi-oriented Islam, known as *Kaum Muda* (Malay)/*Khana mai* (Thai), represents Islam, which is puritanical in orientation. Pitsuwan, while being able to converse with different Muslim groups within Thai Islam, was partial to traditional Islam or *Kaum Tua* (Malay)/*Khana kau* (Thai), which he viewed as the historically and culturally rooted face of Islam in Thailand.

8. Southern Thailand Crisis

Pitsuwan was well-versed in the situation in southern Thailand, and he wrote his PhD thesis at Harvard, which he turned into a book titled *Islam and Malay Nationalism: A Case Study Of Malay-Muslims Of Southern Thailand* (1985). This is a classic work and an essential introduction to understanding the southern Thailand crisis. In his book, he clearly stated that the Malay Muslims of southern Thailand view national integration as entailing their cultural disintegration because Thai Buddhism and Malay Islam belong to two different cosmological orientations.²² “They do not want to be integrated into the Thai state. They do not want to lose their religious and cultural autonomy. If the Thai state is the manifestation of the Buddhist cosmology, the Malay-Muslim do not want to be a part of it.”²³ The predominantly ethnic orientations of the two communities of the Thai Buddhists and the Malay Muslims have been described as "closed systems."²⁴

9. Reforming the Office of the Chularajmontri/Shaykh al-Islam of Thailand

With the establishment of democracy in Thailand after the Black May, or Bloody May protests of May 1992 and being appointed as

²² Surin Pitsuwan, *Islam and Malay Nationalism*, 8, 12.

²³ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁴ Donald Tugby and Elise Tugby, “Malay-Muslim and Thai-Buddhist Relations in the Pattani Region: An Interpretation” in *The Muslims of Thailand* Vol. 2, eds., Andrew D. W. Forbes, General Editor, Sachchidanand Sahai (Gaya, India: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1989), 73.

the Deputy Foreign Minister of Thailand, as a Democrat, he went along with his party to start the process of reforming the office of the *Chularajmontri/Shaykh al-Islam* of Thailand along democratic lines. Formerly, the Thai King appointed the *Chularajmontri/Shaykh al-Islam* of Thailand for a life term. In light of the changing political situation in Thailand, which was moving towards greater democratization and the entrance into the age of globalization, Pitsuwan and the Democrat Party introduced in 1992 the Islamic Administrative Bill into a law which was aimed at reforming the institution of *Chularajmontri/Shaykh al-Islam* of Thailand along more democratic lines. The 1992 Islamic Administrative Bill proposed that:

(1) the *Chularajmontri*, the head of the National Council of Islamic Affairs and the Provincial Council for Islamic Affairs who had so far held their offices for life, from now on to be elected to their posts for certain terms;

(2) the term of office for members of the National Council of Islamic Affairs and the Provincial Council for Islamic Affairs Committees be limited to six years; and that the *Chularajmontri* retire at the age of 70;

(3) an election process be introduced to select the members of the National Council of Islamic Affairs and the Provincial Councils for Islamic Affairs, leading to greater efficiency in the functioning of the official Islamic institutions in the country;

(4) the administrative structure of the National Council of Islamic Affairs, including the office of the *Chularajmontri*, be reorganized.

The bill became law in 1997; it introduced the election process for the *Chularajmontri*, who would, from then on, be elected by all the members of the National Council of Islamic Affairs and the Provincial Council for Islamic Affairs and hold office for life.²⁵

10. Pitsuwan – A Global Personality

Pitsuwan delivered keynote addresses at several conferences I

²⁵ Intiyaz Yusuf, "Islam and Democracy in Thailand: Reforming the Office Of "Chularajmontri/Shaykh Al-Islam," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 2 (1998): 277-98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26198065>.

(Imtiyaz Yusuf) had previously organized at the Assumption University of Thailand, Bangkok and the College of Religious Studies, Mahidol University, Salaya. Here are some of the views he presented on these occasions.

In a keynote address titled, "Civic Religion, Secular State and Democracy: The Taming of Religious Sentiments in Thailand", delivered in 2008 and on being appointed as the Secretary-General of the ASEAN group of nations, Pitsuwan lamented there was the bankruptcy of democracy in the region despite constitutions. At that time, a military coup had taken place in Thailand, and the country's most democratic constitution of 1997, also known as the "people's constitution", was suspended. Pitsuwan remarked that:

“So, we have had a period of tremendous anxiety and tension because we forgot that there is something more fundamental than just the rules and the system at the ballot box and the elections. That there is something called ethics and morality. What do we have when we pitch individuals against individuals and communities against communities? We have ethnic chauvinism and a sense of insecurity within our body-politic... I am very inspired and enthusiastic about ASEAN. I have to operate from Thailand as my base, and if this country cannot put together a more effective system of democracy with participation and equality with confidence to every constituent part, I will be undermined at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta.”

“So, it is important to curb extremisms of all types with solidarities across differences,” he remarked. “We seek to defend each other from the extremes of our own emotions and weaknesses, and we seek to respect everyone and coexist peacefully to achieve a harmonious collective life called a true democracy. And if there is any extremism lurking on the horizon from any community, it is our collective responsibility to try to tame it, to reason and rationalize about it and seek a better way out rather than pitching one extreme against

the other, rather than stepping on each other's sensitive points. And if we cannot achieve that here in Thailand, it will be very difficult to achieve it within ASEAN."²⁶

In another seminar in 2014, Pitsuwan remarked on the challenge of development facing the different ASEAN religious communities. He said that the hallmark of the 600 million people of ASEAN was its ethnic and civilizational differences. However, some communities were taking full advantage of development and growth while others were not:

Communities, sub-communities, and sub-cultures may need more time to take full advantage and move along the road of integration and progress. Some of them may feel insecure about losing their own identity. Some may enhance their confidence in their prosperity, and ethnicity is peculiar. It can be very daunting, it can be very peaceful, it can be very calm, but once the landscape loses its balance, whether that balance comes because of the prosperity of some, or the disadvantage of others, or even of the shared prosperity for all, the delicate balance among and between ethnic themes—ethnic groups, religious groups, civilization groups—may be affected. We have to be extremely careful to manage the new grounds that we need to keep the land safe, secure, stable, calm and progressive into the future.

This is the challenge for the 600 million people of ASEAN, this is the challenge for the leaders of ASEAN, of how to make sure that all religious groups, all civilization groups, and cultural entities inside can fully benefit or equally benefit from this new dynamism that is going on at some 6.7% per year, 2.4 trillion U.S. dollars combined G.D.P. with, trading with the world and among ourselves, 2.6 trillion U.S. dollars a year. Who will take full advantage of all those opportunities?

²⁶ Surin Pitsuwan, "Keynote address: Civil religion, secular state and democracy: the taming of religious sentiments in Thailand" in Imtiyaz Yusuf, *Religion and Democracy in Thailand* (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2008).

About 100 billion US dollars are coming in from the outside onto the landscape of ASEAN in the form of foreign direct investments. Who shall be the beneficiary of those jobs and those Euros and those amounts of money coming onto the landscape when our communities are not equally ready to take advantage properly?

The political and economic context of each of the member states of ASEAN will need to be more convincing for them to believe that growth and development will also be enough. I am not quite sure that people in the southern part of the Philippines, the southern part of Thailand, and even the Muslim Rakhine in Myanmar now are genuinely committed to growth, growth, growth; they are looking at something else, growth plus the freedom, space, sense of origin and belonging.²⁷

Pitsuwan's fears and foresight about the vulnerability of violence in ASEAN seem to be coming true today in the pandemic and the post-pandemic era of COVID-19. In order to address this challenge after his tenure as ASEAN Secretary-General, Pitsuwan embarked on domestic and world missions to contribute to the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC), an "initiative of the United Nations that aims to build bridges between societies, promote dialogue and understanding, forge collective political will to address growing divisions between societies and restore mutual respect between peoples of differing cultures."²⁸ Moreover, to different governments around the world and ASEAN region and Asia as Muslim citizens of the world committed to building a future of peace.

²⁷ Surin Pitsuwan, "Keynote Address" in Imtiyaz Yusuf, ed., *ASEAN Religious Pluralism: The Challenges of Building a Socio-Cultural Community* (Bangkok: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2014), xvi-xvii, xx .

²⁸ "United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and International Dialogue Centre Join Forces to Promote Dialogue for Peace," *United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC)*, 8 May 2017, accessed 4 February 2019, <https://www.unaoc.org/2017/05/unaoc-and-international-dialogue-centre-join-forces-to-promote-dialogue-for-peace/>.

Our last cooperative act with Pitsuwan took place at the Conference we organized on "Multiculturalism in Asia – Peace and Harmony" on 25-26 August 2016 at the International Center for Buddhist-Muslim Understanding at the College of Religious Studies (CRS), Mahidol University. It was one of Pitsuwan's last activities where he delivered another keynote address aptly titled, "One Thing in Common Is Our Common Humanity – The Contemporary Challenges of Multiculturalism, Integration, Assimilation and Interfaith", which was published posthumously. Pitsuwan once again reminded that:

"If you start to count from the shores of the Mediterranean, the Middle East and as you move eastwards to the islands of the Pacific, this vast region is full of contradictions, full of diversity and full of fault lines for creating misunderstanding and conflicts if we are not careful."²⁹

Pitsuwan commented that globalization is not making all the 193 countries of the UN the same but is strengthening diversity among us and encouraging each one of us to maintain our separate group identities. So, the challenge is how to maintain, create, and accommodate identities that individuals carry. He further remarked that "There is not one Surin Pitsuwan; there are many dimensions of Surin Pitsuwan. I think the challenge for all of us is how to handle all such dimensions and be true to ourselves at the same time, which is very difficult. But such is the challenge of globalization, maintaining your diverse identities, being true to yourselves and your traditions, and being instrumental in connecting the diversity you have found in your life, career, and work. That's the challenge.... So, I guess all of us in the ASEAN group of nations and East Asia will have to begin with identifying what the core of our identity is and what are the other identities that we carry within ourselves so that we can be connected with the rest of the region within ASEAN, within East Asia and find that we have something in common. And then we try to create a platform or a network of cooperation and relations which

²⁹ Imtiyaz Yusuf, *Multiculturalism in Asia: Peace and Harmony* (Salaya, Nakorn Pathom: College of Religious Studies, C.R.S. International Center for Buddhist-Muslim Understanding, Mahidol University, 2018), 13.

will draw the strength of the diversity rather than having to live in conflicts because of those differences we have among us."³⁰

Referring to religious diversity and the idea of common humanity, Pitsuwan emphasized, "So, I think the secret is how to manage the diversity within yourself and find the commonality among those diversities that you have in yourself in order to connect with others who happen to have similar dimensions and diversity within themselves. Only then can we talk about peace; we can talk about harmony. After all, we are all human beings; after all, we are human; we have been placed here as one group among 7.3 billion people to make sense of our existence; what are we here for? Are we here just for ourselves, myself, and my family, or for a larger group of humanity? ...So, we must try to identify what we have in common with others and why we are different and how we can reconcile those differences so that we can find certain dimensions of commonality among us as Thais, Chinese, Indians, Buddhists, Muslims, Confucianists, Shintoists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims...Why? Because we need it. Why? Because of the diversity that we must understand among us and between us. So more than just identifying what we have or who we are, we need to find what is really deep down in us, what is the core of our existence and what we have in common, and how we are diverse from others. We also need to reach down to our own cultures and civilizations."³¹

Pitsuwan ended this speech by quoting Ernest Hemingway's novel titled "*For Whom the Bell Tolls*."³² And He said, "With all the diversity we have among us, with all the misunderstanding that we have among us, with all the differences, the suspicion, the mental suspicion, the disrespect, with all the prejudice we have for each other, at least we have one thing in common, that is our common humanity. So do not ask, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," for it tolls for everyone."³³ He suddenly passed away young at 68 on 30 November 2017, leaving us shocked until today. However, he has conveyed that Muslims have to gear up to live with diversity within and without and

³⁰ Ibid., 17.

³¹ Ibid., 18.

³² Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bells Tolls* (London: Arrow Books, 2004).

³³ Yusuf, *Multiculturalism in Asia*, 21.

that world peace and understanding lie only in recognizing that “ONE THING IN COMMON IS OUR COMMON HUMANITY.” As a glocal Muslim, Pitsuwan has left the adherents of all religions with the challenge to work for peace and reconciliation from within their traditions.

11. Conclusion: *Adieu to the World*

Pitsuwan was a Thai Muslim scholar-politician of international stature. Being a child born in a *pondok/pesantren* environment and in a family of Nusantara *ulama* in the Malay-Muslim minority community of southern Thailand, he had achieved great heights of success as a scholar and politician of local, regional, and international stature through sheer hard work and dedication through education and high ambitions.

As a representative Thai Muslim, Pitsuwan was a man who was proud of his Muslim religious identity from the Thai minority Muslim population and dedicated his life and devotion to Islam and humanity. He has inspired many young Thai Muslims as a role model who has reached heights even in a Buddhist-majority country. He has left behind a legacy and a lesson about facing the challenges faced by Muslims and humanity at large through achieving educational merit and how personal integrity and knowledge can bridge the gap between religious identity, tradition, and modernity.

Lastly, he has left a message that we all share a common humanity, that the bell is tolling for everyone, and that within human diversity, there are roots on which we can either build or tear down our shared present and future. As a Thai-Malay Muslim, he drew this message from his origins in a *pondok/pesantren* environment in southern Thailand, sourced from the Qur'an and the universality of its teachings and principles.

Pitsuwan was buried on 1 December 2017 in Bangkok with an honored funeral ceremony. Thousands of people from all faiths, important political personalities, and local and international groups attended his funeral. And the King Vajiralongkorn (Rama X) of Thailand, as per the Thai political tradition, who is as per the Thai constitution the patron of all the religions in Thailand, sent royally blessed soil, gifts and a wreath of flowers to the funeral, which the

King's representative delivered. The three Thai royal princesses viz., Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, Her Royal Highness Princess Chulabhorn and Her Royal Highness Princess Soamsawali also sent wreaths to honor this distinguished and illustrious Thai Muslim at his funeral.³⁴



Dr. Surin Pitsuwan delivering a keynote speech at the international seminar on “Multiculturalism in Asia – Peace and Harmony” on 25-26 August 2016, organized by the C.R.S. International Center for Buddhist-Muslim Understanding at the College of Religious Studies, Mahidol University.

³⁴ “King Sends Royally Blessed Soil to Surin’s Funeral Rites,” *Bangkok Post*, n.d., accessed 16 August 2022, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1370887/king-sends-royally-blessed-soil-to-surins-funeral-rites>.



The coffin is carried from the mosque to a cemetery for the burial.³⁵



His Majesty, the King Vajiralongkorn's representatives, lay royally blessed soil on the grave and wreaths of

³⁵ Photo credit: <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1370887/king-sends-royally-blessed-soil-to-surins-funeral-rites>.

flowers at the burial ceremony of former ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan at Tha-It Mosque in Nonthaburi's Pak Kret district.³⁶

³⁶ Photo credit: <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1370887/king-sends-royally-blessed-soil-to-surins-funeral-rites>.

Manuscript Studies

***Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-‘Aliyyah fī al-Jam‘i Bayn al-Ḥikam al-Qur’āniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah* (Book of High Talents in the Integration of Qur’anic and Hadith Wisdom): A Manuscript Study¹**

Mohamed Aslam Akbar²

Abstract

This article is based on my doctoral study of an unpublished manuscript retrieved from the SMNA library³ titled Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-‘Aliyyah fī al-Jam‘i bayn al-Ḥikam al-Qur’āniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah written by ‘Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, a sixteenth-century Islamic scholar who authored Kanz al-‘Ummāl (one of the most extensive Hadith compilations). The manuscript of Kitāb al-Mawāhib is a compendium of one thousand pieces of wisdom. Five hundred of them are from the Qur’an and the rest from the Hadith. The wisdom of Qur’an is identified in this manuscript as al-iqtisābāt (quotations) and Hadith as al-tadmīnāt (inclusion or embodiment). This work is one of the earliest and most excellent compilations on wisdom ever made. It is an introduction to the virtue of wisdom to which the Qur’an refers as a great bounty in these words: “and he, to whom wisdom is granted, indeed has been granted abundant good”.⁴ The significance of the manuscript, as the author himself indicated, lies in four things, i.e., preserving the

¹ This article is based on a doctoral study of the author submitted to ISTAC, International Islamic University Malaysia.

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³ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (SMNA) Library at International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM).

⁴ The Qur’an, *Surah al-Baqarah* 2: 269.

Qur'anic verses, conserving hadith narrations, commentary on the Qur'an, and special significance of Sufism. The author organized the collection of hikam (wisdom) in the Qur'an and Hadith according to the subject matter in the alphabetical order, such as Imān, Ihsān, Akhlāq, Imārah, and so on. He did this for every letter of the Arabic alphabet, from alif to yā. I was able to use the only copy available to me during my research. There are, however, another three manuscript copies of Kitāb al-Mawāhib available elsewhere: a handwritten copy at Maktabah As'ad Afandī, Turkey; a handwritten copy at Maktabah Dāmād Zādah, Turkey; and a handwritten copy at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Egypt. The details on these copies will be discussed in this article.

The Manuscript of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*: Summary of Its Description

The manuscript at ISTAC Library chosen for this study is titled *Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-'Aliyyah fī al-Jam'i bayn al-Ḥikam al-Qur'āniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah*,⁵ which is translated here as “Book of the Exalted Gifts in the Integration of Qur'anic and Hadith Wisdom.” It is considered one of its unpublished treatises dealing with topical index, Islamic law, customs, and practices of Islam. It is part of an invaluable document of sixteenth-century Muslim theological scholarship, consisting of seven books. The manuscript's physical description is one microfilm reel: positive; 35 mm. The original version of the manuscript is in Bodleian Library, Oxford. The ISTAC Library copy was microfilmed by Oxford University Libraries Imaging Services in the year 2005. (Microfilm no.: IM/0657/05 Reel 9; Manuscript number: MS.Pococke 78).

Title	كتاب المواهب العلية في الجمع بين الحكم القرآنية والحديثية Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-'aliyyah fī al-jam'ī bayn al-ḥikam al-Qur'āniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah
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Creator/Author	Muttaqi, 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Malik, d. 1567 متقى، علي بن عبد الملك، ت. 1567
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⁵ Henceforth, the manuscript title is referred to as *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*.

Language	Arabic
Physical Description	One microfilm reel: positive; 35 mm
Image Resolution	300 dpi.
Scope & Content	Work on Qur'an and Hadith, Extensive Wisdom Studies
Notes	Original in Bodleian Library, Oxford. Microfilmed by Oxford University Libraries Imaging Services, 2005. Microfilm no.: IM/0657/05 Reel 9 Manuscript no.: MS.Pococke 78
Incipit	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي نُورَ قُلُوبِ الْعَارِفِينَ بِفَضْلِهِ فَاقْتَبَسُوا مِنْ كَلَامِهِ وَكَلَامَ رَسُولِهِ وَجُوهَ الْمَعَانِي وَالْإِشَارَاتِ وَجَعَلَهَا عَرَبِيَّةً فَأَعْرَبْتُ خَفَايَا الْمَعَانِي وَدَقَائِقَهَا بِالْأَلْفَاظِ وَالْعِبَارَاتِ... الخ
Colophon	...انتهت هذه النسخة المباركة بمد الله وعونه وتوفيقه على يد أفقر عباد ربه وأحوجهم إلى عفوه ومغفرته الفقير ياسين الدفري غفر الله له ولوالديه ولكل المسلمين آمين والحمد لله رب العالمين..
Collection	Pococke
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Created By	SmsH



ما استكتبه المفيد الحجة المصطفى بن الحاج محمد الآبار
 الحلبي مولداً ووطننا الحوراني نسبة الشافعي مذهباً
 القادر طريقتياً والله الموفق للصواب وإليه يرجع المطالب
 كتبته في شهر ربيع من عام ١٢٠٥ لله وللعم عواري والعماري مستوره
 هذا كتاب فريد يفصل العقل بتهجد
 اعلا واغلا واحلا من جوهر ويزينه

Facsimile of the Original Manuscripts:
 The Title Page

Location of the Manuscript

The manuscript is located at the Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas Library, International Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), International Islamic University, Malaysia. It is part of a compilation (*majmūʿah*) of treatises, consisting of seven books. The texts contained in this compilation are:

No.	Compilation of Seven Books	Authors
1.	<i>Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-ʿaliyyah fī al-jamʿi bayn al-ḥikam al-Qurʿāniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah</i>	ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd-al-Mālik Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī
2.	<i>Kitāb al-Tibyan fīhī aḥādīth sayyid walad ʿAdnān ʿalayh aḥḍal al-ṣalāt wa al-salām</i>	Jaʿfar ibn ʿAlī al-Quḍāʾi

3.	<i>Kitāb Ḥikam</i>	‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Aṭā Allāh
4.	<i>Kitāb Sharḥ Faṭḥ al-Rahmān</i>	Al-Walī Raslān
5.	<i>Kitāb al-Nūrayn fī ṣalāḥ al-dārayn</i>	No author
6.	<i>Kitāb Miṣṭāḥ al-falāḥ wa miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ</i>	Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Aṭā Allāh
7.	<i>Kitāb Awrād al-‘usbū‘</i>	Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī al-Hatimī al-Ṭāī.

Manuscript Title and Author’s Name

It is necessary to verify and establish the correct title of the manuscript and the correct name of its author. Some manuscripts are such that the authors place their titles either on the first page, in the introduction of the book, or inside the book, or its conclusion. Some manuscripts’ titles cannot be found, and this usually happens due to the missing of the first page or to damage in the page or the title hidden caused by wetness or over-inking. Some manuscripts have their titles changed to other titles due to ignorance about the book’s title or amended for personal purposes or due to errors in name identification, resulting in putting the wrong title, thinking that it is the correct title.⁶

In the case of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*, however, it is free of such defects and ambiguities. The title is placed by the author ‘Alī al-Muttaqī himself on the cover and in the introduction pages as follows: “*Alī bin Ḥusām al-Dīn famously known as al-Muttaqī, may Allah be kind to him, this is my book which I called “al-Mawāhib al-‘Aliyyah fī al-Jam‘ bayn al-Ḥikam al-Qur‘āniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah.”* Further, al-Muttaqī elaborates the manuscript’s content, crystalizing the book title. He says, “*It contains about a thousand pieces of wisdom of which five hundred are quotes from the Qur’an, and the rest are the implications of Aḥādīth, and I organized*

⁶ ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Faḍlī, *Tahqīq al-turath* (Jiddah: Maktabah al-‘Ilm, 1982), 139; see also ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn, *Tahqīq al-nuṣūṣ wa nashruhā* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabah al-Khānjī, 6th edn., 1995), 43; and ‘Abd al-Majīd Diyāb, *Tahqīq al-turāth al-‘arabi manhajuhu wa tasawwuru* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1993), 135.

them according to letters where I placed the quotes before the implications if their translation matched the implications, or else I wrote the quotes only or implications only.” Also in the book’s conclusion, the author ends his writing and repeats that he was the author of the book as follows, “I have completed this, and I praise Allah as a Muslim and glorify Him above all that the oppressors claim. Glory be to Him the Lord of dignity and superiority and peace be upon the Messengers, and praise be to Him the Lord of the Worlds. I am the humble ‘Alī al-Muttaqī, the hopeful of Allah’s bounties”.

Verifying *Kitāb al-Mawāhib* as ‘Alī al-Muttaqī’s Authentic Work

My research has confirmed that *Kitāb al-Mawāhib* is rightly attributed to ‘Alī al-Muttaqī. Confirmation is necessary because some books are intentionally linked to those other than their original authors for certain purposes.⁷ My careful reading of the text of the book cover clearly showed that the name of its author is Shaykh Abū ‘Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī. The scribe of the manuscript, al-Hāj Maḥmūd al-Ābād al-Ḥalabī has witnessed the author’s name in its title page. The scribe wrote, “*Book of High Talents in the Integration of Qur’anic and Ḥadith Wisdom, written by the learned Shaikh Abū ‘Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, May Allah bless him in his grave and grant him the Paradise as his destination, Āmīn.*” He further noted in his profile introduction as follows: “*It is one of the writings (scribe) of the humble al-Hāj Maḥmūd al-Ābād al-Ḥalabī (as he was born and raised in Aleppo), al-Ḥūrānī in terms of his pedigree, al-Shāfi’ī in terms of doctrine, and al-Qādirī in terms of style. May Allah guide us to the truth, the One we all return to. It was transcribed in the city of Miṣr, it is one of the bounties of Allah, which is a trust, and trust shall be returned.*” He concluded the title page with his appraisal: “*This is a nice book for which the mind undoubtedly certifies its virtue, superior, more precious and adorable than jewelry and aquamarine.*”

Still, the issue of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib* as ‘Alī al-Muttaqī’s authentic work needs to be decisively addressed. There is some

⁷ Al-Faḍlī, 123; see also Diyāb, 137

confusion on the issue. There was a popular book written earlier called *Ghaith al-Mawāhib al-‘Aliyyah fī Sharḥ al-Ĥikam al-‘Aṭā‘iyyah* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abbād al-Nafazī al-Rundī.⁸ Ibn ‘Abbād’s book bears resemblance in both name and content to al-Muttaqī’s *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*. Both books deal with the common theme of *al-Ĥikam al-‘Aṭā‘iyyah*, but al-Muttaqī had written another commentary and tabulation for *al-Ĥikam al-‘Aṭā‘iyyah* by the name of *Tabwīb al-Ĥikam al-‘Aṭā‘iyyah*. With this literary evidence *Kitāb al-Mawāhib* still stands as a novel and original work of al-Muttaqī.

‘Alī al-Muttaqī: Life and Works

‘Alī al-Muttaqī was a prominent muḥaddith, jurist, writer, and Sufi scholar. He was initiated into the *Chishtiyah* Sufi Order by Shaykh ‘Abdul Ḥakīm alias Shaykh Bājān Chishtī. He obtained his advanced education in Multan. Later, he permanently remained in Makkah and died there in 975AH/1567CE at the age of ninety. He wrote more than 100 books and compiled the most extensive collection of Hadith entitled “*Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, which has been praised by scholars of the Arab and non-Arab world. The following section discusses the life and accomplishments of ‘Alī al-Muttaqī derived from reliable sources.

With surname ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Hindī and nickname al-Muttaqī al-Shādhālī al-Madīnī al-Jishī, ‘Alī al-Muttaqī was born in 885AH/1480CE in Burhanpūr, a town situated in modern-day southern Madhya Pradesh on the banks of the river Tapti, India. His father’s name was Ḥusām ibn ‘Abd-al-Mālik; his ancestors were originally from Jonpūr, Gujarat State, India. They migrated to Burhanpūr a long time ago.

‘Alī al-Muttaqī wrote in his autobiography that when he was eight years old, it occurred to his father that ‘Alī should be enrolled in the service of Shaykh Bājan al-‘Umarī al-Burhānpūrī. The Shaykh instructed him in *samā‘*, but unfortunately, the Shaykh was alive only for some period; al-Muttaqī’s father also passed away soon after. No

⁸ Edited by ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd wa-Maḥmūd ibn al-Sharīf and published by Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, Cairo in 1970, in two volumes, 25 cm.

one in his family could take care of him. Therefore, he started working to support himself and his family. He traveled to a place called ‘Mindah’ and worked there for the local governor as a scribe for a few years and earned possibly enough money. During his work, he realized his potential for knowledge. He returned to the son of Shaykh Bājan, who was Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Jishtī and spent his early youth with him pertaining to knowledge of teaching and manners until the Shaykh gave him the *Ijāzah*. Then he returned to Gujarat, India, stayed in Ahmadābād, and married a good pious woman. A son was gifted, but unfortunately, he died early in life.

‘Alī al-Muttaqī traveled to different regions of Hindustan, including to Multan to meet Shaykh Ḥisām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī. He stayed under his guardianship and was taught *Taṣawwuf*, *Tafsīr Bayḍāwī*, and *Kitāb ‘Ain al-‘Ilm*. In 942 AH he traveled to Makkah and became a student of Imām Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī and attained the *Ijāzah* and *Khilāfah* in the al-Qādiriyyah al-Shādhaliyyah Order. He then traveled to Madinah where he became a student of Shaykh Ṭāhir Zamān al-Zawāwī. Later he met Imām Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Bakrī, becoming his student, from whom he learned *Ḥadīth* and *Taṣawwuf*. Then he met Imām Abū Madyan Shu‘aib al-Maghribī who initiated him into the Order of al-Madaniyyah. Subsequently, he met Imām Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī, attained *Qirā’ah* of Prophetic Traditions, and stayed near Bayt al-Ḥaram in Makkah. ‘Alī al-Muttaqī returned twice to Gujarat, India which was ruled by Maḥmūd Shāh, an admirer of al-Muttaqī.

‘Alī al-Muttaqī wrote many books on Prophetic traditions, ethics, and asceticism. Some of them are mentioned in the introduction of "*Kanz al-‘Ummāl*," a rare manuscript of which is available in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland.

Kanz al-‘Ummāl fī Sunan al-aqwāl wa al-af‘āl (Treasure of the Doers of Good Deeds) is ‘Alī al-Muttaqī’s notable work. It is a Prophetic hadiths collection regarding which his teacher Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī says: “*Al-Suyūṭī has done a great favor for the entire world by writing al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr and ‘Alī al-Muttaqī has done an excellent service to al-Suyūṭī by compiling and arranging his work of al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr.*” *Kanz al-‘Ummāl* is the largest available unique collection of Aḥādith/Āthār. It contains more

than 46,000 narrations composed from many individual earlier collections. It is in essence not only a continuation of Imām al-Suyūṭī’s hadith collections but also a replica of al-Suyuti’s three books, *Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr*, its *Zawā‘id* and *Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr* (*Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*).⁹

The following scholars were al-Muttaqī’s students and inspirers: Ibrāhīm ibn Da‘ūd al-Akbar Ābādī al-Qādirī, Al-Qaḍī Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-‘Umarī, ‘Abdullah ibn Sa‘d Allāh Sindī, ‘Abdul Qādir ibn Ahmad al-Fākihi, ‘Abdul Wahhāb al-Burhānpūrī al-Makki al-Muttaqī, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Ṣamad al-Anṣārī al-Pānipattī, Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Fatnī and Muḥammad ibn Abū Muḥammad al-Shāfi‘ī al-Nā‘īfī.

Al-Muttaqī died on 975AH/1567CE Tuesday 2nd Jumādā al-Awwal (3rd November 1567) before morning Fajar prayer at Makkah. He was buried in the morning at the foot of Mountain *al-Mu‘allah* side by side with the grave of Shaykh al-Fuḍail ibn ‘Iyāḍ. There was a pathway between the two graves called *Nāḍir al-Jaysh* (Warden Army).



Facsimile of the Original Manuscripts:
The Introduction Page

⁹ Imam Suyūṭī collected more than a hundred thousand hadiths (excluding the *isnād*) in a book titled *jam‘ al jawāmi‘* (also known as *jāmi‘ al kabīr*). His intention was to make the hadiths easily accessible to the public.

Subject-Matter of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*

The main subject-matter of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib* is the wisdom of Islamic intellectual heritage. The treatise is a compilation of one thousand pieces of wisdom in the Qur'an and Hadith. 'Alī al-Muttaqī organized the collection of *ḥikam* (wisdom) in the Qur'an and Hadith according to the subject matter of *ḥikam* in alphabetical order such as *Īmān, Iḥsān, Akhlāq, Imārah* and so on. He did this for every letter of the Arabic alphabet, from alif to yā. The end product of this compilation is the treatise with its full name *Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-'aliyyah fī al-jam'i bayn al-ḥikam al-Qur'āniyyah wa al-Ḥadīthiyyah*.

Sources of Influence on *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*

Kitāb al-Mawāhib has many sources of influence to become the best of its nature. However, it was 'Alī al-Muttaqī's own earlier books that were the main sources of his inspiration and contribution to the creation of such a monumental masterpiece. His several books related to wisdom are:

No.	Book Titles	Details
1.	<i>Manhaj al-atamm fī tabwīb al-Ḥikam</i>	It is also called al-Nahj instead of al-Manhaj. Al-Muttaqī was the first one who indexed and tabulated the pioneering work of wisdom, named <i>al-Ḥikam al-'Aṭā'iyyah</i> which is a masterpiece of Islamic spiritual work by the prominent Sufi, Tāj al-Dīn Abū al Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Aṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī al-Shādhilī (d. 1309). <i>Manhaj al-atamm</i> is printed and published. It starts with the chapter of 'Ilm, Tawbah, Ikhlāṣ, Ṣalāt, al-'azlah wa al-Khumūl, Ri'āyat al-waqt, al-Dhikr, al-Fikrah, al-Zuhd and so on. The book consists of 30 chapters. ¹⁰
2.	<i>Jawāmi' al-Kalim fī al-Mawā'iz wa al-Ḥikam,</i>	It consists of 168 leaves, 21 lines on each page, and was copied by Hawāsh in 1008AH in Madinah al-Munawwarah. Another copy

¹⁰ See: Rawd Rayaheen, *Manhaj al-atamm fī tabwīb al-Ḥikam* from <http://cb.rayaheen.net/showthread.php?tid=11919&page=1&next> (accessed on June 2016).

		made by Muhammad Ṣalaḥ al-Balkhī is also available. This manuscript is indexed in 'Illustrated Manuscripts' by the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, Cairo in vol. 1 part 2 on page 245, as microfilm 35mm. The original manuscript is available in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Adab Taymūr, Egypt.
3.	<i>Naẓm al-Durar fī al-Ĥikam wa al-Gharar,</i>	It consists of 36 leaves, 23 lines on each page. This book is a combination of wisdom in two books named <i>Aṭwāq al-Dhahab</i> by Zamakshari and <i>Aṭbāq al-Dhahab</i> by Ibn Hibah Allah al-Maghribī. This manuscript is indexed in 'Illustrated Manuscripts' by the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, Cairo in vol. 1 part 6 on page 156, as microfilm 35mm. The original manuscript is available in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Collection no. 474 ¹¹
4.	<i>Al-Ĥikam al-Qānūniyyah fī al-Ma'āniyy wa al-Iqtisābāt al-Qur'āniyyah,</i>	It consists of 28 leaves and was copied by Husayn ibn Sāliḥ. This manuscript is available in 'Arab Union Catalog' Control Number 07201098977 at King Abdul Aziz University Saudi Arabia. ¹²
5.	<i>Ĥikam 'Irfāniyyah fī Ma'āniyy Irshādiyyah wa Ishārūt Qur'āniyyah,</i>	It consists of 19 leaves. This manuscript is available as a softcopy pdf in 'Arab Union Catalog' Control Number 11202979345 at Omm Alqura University, Saudi Arabia. ¹³ Another copy of this manuscript physical copy is available at Maktabah al-Makhṭūṭāt, Kuwait University; that consists of 6 pages, 21 lines each page in 20x14 cm. ¹⁴
6.	<i>Tabwīb al-Ĥikam al-'Aṭā'iyyah,</i>	It consists of 24 leaves and 46 cm, published by Dār al-tawfīq al-namūdhajīyyah li al-ṭibā'ah, Cairo, in 1991. This manuscript is

¹¹ See: Ma'had al-Makhtutah al-Arabiyyah from <http://41.32.191.214/cgi-bin/koha/opac-ISBDdetail.pl?biblionumber=39409> (accessed on June 2016).

¹² See: Arabic Union Catalog from <http://www.aruc.org/en/web/auc/general-search?Page=FullDisplay&mId=1098977> (accessed on June 2016).

¹³ See: Arabic Union Catalog from <http://www.aruc.org/en/web/auc/general-search?page=FullDisplay&mId=2979345> (accessed on June 2016).

¹⁴ See: Fihrist Maktabah al-Makhtutah from <http://139.141.167.32/manuscript/Scriptsvew.asp?ID=19821> (accessed on June 2016).

manuscript was al-Hāj Maḥmūd al-Ābād al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥarānī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Qādirī. He managed to finish scribing with the help of Yāsīn al-Dafrī.

(b) Examining letters by letters

Hamzas were confirmed and added applicably to the right place throughout the entire Arabic version of the manuscript, i.e., *hamzah al-waṣl*, *hamzah al-qaṭ‘*, *al-hamzah mutawassiṭah*, and *al-hamzah al-mutaṭarrifah*. Comma was added in between sentences to ease readers’ understanding of the content as joined sentences spread out everywhere to save pages or writing of the transcriber. Dotting was necessary and performed in some letters. *Tashkīl* was not carried out for the entire work due to time constraints except in some places where *tashkīl* was vitally needed to understand some sentences and meanings, i.e., in the Ḥadīth section, *tashkīl* was necessary to comprehend the context. Qur’anic verses (*iqtibāsāt*) and hadiths entries (*taḍmīnāt*) were carefully classified. Some chapters and heading titles were missing, so they were added accordingly with the help of other available subtitles. Finally, in the entire manuscript, the letters ‘b’ ha and ‘ṣ’ ta marbū ah were spelled and modified suitably.

(c) Reassessment of Qur’an and Hadith

Separating the Qur’an and Hadith texts from the author’s texts was one of the primary tasks of this research. Every phrase was carefully examined to retrieve the main subject of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*, which is the collection of pieces of wisdom in Qur’an and Hadith. Every Qur’anic verse and every hadith were considered the subjects of the work. Every piece of wisdom was numbered to give visibility, and every number was given annotation and commentary in respective footnotes.

(d) Formatting and Indenting Text

The critical Arabic edition has been typeset in 16pt traditional Arabic font in single line spacing. Every alphabet

was considered a first-level heading, and every chapter title was a second-level heading. The author's texts were typed as standard body text, and then every piece of wisdom of Qur'an and hadiths were treated separately from the body text and indented in the following line on both sides, left and right, with 2.5cm. To differentiate between Qur'an from Hadith, Qur'anic verses were indented on both sides with the unique aesthetic bracket symbols. The Qur'anic verses come immediately after the main topic, while Hadith entries come most of the time succeeding Qur'anic verses after the subtitle called 'implication' or *taḍmīnāt*.

(e) Annotated Notes and Numbering for Every Provision In *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*, every entry of the Qur'an and Hadith was considered wisdom by the author as he mentioned in the prologue of the manuscript. He counted approximately a thousand pieces of wisdom in this manuscript. Hence in both English and Arabic versions of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib*, the researcher numbered every entry of Qur'an and Hadith numbering one thousand and sixty.

(f) Indexing

The index is the key to the book. There is a table of complete content created earlier, which covers the titles and subtitles of the dissertation. At the end of the work, a standard index is used to gather common and precise terminologies with page numbers. After that, various sections are created such as indices of Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions.

The Chapter Content of *Kitab al-Mawahib*

حرف الهمزة	LETTER ḤAMZAH
باب في الإيمان والإسلام	CHAPTER: FAITH AND SUBMISSION AND RELATED ISSUES
الفعلية التي هي مزية الأقدام: صفات الله	Actual Attributes of Allah - the Trickiest Part
الإيمان بالبعث	Belief in the Resurrection
الإيمان بالقدر	Belief in Fate and Related Issues
البدعة	Innovation and Related Issues

صفات المؤمنين	Characteristics of the Believers
صفات المنافقين	Characters of Hypocrite
باب في الإحسان	CHAPTER: EXCELLENCE, PERFECTION
باب في الأخلاق والأفعال الحمودة على ترتيب	CHAPTER: BEHAVIORS AND GOOD
الحروف المعجمة	ACTIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER
الإخلاص والرياء	Sincerity, Intention, Show Off, and Related Issues
أكل الحلال	Eating From Lawful
الاقتصاد والرفق في المعيشة وفي سائر الأعمال	Economizing in Household-Expenditure
الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر	Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice
الإففاق والسخاء	Spending and Generosity and Related Issues
البذاعة	Modesty
البر وصلة الرحم	Honoring Parents, Relatives, and Related Issues
التأني	Deliberation
التقوى والورع	Devoutness and Piety
التوكل على الله	Putting trust in Allah
الجوع	The Hungry
الحلم	Patience
الحدة	Anger
الخوف والرجاء	Fear and Hope
الخشوع	Submission
الخمول	Laziness
الرضا	The Pleasure
الرياضة	Endurance and Related issues
الزهد في الدنيا	Asceticism and Related issues
الشكر	The Thankfulness and Related issues
الشفاعة	Intercession
الصبر على الأمراض والمصائب وموت الأولاد	Patience with illness, trials, death of children
الصمت	Quietness
العفو	The Forgiveness
العقل	The Mind
الفراسة	Physiognomy
الفقر والفاقة والقناعة وقطع الطمع عن الناس	Poverty, Destitution, Contentment, and taking
بسوء الظن	off covetousness in the people by mistrusting
الحبة والعشق	Love and Adoration

وفاء العهد والوعد	Fulfillment of Covenant and Promise
الأخلاق المتفرقة	The Different Manners
باب في الأخلاق والأفعال المذمومة على ترتيب الحروف المعجمة	CHAPTER: EVIL CHARACTERS AND BEHAVIOURS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER
الأكل في السوق	Eating in the Market
البخل الهتاف	Miserliness
البهتان والافتراء	Falsehood and Slandering
ترويع المسلم	Intimidating of Muslim
التشدد	Ranting
الحرص	Possessiveness
الحسد	The Envy
شرب الخمر	Drinking Alcohol
الظلم	Injustice
الضحك	Laughing
الغيبة	Backbiting
الفحش	Immorality
الكبر والخيلاء	Arrogance, immorality, haughtiness, pride, overconfidence
كثرة اليمين	The abundant of Oath
الكذب	Lying
الكذب في الرؤيا	Lying about dream
اللهو	Fun
المدح المذموم والحمد	The good and bad commendations
هتك الستر	Disclosure of Privacy
باب الأمانة والقضاء	CHAPTER: LEADERSHIP, JUDICIARY, AND RELATED ISSUES
فصل القضاء	The section on Judiciary
حرف الباء	LETTER “BĀ”
باب البيع والكسب	CHAPTER: SALE, EARNING, AND ITS RULES
حرف التاء	LETTER “TĀ, “
باب التوبة	CHAPTER: REPENTANCE AND RELATED ISSUES
حرف الجيم	LETTER “JĪM”
باب الجهاد	CHAPTER: JIHĀD AND RELATED ISSUES

حرف الحاء	LETTER “ĤĀ”
باب الحج	CHAPTER: HAJJ AND RELATED ISSUES
باب الحدود	CHAPTER: ISSUES RELATED TO HUDŪD
حرف الدال	LETTER “DĀL”
باب الدعوى	CHAPTER: DA’WAH
باب الدعاء	CHAPTER: SUPPLICATION (DU’A) AND RELATED ISSUES
باب آداب الدائين والمديون	CHAPTER: ETHICS OF DEBTOR AND INDEBTED PEOPLE
حرف الذال	LETTER “DHĀL”
باب الذبح	CHAPTER: SACRIFICE AND RELATED ISSUES
باب الذكر وتلاوة القرآن	CHAPTER: ZIKR AND QUR’ĀN RECITATION AND THEIR ETHICS
حرف الزاي	LETTER “ZĀ”
باب الزكاة	CHAPTER: ZAKAT
باب الزينة	CHAPTER: ADORNMENT AND RELATED ISSUES
حرف السين	LETTER “SĪN”
باب السفر	CHAPTER: TRAVELLING AND ITS ETHICS
باب فيما يتعلق بالسلوك والسالكين	CHAPTER: RELATED ISSUES TO BEHAVIOR AND FOLLOWERS
فصل فيما يتعلق بصفة الأولياء والمشايخ	CHAPTER: RELATED ISSUES TO THE ATTRIBUTES OF PIOUS PEOPLE (“AWLIYA”)
فصل فيما يتعلق بالسمع	CHAPTER: ISSUES RELATED TO HEARING
حرف الشين	LETTER “SHĪN”
باب الشفعة	CHAPTER: PREEMPTION
حرف الصاد	LETTER “ṢĀD”
باب الصحبة، وأدابها وحقوقها	CHAPTER: COMPANIONSHIP, ITS ETHICS, AND RIGHTS
حق الجار	The right of a neighbor
حق المملوك	The right of enslaved people
آداب المجلس	Ethics of assemblies
باب في الصلاة وما يتعلق بها	CHAPTER: PRAYER AND RELATED

صلاة الليل باب الصوم حرف الضاد	ISSUES Night Prayer CHAPTER: FASTING LETTER “ḌĀD”
باب الضيافة وآدابها حرف الطاء	CHAPTER: HOSPITALITY AND ITS COURTESY LETTER “ṬĀ”
باب الطب باب الطيرة والقال والتمايم باب الطهارة وما يتعلق بما التضمنيات فقط	CHAPTER: MEDICINE CHAPTER: PESSIMISM (TIYYARAH) AND OPTIMISM (FA’L) AND HESITATION CHAPTER: PURITY AND RELATED ISSUES
السواك التيميم حرف العين	<i>Siwāk</i> (wooden brush) <i>Tayammum</i> ‘ LETTER ‘AIN
باب العلم وآدابه وآفاته باب بما يتعلق بعظمة الله وقدرته على الأشياء وسره وحكمته في تغيير أحكام الشرع وإرسال الرسول	CHAPTER: KNOWLEDGE AND ITS ETHICS AND LESIONS CHAPTER: ISSUES RELATED TO ALLAH’S MIGHTINESS AND HIS ABILITY UPON EVERYTHING AND HIS KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM OF CHANGING THE LEGISLATION (‘SHARIAH’) AND SENDING MESSENGERS
حرف الفاء	LETTER “FĀ”
باب الفتن باب الفضائل حرف القاف	CHAPTER: FITAN (TRIAL) CHAPTER: VIRTUES LETTER “QĀF”
باب القصاص حرف الكاف	CHAPTER: QISAAS (DEATH PENALTY) LETTER “KĀF”
باب الكفالة والضمان حرف الميم	CHAPTER: GUARANTEE AND WARRANTY LETTER “MĪM”
باب في متابعتة صلى الله عليه وسلم في المعيشة والعادات	CHAPTER: FOLLOWING THE PROPHET (PEACE BE UPON HIM) IN THE LIVING AND HABITS

باب المواعظ والحكم	CHAPTER: PREACHES AND WISDOM
التزغيبات	CHAPTER: MOTIVATIONS
التزهيبات	CHAPTER: INTIMIDATIONS
باب الموت	CHAPTER: DEATH.
حرف النون	LETTER “NŪN”
باب النذر	CHAPTER: AL-NAZR (SELF BINDING PLEDGE)
باب النكاح وفوائده وآفاته	CHAPTER: MARRIAGE AND ITS BENEFITS AND LESIONS
حرف الواو	LETTER “WĀW”
باب الوصية	CHAPTER: WILL
باب في المتفرقات والإقتباسات فقط	CHAPTER: MISCELLANEOUS (QUOTES ONLY)

Concluding Remarks

It could be said that manuscript collection, preservation, and publication, coupled with textual editing, make a significant contribution to the Islamic heritage, fostering an enriched scholarly landscape and empowering researchers with valuable knowledge. The incorporation of manuscript editing practices across academic fields is crucial for contemporary Islamic scholars, ensuring the preservation and dissemination of the heritage with utmost accuracy and impartiality. The ongoing manuscript work of *Kitāb al-Mawāhib* by ‘Alī al-Muttaqī exemplifies the transformative potential of manuscript editing, while a forthcoming article will offer detailed insights into the critical edition, deepening our understanding of the significance of the manuscript in Islamic scholarship.

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Review Essay

MEMENTO MORI: EXISTENTIAL AND RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES ON DEATH¹

*Arief Subhan*²

Death is often understood as the antithesis of life, with ideas of our impermanence coming in diverse forms. The existentialists would argue that existence precedes essence; therefore, meaning is created, with both life and death conceptualized in accordance with the conscious self. For the believer in God, s/he would argue that essence precedes existence, implying that meaning is there for us to grasp and to embrace, both in this world and the assumed next. Such an 'essence' is one which pertains to divinity and its contingent awareness as well as expression. This article compares the ideas of death brought forward by existentialists with those elucidated by religionists.³ For the former, we shall engage with the French-Algerian philosopher Albert Camus and his notion of Absurdism. For the latter, we shall delve into the work of Titus Burckhardt, who touched upon concepts like annihilation of individuality (*fana'*) and a subsisting in/with the divine. Aiming to express this perennial subject's depth, examples from other faith systems will also be gleaned. We are not attempting a synthesis of the two frameworks; rather, we intend to draw attention to a shared human condition and its diverse views on death.

First and foremost, we must come to terms with the Absurdism

¹ This paper was presented at the British Association for Islamic Studies (BRAIS) Conference 2023 at the Aga Khan Institute, London (15th & 16th May), under the title 'When an Existentialist meets a Sufi: Similarities and Differences of Existential and Religious Thought on Death.'

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³ They are referred to here as anyone who adheres to a system of belief that involves a conception of God, a Godhead, or any metaphysical (and/or mystical) underpinning which governs the day-to-day.

brought forward by Albert Camus. In 'The Fastidious Assassins' (a re-translation of 'The Rebel', from '*L'Homme Révolté*'), Camus defines the Absurd as "that hopeless encounter between human questioning and the silence of the universe."⁴ It is a harrowing awareness of the universe's sheer indifference to human sorrow, with death a consistent theme. From here, whether life is worth living seems most urgent. Camus is not known to have advocated taking one's life in such dreadful circumstances, for "... the final conclusion of the absurdist process is, in fact, the rejection of suicide..."⁵ It seems rather peculiar to engage with the conclusion of a process (the absurdist stance, rejection of suicide) before the process occurs. However, it is precisely due to the focus on the end (death) that we can honestly think about and recognize the total worth of the beginning and the middle (life itself).⁶ From here, the Absurd is given meaning in relation to death, for without death, the Absurd is rendered null and void.

Camus' engagement with the Absurd requires the creation of a universal protagonist to which he gives the name, 'The Rebel'. "The rebel is a man who is on the point of accepting or rejecting the sacrosanct and determined to create a human situation where all the answers are human or, rather, formulated in terms of reason."⁷ Camus' acknowledgement of the sacrosanct should not come as a surprise, for his entire philosophy is dependent on its very *negation*. The refutation of God necessitates the repudiation of any related sacral elements. "When the throne of God is overthrown, the rebel realizes that it is now his own responsibility to create justice... and in this way, to justify the fall of God."⁸ Camus' 'doing away' with God

⁴ Albert Camus, *The Fastidious Assassins*, trans., A. Bower (Penguin Books, 2008), 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Parallels can be drawn with Martin Heidegger's Being-Onto-Death. "As ways in which man behaves, sciences have the manner of Being which this entity – man himself – possesses. This entity we denote by the term '*Dasein*'." Authentic Being only happens when *Dasein* confronts its own temporality because it is perpetually (and without escape) on a journey towards its own demise. See M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans., J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson, 1962.

⁷ Albert Camus, *The Fastidious Assassins*, 19.

⁸ Albert Camus, *The Fastidious Assassins*, 25.

makes the pain and suffering attached to living more palatable since there is no divine authority, or supernatural power, to ascribe anger and blame too. With this perspective in mind, it is entirely up to the Rebel to make sense of the world bereft of any divine interference. For the existentialist, meaning is something which is acquired by way of relation to the Absurd. This is exemplified in Camus's posthumous novel *'Le Premier Homme'* (The First Man), when the protagonist, Jacques Cormery, stood at the tomb of his father (whom he has never met) while reading the two dates, '1885-1914', "and automatically did the arithmetic: twenty-nine years."⁹ "He (Jacques) was forty years old. The man buried under that slab, who had been his father, was younger than he."¹⁰ Jacques' heart was filled with the compassion that a grown man feels for an unjustly murdered child, for it was his father who had died in the Battle of the Marne in 1914.¹¹ The Rebel needs to make sense of such chaos; to continue living with a numbing awareness of this disorder.

Camus' expressions on the intricacies of existence were made against the backdrop of French colonial rule over Algeria (primarily 1939-1958). It was a turbulent period, a timeframe of strife and destitution among the Algerians. This period severely haunted Camus because it was a struggle that required justification in not only the mind, but the heart of someone who identified as both French and Algerian. Nevertheless, Camus condemns the reckless approach to death, where "a mind that is imbued with the idea of the absurd (sic) will doubtless accept murder that is fated; it could not accept murder the proceeds from reasoning."¹² This murder 'which proceeds from reasoning' is two-fold. On the one hand, it pertains to the well-structured policies of the French, justifying downright abhorrent rules, including limited education and work for the locals,¹³ (a sort of slow death) as well as the killing of insurgents. On the other, it is the

⁹ Albert Camus, *The First Man*, trans., David Hapgood (from the original *Le Premier Homme*) (Penguin Books, 2001), 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Albert Camus, *The Fastidious Assassins*, 5.

¹³ For these policies, see Albert Camus, *Algerian Chronicles*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer and edited by Alice Kaplan, 2013.

intense reasoning that one makes before deciding to end his/her life (which Camus is vehemently against). It can be inferred here that murder and suicide are of the same mould; a death made through reason, not fate (sans God).¹⁴

The reality of seeing the Algerians as merely a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves, pushed Camus, in-depth and rigour, to write on the quest for meaning not underpinned by any religious formulation. To rebel then implies moving from passivity and blind acceptance of fate to a more active role in asserting one's individuality in the light of shared ideals. Even though there is no metaphysical grounding that people stand on, it does not invalidate the fact that every single person is involved in the cycle of the Absurd; of living, of searching, and of dying. "When violence answers violence in a mounting spiral, undermining the simple language of reason, the role of the intellectual cannot be to excuse the violence of one side and condemn that of the other."¹⁵ Camus takes it upon himself to be this intellectual to remind those who have forgotten how to live truly. What matters is the action one takes to alleviate his/her plight, which is then extended towards society. In pushing this point further, Camus mentions, "there will be found here merely the description, in the pure state, of an intellectual malady. No

¹⁴ We are reminded of Adolf Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem. It is precisely due to reason devoid of any emotion— that is, of following orders from higher-ups – which allowed for Eichmann to facilitate the mass deportation of Jews to ghettos and 'killing sites' in German-occupied Poland. Jewish scholars, including Irving Greenberg, point out that the Shoah indicates a 'breaking of the Abrahamic Covenant' by God Himself. For a more detailed reading of ethics (or the lack thereof) during the Holocaust, see Ingrid Anderson, *Ethics and Suffering since the Holocaust: Making Ethics "First Philosophy" in Levinas, Wiesel and Rubenstein* (Routledge, 2016).

¹⁵ Albert Camus, *Algerian Chronicles*, 28. Parallels can be drawn to René Girard's idea that violence begets violence. Through the judicial system, the possibility of private vengeance is minimized (that between individuals with individuals, as well as societies with societies). "Thus, public vengeance is the exclusive property of well-policed societies... Our penal system operates according to principles of justice that are in no real conflict with the concept of revenge." See R. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans., Patrick Gregory (from *La Violence et la Sacré*) (Bloomsbury, 2013), 17.

metaphysic, no belief is involved in it for the moment."¹⁶

The core of the Camusian account of existence is hope. No matter how dire the circumstances may be, hope is that pillar of strength to pull a person back to his/her senses and to carve meaning and order in an apparently meaningless and chaotic world.¹⁷ Death then is a nadir to which meaning finds its resting place, "thus, like everything else, the absurd (sic) ends with death."¹⁸ At the core of our enquiry is that of personhood. What does it mean to be a person, and what are the necessary attributes that make up a 'person'?¹⁹ This epistemic category has to be established before proceeding any further. For the existentialist, any rendering of a 'person' is not based upon a transcendental postulation – like that of a soul – or any other form of 'rootedness' separate from the body and the physical world. It is purely ascertained by the senses and is tied to a thorough engagement with one's rationality and logic.²⁰ It is rather evident that we are creatures of interiority, with the capacity to think of ourselves as ourselves and "to occupy a first-person stance"²¹ The existentialist

¹⁶ Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, trans., Justin O'Brien (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 4. The translation was originally published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1955. Originally published in France as '*Le Mythe de Sisyphe*' by Librairie Gallimard, 1942. Retrieved from: <http://dhspritory.org/kenny/PhilTexts/Camus/Myth%20of%20Sisyphus-.pdf>

¹⁷ In extension to this idea is the poetics of space introduced by Gaston Bachelard, cited in Edward Said's '*Orientalism*'. "The inside of a house... acquires a sense of intimacy, secrecy, security, real or imagined, because of the experiences that come to seem appropriate for it. The objective space of the house is far less important than what poetically it is endowed with... So, space acquires emotional and even rational sense through a poetic process, whereby the vacant reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here." See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Penguin Books, 2019), 55. Emotions and rationality are therefore intertwined in the process of meaning-making.

¹⁸ Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, 22.

¹⁹ In classical Greece, the primary sense of *psyche* (also grasped as 'soul') relates to the possession of life. If we are to accept, in this very moment, that we are alive, we will inevitably ask what it is to be alive. See John M. Rist, *What is a Person?: Realities, Constructs, Illusions* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

²⁰ In discerning truth and falsity, using one's own rationality could hinder one. *In culpa est animus qui se non effugit unquam* (That mind is at fault which never escapes from itself). Michel de Montaigne's reading of Horace, *Epistles*, I. xiv, 13. See Michel De Montaigne, *On Solitude*, trans., M. A. Screech, 2009.

²¹ J. Ganeri, *The Self: Naturalism, Consciousness, and the First-Person Stance*

affirms that there is radical human freedom. Any joy and suffering depend on how one defines that particular joy and suffering. Thus, the existentialist asserts a realization that meaning is not a given but is a *givenness* that comes from him/herself. Within the existentialist context, the concept of the soul might be deliberated upon but is not taken as the foundation to which a person is defined and to which meaning can be attained. It is considered a superfluous thought that should not be deliberated upon further. Camus calls for a more modest attitude of mind, with its breakthrough being common sense.²²

We now proceed to a conceptualization of death brought forward by religionists.²³ Within this framework, there are typically two distinct notions of human finitude which ought to be considered, with the first being the cessation of ego-self, and the second, the death of the physical body. In his *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, Titus Burckhardt²⁴ indirectly engages with the subject of death through the lens of Sufism (also understood as Islamic mysticism)²⁵. To be distinguished from the exoteric or external Islam (*zāhir*), Sufism is the faith's esoteric or inward (*bātin*) aspect.²⁶ This inner dimension is broad but always refers to the tedious process of self-purification of the *murīd* (disciple or seeker). It is imperative to note that the

(Oxford University Press, 2015), 1.

²² Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, 5.

²³ Conversations and studies of religions have often been conducted in terms of explanation overriding proper understanding (for its own sake). Theorists of religion have often legitimized their methods because theirs is the sole approach in properly preserving, describing, representing, and evoking the 'believers' point of view' and the interiority of the religious commitment. See '*Religion and the Discourse on Modernity*' by Paul-François Tremlett (2008).

²⁴ Titus Burckhardt (1908-1984) was a leading member of the Perennialist School, a traditionalist framework of comparative religious thought emphasizing the primordial truths of various religious traditions. Other Perennialists include Frithjof Schuon, Martin Lings, and Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Burckhardt was initiated into the Darqāwīyya (a Sufi Order based in Morocco) in 1934.

²⁵ Parallels can be drawn to *The Kabbalah*, the Jewish mystical wisdom. See Chris Lowney, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁶ T. Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2008), 3.

aforesaid purification of the self comes through the learning one acquires by way of a *murshīd* (guide), whereby this wisdom is “something which is treasured and handed down from generation to generation (and) is central in the consciousness of those by whom it is received and transmitted...”²⁷ Since experience is crucial in the process of refining the ego for the sake of God, it thus necessitates a passing down of knowledge that is non-conventional, a form of wisdom that relates to the art of living and also *dying*. The dying referred to here is the annihilation of self (*fana*) in the presence of the divine. This is where and when the disciple is in contact with 'direct knowledge', thus becoming the conduit of God's divine names in this world of cause and effect. A more pristine reflection of God's names can only occur once the disciple is cleansed from the impurities that come with being part of the world, an accumulation of misdeeds and transgressions, and an attachment to Self. From here, it is of interest to note Burckhardt's comments on those who criticize (and in some instances, downright condemn) the Sufis of being able to attain God by the sole means of their own will:

"In truth, it is precisely the man whose orientation is towards action and merit - that is, exoteric - who often tends to look on everything from the point of an effort of will, and this arises his lack of understanding of the purely contemplative point of view which envisages the way first of all with knowledge."²⁸

Such descriptions and intimate experiences are not unique to Islam (through Sufism), as similar notions can be found in other religious traditions. Almost all Greek Christians emphasize the affirmation of Genesis 1:26-27²⁹. Our soul, or ‘personhood’ is created ‘in the image of God’; *imago dei*. Body and soul are typically conceived as two complementary entities which “constitute an

²⁷ H. J. Blackham, *The Human Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1953), 3. Blackham refers specifically to a humanist tradition here: “The *locus classicus* in Greek literature for a humanist ideal of life is the funeral oration of Pericles in Thucydides; this idealizes the consummation of a long political and cultural development” (p. 4). One may read it as a passing down of perennial wisdom that cuts across different conceptualizations of Truth.

²⁸ T. Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, 13.

²⁹ K. Ware, ‘The Soul in Greek Christianity’ in J. C. Crabbe, ed., *From Soul to Self*, Routledge, 1999, 51.

undivided unity; neither can exist apart from the other, and any separation at death is no more than temporary.”³⁰ The 'direct knowledge' touched upon earlier is also present as an embodied spirituality espoused by Cardinal José Tolentino Mendonça.³¹ "Our body's senses open us to the presence of God at the moment we are living."³² This implies that God can be 'grasped' in the here and now and that death is the bridge to a higher transcendental reality. The derivations mentioned above of divine presence and its attainment is also observed in the contact of the individual with God in Judaism, which is known as the *devekut*.³³ This term brings a plethora of meanings based on its large, mystical semantic field. This field includes the imitation of divine 'behaviour', which, when developed further, culminates in the total fusion with God in life, and even more so, after death.³⁴

Regardless of the system of faith, the maxim *ex nihilo nihil fit* (out of nothing, nothing comes) best describes the starting point for many religionists.³⁵ Within this structure, the concept of Absolute Necessary Being, an *ens realissimum*, is indicative that essence precedes existence. The principle of sufficient reason holds that “there must, then, be a sufficient reason for the world as a whole, a reason why something exists rather than nothing.”³⁶ God’s attribute of being eternal is counterposed to the mortal and finite nature of human beings, highlighting a difference that is referential to our place in this temporal world. From the perspective of Greek Christianity, any analysis of the human (both body and soul) is bound

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ José Tolentino Mendonça is a Portuguese theologian who earned a degree at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. He has been the Vatican archivist and librarian of the Holy Roman Church since 2018.

³² J. T. Mendonça, *The Mysticism of the Present Moment: Embodied Spirituality*, Paulist Press, 2021, 7.

³³ M. Idel, ‘Universalization and Integration: Two Concepts of Mystical Union in Jewish Mysticism,’ in M. Idel & B. McGinn, eds., *Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: An Ecumenical Dialogue*, 1999, 28.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ J. L. Mackie, *The Miracle of Theism: Arguments for and against the Existence of God* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 82.

³⁶ Ibid.

to seem fatally defective if it is not made in reference to God.³⁷ Due to the fact that the human soul is in God's image, it necessarily follows that the liberty conferred upon human beings is not an arbitrary sort of freedom.³⁸ We can authentically be free through *imago dei* if we exercise this freedom following God's will. There are stipulated obligations that need to be carried out with sincerity and humility. On the contrary, if one perpetually denies the will of God, one cannot be free, for s/he remains at the behest of the ego-self. This exercise in freedom will lead us to the point of reflecting divine love and compassion, which knows no bounds (*sans limites*).

Bernard of Clairvaux, a central figure among the Cistercians (a Catholic Order of monks and nuns), refers to union with God as primarily an affective, operational fusion of willing and loving, *unitas spiritus*, (and) not an ontological coming together of essence or substance.³⁹ Burckhardt expands on this point by saying that the Sufi, once realized, becomes aware of the unity of all beings, or – to put the same concept in negative terms – the unreality of all that appears separate from God.⁴⁰ To put it differently, our existence is a manifestation of God Himself, and we can do good works in this world because of the grace bestowed upon us. We borrow words from Michel de Montaigne, who said, "Their objective is God, infinite in goodness and power... Pains and afflictions are profitable to them, being used to acquire eternal healing and joy; death is welcome as a passing over to that perfect state."⁴¹ The suffering one experiences when alive will be vindicated after death if one realizes that the suffering was a form of purification for the soul that has been so debased. At its most fundamental, for religionists, death is seen as an invitation back to a universal reality, a state of being which removes the individual from the prison of his/her bodily senses (which tends to be occupied with categorization and

³⁷ K. Ware, 'The Soul in Greek Christianity,' 52.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ B. McGinn, 'Love, Knowledge, and Union Mystica in the Western Christian Tradition' in M. Idel & B. McGinn, eds., *Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: An Ecumenical Dialogue*, 1999, 62-63.

⁴⁰ T. Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, 12.

⁴¹ De Montaigne, *On Solitude*, 14-15.

compartmentalization and the differentiation between object and subject, vice versa).

We have explored the different ways death is conceived from both the existentialist and the religious points of view. Moving on, we shall now compare the two approaches to fathoming death. Both approaches have their respective merits and, perhaps, shortcomings (usually in terms of practice rather than theory). Nevertheless, the most evident similarity is that both are *non-defeatist* frameworks. Death is not a moment or an event to be feared, though it is not to be pursued for the sake of itself (suicide). Albeit dissimilar in their starting point, existentialists and religionists advocate a sense of duty to the self, which is then extended to humanity. Next, within both approaches, *death is a certainty* and cannot be determined spatially and temporally by the individual bound to experience it. The third likeness is that both frameworks necessitate death as a *cessation of consciousness at its primary level*. This primary level pertains to sense experience and the intellection of it by the mind. "It is the understanding the words, the knowing the meaning, which makes what you do an act of intellect."⁴² Death brings an end 'to the understanding', 'the knowing', and 'act of intellect'. Camus' pronouncement that "the world evades us because it becomes itself again"⁴³ is no longer available as a world, and for it to 'become itself again'. Sense experience comes to a grinding halt where and when life meets its opposite, death.

We now move on to the contrast, or differences, between both conceptions of death. Within the existentialist understanding of death, there is a strong desire to know the answers to one's facticity. From this point, it seems to be an inevitability to categorize, compartmentalize, and impose upon reality what one assumes to be right and just. The arbitrary nature of such judgements seems predicated upon Camus' 'reason to act', which stems from the notion that all human beings 'are in it together'. This 'reason to act' is dissimilar from the pure witnessing as avowed by the Sufis (as well as other ascetics and religionists). The imparting of one's

⁴² A. Kenny, 'Body, Soul, and Intellect in Aquinas' in J. C. Crabbe, ed., *From Soul to Self* (Routledge, 1999), 37.

⁴³ Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, 11.

individuality in the present moment is a clear break from the pure witnessing (without opinion or complaint) of the esoteric. Camus asserts that the rebel must break free from the previous mode of conduct, for "he rebels because he categorically refuses to submit to conditions that he considers intolerable..."⁴⁴ Thus, God in the flesh and blood of Christ (under the tripartite belief of many Christian denominations) becomes *imago hominins* (image of the man), a sort of anthropomorphism that subverts the sacred for an ironic reverence of the profane. Such a situation is the opposite of *imago dei*, as mentioned prior. It is the horizon of the profane that provides meaning for the existentialists. Existence, again, precedes essence.

How does one reconcile both approaches to death? Based on the ideas and examples, it is rather striking that both notions of death are identical in their peripheries. The core and how it is imagined and explained – that which constitutes the individual – is the fundamental difference to be observed. In contemplating the Absurd, Camus' excruciating pain is made more evident when the referential is always that of the sacred, a departure that he incessantly makes, forming the basis of his philosophy. "From this moment, every question, every word, is an act of rebellion, while in the sacrosanct world, every word is an act of grace."⁴⁵ This grace forms a truism within Sufism, with its expressions often holding the subtle balance between love and knowledge. An emotional category of expression integrates the religious attitude with ease and is the starting point to true spirituality. The language of love, an expression that resonates within the human being, makes it possible to enunciate the most profoundly esoteric truths without being at odds with dogmatic theology and rigid jurisprudence. Camus' apprehensions towards faith in God stem perhaps from a love lost and a denial of that love once it becomes incomprehensible in human terms. How can one suffer and expect to still be in love? For existentialists, suffering is seen as precisely the opposite of the love that one imagines God has for His creations, with such circumstances aggrandized by the loud silence of indifference. On this point, how can one blame Camus? How do we make sense of this apathy? However, perhaps most pertinent is our

⁴⁴ Albert Camus, *The Fastidious Assassins*, 9.

⁴⁵ Albert Camus, *The Fastidious Assassins*, 19.

usual conception of suffering and love as *all too human*. We require proof of divine mercy and providence. Nevertheless, the intoxication of and in love symbolically corresponds to states of knowledge that go beyond discursive thought.⁴⁶ True love does not require proof; *it is felt and accepted through absolute trust*.

We have highlighted the similarities and differences between the existential and religious perspectives on death, bringing attention to a perennial human condition. Having said this, such an attempt is far from exhaustive, as further deliberations seem necessary to grapple with such a pressing question. For the sake of brevity, considerations of death from non-Abrahamic faiths were not brought forward. Perspectives of human finitude from Eastern traditions would be a fascinating subject to be pursued at a later time. From here, one might say that this life is a burden, while another could claim it is a gift. Such is the nature of the human being, a creature that continues to ponder and seek and is always immersed within him/herself while simultaneously being so far removed from the core of his/her being. Through this ambiguity, we hope to focus on the similarities that bind us instead of the differences that have separated us for far too long.

⁴⁶ Titus Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, 21.

THE GENESIS OF ISLAMIC SCIENCE: THE CONTRIBUTION OF CLASSICAL INDIAN SCIENCE REVISITED¹

*Osman Bakar*²

Introduction

The eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries CE, taken together, may be identified with the formative period of Islamic civilisation. The meaning of the "formative period" in the civilisational sense is now briefly explained. The foundation of this civilisation, which implies a societal order, was laid down by the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) in Medina (formerly Yathrib)³ in the first half of the seventh century CE over ten years (622–632 CE). An astonishment to historians, the foundation was already breathtaking in its societal scope and comprehensiveness, not to mention its unsurpassed quality of moral and ethical life. The Qur'an affirms the completeness of this civilisational foundation in the following terms: "Today I have perfected for you your religion (*dīn*), completed my favours unto you, and chosen Islam for you as your religion."⁴

¹ This article was mainly based on a lecture delivered on 10 July 2021 in conjunction with the Indian Independence Day at the invitation of the Indian High Commission Office in Kuala Lumpur. The video recording of the lecture titled "Islam and Indian Civilisation: Historical Highlights" was posted online by the organiser on 11 July 2023.

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³ The Prophet himself changed the old name Yathrib to *al-Madinah* apparently for the simple but profound reason that he wanted to convey the message to the world that Islam as the last religion and Islam as the newest divinely inspired civilisation would be established in the newly named city during his lifetime.

⁴ The Qur'an, *Surah al-Ma'idah* 5:3. The Arabic word *dīn*, as found in this verse, is usually translated as religion. But its semantic field as explained in detail by Professor Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas in his *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala

The Muslim civilisation-building that followed in the first several centuries was not an attempt at improving the quality of spiritual and intellectual life exemplified by the Prophet and his first community. Later Muslim generations were too aware of the prophetic saying "the best of my community is my generation" to entertain the thought that quality-wise, they could improve on his earthly achievements. Rather, the ongoing civilisation-building was an attempt to see that the tree of Islamic civilisation planted by the Prophet would grow to bloom a thousand flowers. It was a collective enterprise to give new concrete civilisational expressions of Islam as conditioned by the Qur'an and the Prophetic Traditions on the one hand and by the presence of other civilisations on the other.

Beginning in the eighth century CE, thanks to its territorial expansion both eastward and westward, Islam encountered the rich treasures of the world's major civilisations. The greatest and the richest of these civilisations were Indian, Chinese, and Persian civilisations in the East and Greek and Roman civilisations in the West. The treasures encountered were mainly in the arts and sciences, literature, technology, and social institutions. Islam as a religion is known for its positive attitude towards other religious scriptures and the intellectual heritage of past human civilisations. The Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), mindful of his position as the last of the divine messengers to humanity, told his followers to view knowledge (*'ilm*) as "the lost property of the Muslim" and wisdom (*hikmah*) as "the lost property of the believer (*al-mu'min*)."⁵ They should own them, he said, wherever they find them. The Muslims of this period well heeded this prophetic advice, as clearly shown, for example, by the construction of *Bait al-Hikmah* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad around 815 CE by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (reign: 813–833 CE). This new centre of learning, where intensive translations into Arabic mainly from Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi Persian, and Sanskrit and textual studies in various sciences were carried out under state funding, about which we have more to say later, came to symbolise the *ummatic* agenda of civilisational synthesis. We are

Lumpur: ABIM, 1978), chapter III, suggests that it may also be rendered as a civilisation, namely a way of life in its broadest and deepest sense.

⁵ Narrated by Abu Hurairah, *Jami' al-Tirmidhi*, Volume 5, Book 39, Hadith 2687.

referring to this grand civilisational synthesis into which diverse elements of various civilisations were integrated and its contributory processes of knowledge transfer from those civilisations when we speak of the formative period of Islamic civilisation. This synthesis was enabled by Islam's most precious integrating principle, namely the doctrine of tawhid or unity, which is essentially epistemological in nature. A significant source of ideas for this synthesis was the Indian civilisation.

The Synthesis of Islamic Science: The Contributory Role of Classical Indian Science

The main purpose of this article is to highlight the historical fact that classical Indian civilisation played a significant role in the early civilisational growth of Islam during the three centuries under study, particularly in the field of philosophical-scientific knowledge. The Indian role is now acknowledged to be far more extensive than what many people thought and realised. Quite clearly, the Indian contribution helped pave the way for Islam's grand knowledge synthesis or its golden age in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Unfortunately, in the Western-centric narrative of the history of science, the role of classical Indian science in the early development of Islamic civilisation was downplayed, with disproportionate prominence given to the role of Greek science. As a result, many Easterners today – Hindus and Muslims included – are unaware of the real extent of the classical Indian role in question.⁶ A significant facet of this early civilisational growth of Islam was knowledge transfer from the advanced cultures of the time, of which India was a good example. Rather interestingly, this knowledge transfer appeared to be widely known to the Muslims of the time. According to Joseph Mazur, “by the tenth century, there were numerous Arabic texts on the Indian numerals.”⁷ Another notable

⁶ A rare exception is the informative article “Islamic Science’s Indian Connection” authored by Alok Kumar and Scott T. Montgomery published in the September/October 2017 issue of the *AramcoWorld*. See aramcoworld.com/Compilations/2017/September-October-2017/Islamic-Science-s-India-Connection.

⁷ Joseph Mazur, *Enlightening Symbols: A Short History of Mathematical Notation and Its Hidden Powers* (Princeton University Press, 2014). The texts included those

facet is knowledge organisation, which Muslims consciously pursued in the light of the distinct worldview of the new religion and civilisation. I will now explain what I mean exactly by the term knowledge transfer and the term knowledge organisation that I am using in this article. I will also explain the classical Indian connection to the knowledge activities that were going on in the young Islamic civilisation.

Knowledge transfer to early Islamic societies from diverse civilisations took several forms and involved different kinds of activities. First, in the form of writings that were found scattered over the territories that Islam had acquired during its expansion and their preservation in libraries that its followers had built. Second, which is even more important than the activity of collection and preservation, was in the form of translation into Arabic of selected writings from the inherited collections to which I have referred, as well as of writings that the Caliph of the day had received as foreign literary gifts. A good example of such instances was when the Caliph al-Mansur (reign: 754–775 CE) ordered the translation into Arabic of a seventh-century CE astronomical work in Sanskrit that he had received from an Indian scientific delegation visiting his newly built Abbasid capital city Baghdad in the year 771 CE.⁸ The astronomical work in question was known as *Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta (598–668 CE). Brahmagupta, a noted Indian astronomer-mathematician of his time,⁹ was a younger contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ). Speaking of the new city of Baghdad itself, it is worth noting that several Indian astronomers were known to have been consulted in its foundation (756 CE).

In the context of the time – we are talking here about eighth-century India and Iraq – the work may be viewed by its then readers as quite a "recent publication" which, therefore, possessed its

authored by al-Kindi (c. 801–873 CE) and Abul Wafa al-Buzjani (940–998 CE).

⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilisation in Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), second edition (Cambridge: The Islamic Text Society, 1987), 169.

⁹ He is the author of four books on mathematics which includes astronomy. The most famous of these treatises was *Brahma-sphuta-siddhanta* ("Brahma's Correct Astronomical System").

own scientific significance. Brahmagupta and al-Mansur were separated in time by a mere century. The translation was done by Muhammad al-Fazari (d. 777 CE), the official astronomer at al-Mansur's Court, and Ya'qub ibn Tariq (flourished: eighth/ninth centuries CE) under the supervision of an Indian astronomer. Ibn Tariq was well-versed with Indian astronomy, and he knew Sanskrit since he had studied under an Indian master. The Indian supervision of the translation was to ensure its accuracy and quality, as insisted by the Caliph himself. Al-Fazari and Ibn Tariq were notable figures in the connection between classical Indian science and Islamic science. In the words of Nasr, "mainly through the efforts of these two men...Indian astronomy and mathematics entered the stream of Islamic science."¹⁰

Another *Siddhanta* was presented to the Caliph al-Mansur the following year (772 CE) by an Indian scientist by the name of Kanka. Kanka, who hailed from Ujjain, a city in the state of Madhya Pradesh, was invited by the Caliph to be his guest scientist. Ujjain is of interest to us since it was the city where Brahmagupta used to head its astronomical observatory as the Director. The Ujjain observatory was one of the observatories built by the Hindu prince Jai Singh in several Indian cities.¹¹ During the reign of al-Mansur Ujjain was apparently still an important centre of Indian mathematical astronomy. Al-Mansur's invitation to Kanka to be his guest scientist raised the question of the possibility of a more active relationship between Baghdad and Ujjain than what we currently know. Kanka's expertise was in computation or *hisab* in Arabic. The work he presented to the Caliph was titled *Siddhanta* of Aryabhata, which, according to the noted contemporary Indian historian of mathematics Radha Charan Gupta, dealt with the motions of the planets. From the scientific point of view, the work was indeed a highly significant one. Kanka appears in the Arabic bibliographical tradition as Kankah al-Hindi.¹² According to al-Biruni (973–1048 CE), the noted

¹⁰ S. H. Nasr, *Science and Civilisation in Islam*, 169.

¹¹ S. H. Nasr, *Science and Civilisation in Islam*, 88.

¹² For a detailed discussion of Kankah al-Hindi in Arabic sources, see David Pingree, "Kanaka" in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed., Charles Coulston Gillispie. Available at: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/science/dictionaries->

scientist and historian of science, Kankah was an astrologer at the court of Harun al-Rashid (reign: 786–809 CE).¹³

On the issue of translation itself, I would argue that translation is the first real act of knowledge transfer. This is so because translation involves understanding and interpreting texts to be translated, which usually help transform the mind of the translator(s). The transformation is none other than the transfer of knowledge from a foreign culture to the mind of the translator and to many other minds who could read the translation. This message of the numerous benefits to society that could accrue from the translation movement was not lost to the Caliph al-Mansur. The mental and intellectual transformation in question would be even more significant when the translation is supervised by an authority on the subject as was the case with the translation of *Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta.

And the third, which is a more intensive act of knowledge transfer than the translation of texts, is the interpretative study of the translated versions and commentaries on them. This level of knowledge activity led to the creation of study circles centred around translated texts. For example, the period stretching from the reign of al-Mansur to that of al-Ma'mun (reign: 813–833 CE) witnessed the popular use of the Arabic version of *Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta as a text for study circles among scholars and scientists in Baghdad.

Historians of Islamic civilisation generally regard the eighth and the ninth centuries CE as the grand epoch of its translation movement when many great works were translated into Arabic from several languages, including Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hinduism as well as the literary language of classical Indian civilisation. The translation movement in Islam was officially inaugurated by al-Mansur himself when he established the “School of Translation” or “Circle of Translators” at his Court which he patronised. To be sure, translation activities by individuals had been going on in Islamic societies for quite some time prior to their state patronisation initiated by al-Mansur. But these activities were isolated and disorganised. The organised kind and scope of

thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/kanaka

¹³ Al-Biruni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans., C. Edward Sachau (London, 1879), 129.

translation activities that we saw during al-Mansur's reign could have happened only with state encouragement and support of the State Treasury. Moreover, the high-profile level of participation of Indian scholar-scientists in the translation activities provided clear proof of an organised state patronisation. Apparently, this state patronisation generated a new momentum in the translation movement that impacted the thinking of al-Mansur's successors, especially Harun al-Rashid (786–809 CE) and al-Ma'mun.

Al-Ma'mun, a lover of Greek wisdom, founded a public educational and research institute which was named *Bait al-Hikmah*, an Arabic term meaning "The House of Wisdom." In modern terms, we may describe it as a higher educational institution or a research university with a concentration on philosophy and the natural and mathematical sciences. It was a gathering place for many scholars and scientists from many places, including India. Particularly, it brought together competent translators. Although under al-Ma'mun's patronisation, the focus of translation moved away from Sanskrit to Greek philosophical and scientific works, knowledge transfer from Indian civilisation did not stop with the end of translations of Sanskrit works. Indian scholars and scientists were also needed in the post-translation phase of knowledge transfer when scientific circles emerged to critically study the Arabic versions of the original Sanskrit texts. This phase may be described as the serious attempt by Muslim scholars to read and understand the Indian scientific minds. The actual physical presence of Indian scholar-scientists in some of those scientific study circles, who were in fact, state guests, spoke well about the authenticity of the Muslim understanding of classical Indian minds and works. This observation may help explain why even after the job of translation of important Sanskrit texts had been done, the House of Wisdom still entertained the presence of Indian scholar-scientists as its guests.

Having discussed knowledge transfer as an important facet of eighth and ninth-century Islamic civilisation, let me now talk about the activity of knowledge organisation. What I mean by knowledge organisation refers to the intellectual attempt to categorise and classify knowledge and the sciences as well as to formulate concepts, principles, and theories in each branch of knowledge and systematise

them into an organised body of knowledge. The general aim of knowledge organisation is to provide the necessary epistemological infrastructure for the next creative phase, which is the phase of research that would lead to the creation of new knowledge. In the early civilisational development of Islam, particularly the development of its knowledge culture, it was the House of Wisdom that pioneered the institutional role of knowledge organisation in the sense I have just mentioned. What I would like to assert here is that, as the term itself suggests, *Siddhanta* conveys the idea of a body of doctrines and principles, particularly as applied to scientific knowledge. In the initial phase of knowledge organisation in ninth-century Islam, the *Siddhantas* served as the model of knowledge organisation, at least in such branches of knowledge as astronomy, mathematical and the physical sciences.

Subsequently, however, when Greek philosophical and scientific works were made available in their Arabic translations for the first time by the House of Wisdom itself, Muslim philosopher-scientists apparently encountered a new knowledge or epistemological problem. In front of them were now Indian and Greek works in their Arabic versions. Adopting different philosophical and scientific concepts and methodological approaches, these Indian and Greek works, without doubt, posed epistemological problems to the Muslim mind. Reconciliation and harmonisation of ideas from the two traditions that stood on opposite sides of the globe were called for. Muslim minds of the period managed to a great extent to accomplish that goal. The theoretical problems that were then encountered eventually led to the synthesis of ideas, which to my mind, crowned the creative phases of knowledge transfer. As I see it, true knowledge transfer from different cultures would have to end up in some form of knowledge synthesis, which is usually viewed as creative in nature. But it is also to be noted that true knowledge transfer also carried within itself clear traces of the original sources of the ideas under transfer. In other words, it would not fail to acknowledge its original sources. To me, this acknowledgement of original sources is fundamental to knowledge ethics.

Let me illustrate my point with an example. Al-Khwarizmi (d. 863 CE), the first outstanding Muslim mathematician, introduced Indian numerals into the Muslim world. He was attached for some time to the House of Wisdom. According to some Muslim historians, he travelled to India to master the Indian sciences. The source of al-Khwarizmi's Indian numerals was the *Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta. The Indian numerals refer to the nine numerals, and a zero as a placeholder. It was Brahmagupta who first discovered zero as a number and pointed out some of its properties. He defined zero as "the number you get when you subtract a number from itself." Another property of zero he mentioned was that "zero divided by any other number is zero." Later mathematicians affirmed the definition of zero and its particular property that he had given.

In his book on arithmetic, al-Khwarizmi referred to the numerals as Indian numerals and not as Arabic or Persian numerals. Following him, for hundreds of years, Muslims used the term Indian numerals, which was the right thing to do since Indians were the original creators of those numbers. Much later, however, when al-Khwarizmi's work on arithmetic came to be known to the West, it called them "Arabic." In modern times, after the West came to know of the Indian origin of the numerals, it referred to them as Hindu-Arabic. Al-Khwarizmi is celebrated as the father of algebra, which had its roots in Indian mathematics but which he synthesised with Greek methods. In his writings, the Greek and Indian traditions of mathematics became united. Al-Khwarizmi may be regarded as the performer of a minor synthesis in Islamic science within the field of mathematics. Nasr argues that the synthesis achieved by al-Khwarizmi involves the unification of the Greek perspective based on the idea of the finite order of the cosmos, and hence of numbers and geometrical figures, and the Indian perspective based on the idea of the Infinite, whose horizontal image corresponds to the "indefinity" of mathematics.¹⁴

If we read Muslim scientific works in various branches of knowledge in classical Islam, we will not fail to see their acknowledgement of the Indian origin of many of the scientific ideas

¹⁴ S. H. Nasr, *Science and Civilisation in Islam*, 148.

that they had inherited. These references to Indian scientific ideas could be seen in Muslim works in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, cosmology, and physics. Usually, and certainly so in the works of the creative Muslim philosopher-scientists, they first acknowledged the contributions of their predecessors from other civilisations before presenting their own original ideas in the field of study in question. What this kind of scholarly practice has meant to our common intellectual history is that the traditional treasury of Islamic thought has preserved the Indian philosophical and scientific heritage in its bosom for posterity to see. And through Islamic intellectual synthesis that lasted for centuries and that later became known to the West, the Indian dimension of the synthesis also became known to the West and indeed to the whole human civilisation. Such had been the ways in which inter-civilisational and cross-civilisational encounters happened in history.

Conclusion

Without classical Indian civilisation, there would not have been Islamic civilisation as we know it, that in turn, helped give rise to the European Renaissance and, subsequently, the modern world. The world needs to understand the classical Indian mind that had produced the philosophy, mathematics, especially the numeral system and algebra, astronomy and medicine that were the best in their times. There are permanent lessons that could be learnt from that classical mind. The main civilisational role of Islam was not just to preserve Indian science and then pass it to the West without adding anything new to it. Inheriting Indian and Greek philosophical and scientific thoughts around the same time, Islamic civilisation came up with a new synthesis that it shared back with both the East and the West.

Let me now conclude this article with the following remarks: From the perspective of the world history of ideas, the interactions between scientific minds in Islam and in Indian civilisation of the eighth and ninth centuries had proved to be one of the most fateful. The civilisational impact of the interactions was especially visible in the fields of astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. Through its incorporation into Islamic civilisation, the classical Indian scientific

heritage found a new cultural home only to be further advanced and a sympathetic foreign acknowledgement that helped preserve the originality of the Indian scientific mind. What the world needs today is a more inclusive narrative of the world history of ideas. A faithful account of the historic encounter of Islamic and Indian sciences could significantly contribute to such a narrative of the history of ideas.

Book Reviews

Bachar Bakour, *Al-Buti and the Syrian Revolution*. Islamic Book Trust, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, 2020. 349 pp. ISBN-10: 9670526817; ISBN-13: 978-9670526812.

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Al-Buti was a notable Sunni scholar who left an indelible mark on contemporary Islamic thought with his legacy of ideas on contemporary and classic social, doctrinal, and legal issues. During the 2011 Syrian Revolution, to the surprise of many, al-Buti was very vocal in opposing the protestors against the Syrian government. Al-Buti refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the protestors' cause in Islam as he believed that uprisings and revolutions would surely create chaos and sedition while opening doors to foreign intervention and catastrophe among innocent Muslim and non-Muslim civilians.

Bachar Bakour's *Al-Buti and The Syrian Revolution* underscores, through balanced academic analysis, a critical juncture in the history of contemporary Syria, where a horrific war claimed the lives of thousands and displaced millions of others in a calamitous manner around the world. The author has thoroughly examined al-Buti's views on the Syrian revolution and the ensuing war. His insights into al-Buti's legal and *maqasidic* thinking were based on interviews, document analysis and his personal experience as a young Syrian scholar. The book provides critical insights into al-Buti's positions on the Syrian Revolution and political Islam, Islamist movements and his relationship with the ruling family in Syria.

The book, published in 2020 by Islamic Book Trust, has six parts and a conclusion. The first chapter illustrates Islam's vital historical and modern role in shaping the identity and culture of Syrian society, especially in urban centres. Then, the chapter

provides an efficient overview of the major religious groups in post-independence Syria such as the Muslim Brotherhood Movement, Sufi orders, and Salafi groups within the framework of the official religious institutions. This section puts particular emphasis on the Muslim Brotherhood by presenting the thoughts of its influential figures, highlighting its social role through mosques and charity projects and finally investigating their bloody clash with the Syrian authorities in the eighties of the previous century during the rule of Hafez al-Assad, the predecessor and father of the current President of Syria.

The second chapter centres around al-Buti's background, exploring essential stages of his life as a scholar that span his education, scholarly career, and contributions to modern Islamic studies. Meanwhile, the third chapter accounts for al-Buti's critical view of contemporary Islamists and their movements. He viewed many as opportunists who put political interest over real Islamic *da'wah* by misapplying certain parts of Islamic law. The book details seven problematic issues with Islamists, as pointed out by al-Buti, and attempts to apply these issues to contemporary Islamic movements. The issues include the ruthless and hasty pursuit of the Islamic state, the *takfir* of an armed struggle against rulers, imposing the Shariah top-down, and prioritizing politics over all other social aspects. The book suggests that these issues can be used as a criterion to distinguish between moderate and extremist Islamic groups.

The following chapters build on these views of al-Buti on Islamic movements to analyse his polemics against the Arab Spring, a series of anti-government uprisings and armed rebellions that flared across numerous countries in the Arab world in the second decade of the twenty-first century. Some Islamic commentators viewed these protests as planned movements initiated by foreign powers, while others were convinced that the uprisings were genuine and spontaneous reactions by laymen to the suffering endured through decades of corrupt dictatorship. Then, the chapter outlines the primary roots that caused the eruption of protests that collectively began to form the Syrian revolution. This chapter also explores the responses of Syrian religious scholars towards the initial protests in southern Syria. It compares his arguments with other varied

responses from religious scholars and examines his affiliation with regimes. There were three distinct responses to the protests by Islamic scholars; the first was firmly against inciting unrest, the second was strongly against the government, and the third was silent without stating a firm position.

The sixth chapter evaluates the validity of al-Buti's arguments on the revolution, explores obedience to a ruler through contextual linguistic analysis, and explores "obedience" as a concept in Islamic political thought compared to *fitnah*. The concept of obedience in this book is divided into three types: obedience to a just ruler, obedience to necessity, and obedience to emergency. The author believes that obedience to contemporary rulers falls under the third type, obedience to the emergency. Finally, the main arguments of the whole book are summarized in the final chapter.

Some key findings of this book include al-Buti's affiliation with two distinctive figures who have left their marks on his intellectual and spiritual life and his stance on rebellion and politics in Islam. The first is his father, Mullah Ramadan, who laid the foundation of al-Buti's thought as he, too, refused to stage an armed rebellion against rulers and condemned the manipulation of *da'wah* for political interests. The second is a Kurdish Islamic leader and thinker, Badi' al-Zaman Said al-Nursi. It can be seen that al-Buti mirrored his views on armed rebellion. Al-Nursi, who quit politics in 1921 and dedicated his life to *da'wah*, is one of the scholars against armed revolts as they create chaos and bloodshed among innocent Muslims, even though he had his fair share of political turmoil. Despite being influenced by other intellectuals, the book has concluded that al-Buti is more of an independent scholar than a mere ally of any political party or regime. This conclusion has been deduced after assessing interview transcripts with leading experts on the Syrian political and religious scenes. Al-Buti has served as an informal mediator between high-rank officials and the Muslim public for the latter's benefit.

On the other hand, readers would also appreciate the writer's insights into al-Buti's shortcomings in the discourse on the revolution. Al-Buti was against both peaceful demonstrations and armed revolution as he feared an uprising that would leave Syria with

small, segregated states. As time went on, al-Buti's fears came to life, as in the time of writing the book, dividing Syria into small sectarian states was a recurrent theme on the negotiating table. However, the book has discovered points that need more balanced treatments and convincing arguments in his discourse. This includes al-Buti's perspective of obedience to rulers, citing the obedience verses and traditions. However, current leaders who are criminal and corrupt nationalists do not resemble the intended *ulu al-amr* nor have their characteristics. Not only that, in his ideas on *fitnah*, al-Buti also offered a one-sided solution. He advised demonstrators to return home, halt rebellions and reform from the bottom up. However, he should have included the government in this proposed solution despite its major involvement in fighting the rebellion.

This book helps readdress several ideas of al-Buti and provides an accurate understanding of his political arguments. The writer has provided a new narrative for and a contextual construct of his views, in addition to critiques and insights into the Syrian revolution and other related issues. Thus, the book is essential for those interested in the practical modern discourse of political Islam, the Syrian revolution, and the legacy of al-Buti.

Daud Batchelor, *Muhammad the Ultimate Leader: From Western Business Perspectives*. Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur, 2019. 174 pp. ISBN 978-967-0526-70-6; eISBN 978-967-0526-71-3.

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The present book under review is rather appealing. Its message is quite simple yet profound. As its title suggests, the book is about knowing the leadership qualities of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) through the lens of Western business perspectives. The thesis of the book is that non-Muslim Westerners may be persuaded to embrace a more positive view of the traditional Muslim claim that

"Muhammad is a perennial leader, whose message applies for all time and across multiple fields, and for all people since he was sent as God's final Messenger for all humanity" (p. xi) if only they could see parallels between Muhammad's leadership qualities and the "high leadership qualities cited by Western business writers" (p. xii). This thesis sets the general theme of the book. Thus, in the book, its author Dr Daud Batchelor, a Westerner who converted to Islam, took upon himself the task of identifying "commonly acclaimed corporate leadership attributes cited by Western writers" and then comparing them with the Prophet Muhammad's leadership qualities that are well established in the Islamic tradition.

The book comprises six chapters. Before discussing in Chapter 3 the essential leadership qualities as judged by Western standards by way of comparison with the Prophet's corresponding leadership qualities, Dr Batchelor provides in the first two chapters a useful background to the discussion, especially for non-Muslim Westerners who have little knowledge of the Prophet and his life. Titled "The Most Influential Person Who Ever Lived", Chapter 1 briefly discusses five topics illuminating Muhammad's spiritual portrait as the last prophet of God. The topics are The Message Source of All Prophets is One; Muhammad the Last Prophet; Muhammad's Character: Innate Qualities or Acquired? Muhammad's Relationship with God Almighty; and Eternal Miracle of the Holy Qur'an: Proof of His Prophethood. How we wish the author had given a more elaborate discussion of the five topics, especially to include their implications for the Prophet's leadership qualities. In this respect, the significance of Muhammad as the last prophet for his leadership qualities should have been given a special mention. Since there will be no more prophets of God after him, his leadership attributes are necessarily modern, meaning that they are precisely what is needed by the humanity of every age after his time. The idea of the Qur'an as proof of Muhammad's prophethood also has implications for his leadership qualities. Since the Qur'an is viewed as the symbol of the supremacy of knowledge, Muhammad embodies leadership qualities that are knowledge-based. Possession of the right kind of knowledge would determine the quality of leadership. Another thing to be noted, which has not received much attention in our time, is that the Prophet

is also an intellectual leader. His intellectual leadership may have meaning and significance for knowledge organisation and management.

In Chapter 2, Dr Batchelor discusses "Muhammad's Multiple Leadership Roles" with seven subheadings. These are The Ultimate Prophet; Head of the Ummah; Chief Justice; Teacher and Guide; Family Head; Commercial Trader; and Military Commander. In introducing this chapter, the author emphasises the point that the Prophet's "multiple leadership roles during his lifetime" show "his mastery in many fields of human endeavour" (p. 17). The author further points out that Muhammad "displayed the features of leadership not only as a personal quality but also as an organisational function (p. 17). The content of Chapter 2 would be helpful to non-Muslim Westerners to appreciate better the nature and the scope of the Prophet Muhammad's leadership qualities that distinguish him from, say, Jesus Christ. They could see that Muhammad's leadership role is not only multiple and all-embracing, but it also fuses the spiritual with the secular in a unitive way. In Chapter 1, Dr Batchelor quotes Michael Hart, a non-Muslim biographer, as saying, "It is this unparalleled combination of secular and religious influence which I feel entitles Muhammad to be considered the most influential figure in human history" (p. 1).

However, in discussing in Chapter 2 Muhammad's multiple leadership roles, Dr Batchelor already seeks to reaffirm the traditionally recognised leadership qualities by approvingly quoting modern Western writers. But here, he has cited the views of only one Western authority, the American military historian Richard Gabriel, and the citation is about the Prophet's military genius. Dr Batchelor quoted Gabriel as saying Muhammad "was a truly great general. In a single decade, he fought eight major battles, led eighteen raids, and planned another thirty-eight military operations where others were in command but operating under his orders and strategic direction.....More than a great field general and tactician, he was also a military theorist, organisational reformer, strategic thinker, operational-level combat commander, political-military leader, heroic soldier, and revolutionary" (pp. 33-34). Readers who have not heard of Gabriel's praise for the Prophet's military leadership can only

thank Dr Batchelor for sharing this meaningful quotation.

It is in Chapter 3 that the author treats us to a generous list of "essential leadership qualities as judged by Western standards" for discussion, which serves as the title of the chapter. His discussion of these leadership qualities is interspersed with references to comparable leadership qualities of the Prophet. The list comprises seventeen leadership qualities esteemed by Western writers. Heading the list are visionary and principle-based leadership qualities. It is easy for objective individuals, regardless of their religious or ideological beliefs, to confirm that Muhammad excelled in these two leadership traits. The other qualities are categorised under two subheadings: Muhammad, a Mercy for All Beings; and Other Essential Leadership Qualities. Listed under the first subheading are seven leadership qualities: a deep concern for individuals; leadership by example; humility or servant leadership; generosity and self-sacrifice; magnanimous and forgiving; making things more accessible; and stewards of Earth's creatures and the environment. And under the second subheading are listed eight leadership qualities: competency, courage and bravery; integrity and reliability (equivalently, trustworthiness and truthfulness); patience and perseverance; decisiveness; optimism, cheerfulness, and confidence; skilled communicator; managing emotions and improving self-discipline.

Dr Batchelor did a commendable service to readers, especially Muslims, by drawing a two-column table in which the seventeen identified essential leadership qualities are arranged in the left column, and the corresponding Western business books and articles on leadership citing those qualities in the right column (pp. 42). Undoubtedly, given that the identified leadership qualities are also the core qualities of the Prophet's leadership, Chapter 3 may be viewed as the heart of the book. The author has performed well his promised task in the book by highlighting traditional and modern sources on the Prophet's exemplary leadership role in relation to each of the seventeen Western esteemed leadership qualities in question. Dr Batchelor is to be congratulated for his ingenuity in providing the modern Western literature on ideal business leadership as opportune occasions for him to lay bare, particularly before non-Muslim

Westerners, the Prophet's exemplary leadership traits.

In the concluding pages of the chapter Dr Batchelor discusses the important subject of leadership typology, including transformational leadership, transactional leadership, spiritual leadership, and democratic leadership. The discussion is welcome, again, because it connects the contemporary Western interest in these types of leadership to Muhammad's prophetic leadership. Unfortunately, the discussion is rather brief. Hopefully, in a new edition of the book Dr Batchelor will expand the discussion and undertake a deeper comparative analysis of similarities and differences between prophetic-based leadership in Islam and contemporary Western conceptions of leadership. We could only agree with Dr Batchelor when he concluded the chapter in these words: "Prophet Muhammad's leadership approach embraced so many of the positive leadership styles found in the Western business literature and exemplified to the maximum extent all the leadership traits enumerated earlier in this chapter, together with the multiple leadership roles displayed in Chapter 2, that we have no hesitation in identifying Muhammad as the Ultimate Leader" (p. 95).

Chapter 4 of the book is titled "Muhammad's Essential Management Principles." Four such principles are discussed in the chapter: *Shura* (Mutual Consultation); Justice (*Adl*); Equality and Social Justice; and Accountability (*Muhasabah*). The inclusion of this chapter in the book is fully justified. From the Islamic perspective, there is a close relationship between leadership, management, and governance. Leadership shapes management and governance. But management, and governance help to give concrete meaning to leadership. In his public life, the Prophet embodies the three ideas in an integrated and unified manner. In consistency with his discussion approach in the previous chapters, it is good that Dr Batchelor continues to strengthen traditional Islamic leadership doctrines with intellectual support from contemporary Western writers. Early in the chapter Dr Batchelor provides readers with two insightful quotes from Western writers for them to ponder. One is the saying of J. P. Kotter, "Leadership without management is insufficient for optimal organisational performance" (p. 107). The other is the saying of L. Erakovic and B. Jackson, "While corporate

governance provides a structure for the relationships among organisational core stakeholders... leadership provides the motivation and impetus to make corporate governance effective towards achieving the organisation's purpose and goals" (pp. 107-108). Dr Batchelor's discussion of the Prophet's management principles with perspectival support from contemporary Western writers may help to create a new theory of leadership that is at once Islamic and contemporary.

Chapter 5 focuses on the Prophet as the "Ultimate Change Leader", which is its title and on his transformational achievements. It seeks to understand Muhammad's *change leadership* and *change management* with the help of modern corporate change theory and concepts. The author provides a useful discussion of how the Prophet's mission may serve as a model for successful change management. He defines *change leadership* as one that "encompasses the style, attributes, values, and behaviours of the person creating the momentum. And he understands *change management* as one "comprising the tools, processes and techniques used to help people progress through change (p. 138). This is a new area of leadership studies, especially from the Islamic perspective. We hope the author will further explore this new field.

Chapter 6, the last of the book, is titled "To Follow the Ultimate Leader: Excellent Role Model and Gift of Mercy to All Humanity." Content-wise, the chapter does not discuss any new material on the subject matter of leadership. As its title suggests, this chapter only seeks to reaffirm the position of the Prophet as the Ultimate Leader and thus appeal to the ummah to draw the right conclusion, which is for them to follow him. As the author puts it in his concluding paragraph, the task of the ummah is to practically bring the leadership qualities discussed "into our own selves" (p. 153).

In conclusion, I wish to say that Dr Batchelor's book on what he refers to as the Prophet Muhammad's "perennial" leadership is most welcome, given the numerous tensions and conflicts, not least the Islamophobia phenomena, that characterise the contemporary relations between Islam and the West. These tensions and conflicts have arisen partly from the prevailing condition of widespread

ignorance and misunderstanding of the Prophet among Westerners. Dr Batchelor's present book would be an invaluable source of reference to anyone interested in understanding the relevance of the Prophet's leadership qualities and management wisdom in our contemporary world.

Roberta Tontini, *Muslim Sanzijing: Shifts and Continuities in the Definition of Islam in China*. Boston, Brill, 2016. 246 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-31925-7 (E-book).

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Like the well-received works of Zvi Ben-Dor Benite,¹ James Frankel,² and Kristian Petersen,³ Roberta Tontini's *Muslim Sanzijing: Shifts and Continuities in the Definition of Islam in China* is a prominent scholarly work on textual analysis in the Chinese Islamic literature of the *Han Kitab* genre. In her book, the young scholar Tontini focuses her study on selected Islamic primers written in a three-character format (three-character classics of Islam) to "initiate Chinese Muslims in the basic tenets of Islam" (p. 8). She mainly discusses the *Sanzijing* genre of Chinese Islamic literature, one of the writing styles of *Han Kitab* literature. The *Sanzijing*, as one knows, is one of the Chinese classics, a very popular small book composed by an unknown author, in the form of three Chinese characters ("sanzi" 三字 denotes three characters while "jing" 经

¹ See Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, "The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China," *Harvard East Asian Monographs* 248, 2005.

² James Frankel, *Rectifying God's Name: Liu Zhi's Confucian Translation of Monotheism and Islamic Law* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011).

³ Kristian Peterson, *Interpreting Islam in China: Pilgrimage, Scripture, & Language in the Han Kitab* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

signifies "classic") with the rhyme scheme. This form is easy for children to read by heart, at the same time installing in them the basic knowledge of Confucian teachings, Chinese history, geography, astronomy, and more. Chinese Muslim intellectuals knew well the role played by this literature in child education, thereby boldly adopting this form of Chinese literature into Muslim education. The first Chinese *'alim* who employed this form in Muslim education in China was Liu Zhi 刘智 (d. 1764), a prolific Chinese Muslim writer whose works, especially of *Tianfang Dianli* (Elegant Rituals of Islam) and *Tianfang Sanzijing* (Three-Characters Classic of Islam) are the main subjects of discussion in Tontini's current work.

Tontini divides her work into six chapters, followed by references (Works Cited) but without an index (in e-Book). After laying the frameworks and methodology for her work in the introduction (the first chapter), in chapter two, the author "examines the theoretical foundation of Muslim *Sanzijing* tradition by delving into the Islamic legal theory set forth by Liu Zhi in his *Tianfang Dianli Zeyaojie*" (p. 6). After that, in chapter three, she "explores the content of the earliest version of the Muslim *Sanzijing*" (p. 6). Then in chapter four, she embarks on "the redefinition of Islamic law by late Qing scholars based on Liu Zhi's model" (p. 6). In chapter five, she continues the "redefinition in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries through the lens of three new versions of the *Sanzijing*. Finally, in chapter six, Tontini assesses "Islam's filiative transmission to modernity" (p. 7).

A careful reading of the whole work reveals that the author is quite familiar with her subject, namely *Sanzijing*, one of the forms of *Han Kitab* literature. More importantly, the work shows that she can render Chinese words (language) into English with great accuracy, notwithstanding the misinterpretation of some Chinese words and text, which is unavoidable in an extensive study such as the one she has undertaken. Although only partially, the account of the "Norms and Rites of Islam in Imperial China" in chapter 2 shows her familiarity with *Han Kitab* literature. Her textual analysis in four subsequent chapters of "Tianfang Sanzijing" (chapter 3), "Islamic Law in the Aftermath of the Anti-Qing Rebellions" (chapter 4), "Hu Song-shan's Three Character Primers of Islam" (chapter 5), and

"Islam's Filiative Transmission to Modernity" (chapter 6), testifies to her thorough understanding of the contents of the works at her disposal. Her scholarly effort is highly commendable because it is a painstaking task for researchers to engage in this kind of intellectual inquiry.

To my knowledge, Tontini is one of the few Western scholars, besides Sachiko Murata, Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, Kristian Petersen, and James Frankel, who have made significant contributions to the textual analysis of *Han Kitab* genre literature. The present work is a further significant contribution to the field from her. It focuses on the *Sanzijing* genre of Islamic literature written by Chinese Muslim scholars, both past and present.

In reading the scholarly works written by Western Sino-Islamists, we get the general impression that they intend to present Chinese Islam as a potential challenge to the firmly established Chinese sociopolitical establishment. This is a hyper-exaggeration. This assumption is by no means factual, not tallying with the historical settings of Chinese Islam. Muslims in China, since the beginning of their history until today, have never intended to become a major force, politically and economically, to the point of being able to challenge or replace the Chinese indigenous political establishment. This claim is well testified by the appearance of *Han Kitab* literature, which grew largely due to the historical fact that at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the later descendants of Chinese Muslims mainly were assimilated into the indigenous Chinese culture to the point of becoming ignorant of their ancestral tradition. They had already lost their distinctive features: their clothes, facial appearance, and languages. In the face of this challenging situation, the community-minded Chinese Muslim *ulama* (pl. of *'alim*), like Zhang Zhong, Wang Dai-yu, Ma Zhong-xin of the earlier generations, and Ma Zhu, Liu Zhi, and many more of the later generations, set about to write on Islam in Chinese or translate Islamic work originally written in Arabic and Persian into Chinese, with the intention of saving those Muslims who were on the verge of total assimilation.

Assimilation was widespread, especially among those who chose to attend public schools and later got jobs in the Ming

government establishments upon passing the national examination. Many such instances can be listed, but suffice it here to mention Li Zhi 李贽 (d. 1602), a famous philosopher, historian, prolific writer, and a fearsome critic of Neo-Confucianism, who lived about a century and a half earlier than Liu Zhi 刘智 (d. 1764). He was born to a Muslim family in Quanzhou, a metropolitan port city during Tang (618-907), Song (960-1279), and Yuan (1279-1368) dynasties. He had his education in a public school, later joined the officialdom of the late Ming, and in his late years of life, converted full-heartedly to Buddhism before his suicide in 1602.

Li Zhi's case was not peculiar but was common among the Muslim descendants of his life. This pressing issue in the Muslim community made the *ulama*, in their overarching solicitude, worried about the future of the community. For this reason, they took responsibility for elucidating Islam in the Chinese language, intending to inhibit the process of assimilation. Liu Zhi has made known his motive for composing *Tianfang Dianli* and his other works very clearly. He "intended it for the educated audience (of especially Muslim descendants)," who was "familiar with teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism but unfamiliar with the rites of Islam" (p. 20) to enable them to understand their ancestral culture and belief. However, having learnt Islam, they must decide whether they still want to maintain or change their faith. Thus, the emergence of the *Han Kitab* was a response to internal changes in the Muslim communities rather than their initiative to present Islam to mainstream Chinese society as Western Sino-Islamists have claimed in their studies.

The same is true of the Islamic law discussed by the author throughout this book, which she viewed as a potential competitor to the Chinese legal establishment. The author says: "The importation of Islam in China set the ground for the contact between Confucian and Islamic patterns of law and governance..." (p. 11). But this claim has no basis in the history of Chinese Muslims. As I have stated above, the *Han Kitab* were, to a great extent, if not exclusively, written for internal consumption in the Chinese Muslim communities rather than for presenting Islamic teachings to the Chinese Confucian society. For this reason, the purported *Han Kitab* literature was

almost unknown to the Chinese majority. The circulation of those *Han Kitab* was very much limited. This explains why those Han Kitabs are not easily found even among the Chinese Muslim communities. Quite the case, some of them are already extinct not long after their first printing. Modern investigators like Yang Xiao-chun, a prolific modern Chinese writer on textual analysis of *Han Kitab*, took pains to find a copy of, for example, *Xingmi Zhenyuan* for his analysis.

In my view, this work deserves high praise. However, this is not to say that this work has no apparent flaws. The flaws can easily be detected, firstly in her translation of Chinese texts into English, for example, (1) Jingtang Jiaoyu is rendered as “education of the hall of the scriptures” (pp. 3, 14) instead of “mosque education” or “Islamic education in mosques”, which is, to me, a more proper rendering of the term; (2) the *Han Kitab* literature is rendered as “Chinese language Islamica” (p. 11) instead of “Islamic Books in Chinese”, which would be more appropriate; (3) wugongpian五功篇 (p. 24) is rendered as “'five endeavours' section”, instead of the more appropriate term “chapter of five pillars”; and (4) “momin” (p. 22; 23) is rendered as “Muslim”, instead of “the faithful”. Secondly, the flaw is in the absence of a comprehensive glossary. For this kind of work, which deals with Chinese Islam, a glossary at the end of the book is very much necessary, as one knows that Chinese writing is ideographic, with many characters sharing the same or similar phonetic sound; in other words, for one phonetic sound we can write many characters, denoting very different meanings, for example, for “wugong”, we can write characters like 武功 (marshal art), 务工 (working), 误工 (delaying work), 蜈蚣 (centipede) etc. instead of the correct one 五功 (five pillars of Islam).

Afifi al-Akiti & Aasim I. Padela, eds., *Islam and Biomedicine*, Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022. 326 pp. ISBN 978-3-030-53800-2.

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The book, *Islam and Biomedicine*, initiates conversations at the junction between the rich Islamic intellectual tradition and the diverse disciplines of Biomedicine. The project has brought together scholars from diverse backgrounds to engage with a critical question: How do biomedical advancements might inform and work with Islamic theological and philosophical traditions?

As highlighted in Chapter 1, the project draws inspiration from al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) engagement with the scientific tradition of his medieval world. Today, almost a thousand years after al-Ghazālī, the nature and sources of *naql wa-'aql* (revealed and rational knowledge) are better understood. Their complementarity is agreed upon by many, though disputed by some. This book presupposes a genuine complementarity between these two categories of knowledge, aiming to address the polarising challenges posed by *naql* and *'aql*.

Part I of the book sketches the historical intellectual territory, from Greek sources to Islamic conceptions of health and biomedicine, starting from Chapter 2 to Chapter 5. For instance, Chapter 2 describes the vibrant history of debates about medical methodology and epistemology in the Islamic tradition. There are historical instances of physicians using control groups to ascertain the medical efficacy of a treatment, testing the toxicity of substances on animals, and refining conditions under which drugs are tested. The concept of medicine as a 'knowledge of probabilities' (*ma'rifa akthariyya*) was discussed, which aligns with modern understandings of medicine. It testifies to the cross-cultural nature of scientific inquiry in the medieval Islamic world.

In Chapter 3, the Islamic view of health is analysed. Health is a divine gift and blessing, not a default state, and is to be preserved and

cultivated. This view agrees with the Galenic view of health as an active balance constantly under threat. Such an understanding of health leads to self-awareness and self-care. Medical and pietistic writings encourage Muslims to pay attention to their bodies and environment and protect their bodies and health. Moreover, health and piety are intertwined, with health acquiring a specific meaning within a pietistic cosmology. Both health and piety are characteristics of upstanding individuals in medieval Muslim society.

Chapter 4 proposes a synthesis of traditional Islamic biomedicine and contemporary biomedicine, with the challenge being to find an epistemological paradigm broad enough to integrate the two. The synthesis would involve unifying the foundational elements of 'soul biology' associated with Avicennian biomedicine and 'cell biology' associated with contemporary biomedicine. It identifies key concepts foundational to soul biology, including the Universal Soul, the human microcosm, God's Self-Disclosure principle and the human prototype. The incorporeality of the soul is not seen as an obstacle to the proposed synthesis. In traditional Islamic epistemology, knowledge of things in the invisible world can be gained by studying their properties and effects in the observable world. The chapter further explores why soul biology was abandoned in favour of the Newtonian mechanistic worldview for biology. This could help resolve some issues at the heart of the epistemological conflict between the soul and modern biology.

In Chapter 5, practitioners of the *fiqh* of medicine and Muslim 'bioethicists' are challenged to decide whether to continue as reactive apologists for biomedical science or to take a proactive stance. It elaborates on a proposed development of a proactive 'deep-*fiqh*' of medicine, which would involve conceptualising an Islamic Medical Research Programme (IMRP). This IMRP would be guided by critical, constructive engagement with tradition and modernity. This approach would free Muslims from the continuous onslaught of medico-moral dilemmas imposed by the rapid technologisation of medicine and healthcare.

In Part II, the book explores the meaning of life and death in Chapters 6-9. Chapter 6 explores the jurisprudential status of a human foetus. The scholars of the Way of Medina maintain that a

foetus at all stages is considered a living child, a view that has persisted without dissent to the present day. Most Mālikī scholars uphold the sanctity of life from inception onward, prohibiting any action that would lead to an abortion, even before forty days. Abortifacients were available in early Islam, but the permissibility of abortion was inconceivable to early Muslims. Avicenna records more than forty abortifacients in his medical compendium. However, he only recommends their use to save the mother's life. The chapter strongly proposed that abortion, with rare exceptions, must be seen for what it is: an assault on a sanctified life.

Chapter 7 explores the intersection between Islamic theology and psychiatric medicine. A mental disorder is defined in psychiatry as the absence of health, the presence of suffering, a pathological process, or a disturbance of functioning. From an Islamic perspective, a mental disorder is a disorder of perception, consciousness, and intentionality that impedes the primary, secondary, and tertiary purposes of the self: to perceive and know God, to adopt mental dispositions facilitating that experience, and to navigate the material world in a way that encourages ethical action and safety. An integrative Islamic approach to psychology cannot be separated from metaphysics or ethics and would be most accurately designated as metaphysical psycho-ethics. In pursuit of the conceptual bases of psychiatry, one arrives at the shores of metaphysics, questioning the nature of reality, life, and what it means to be human. Islam answers: reality is the manifestation of the Divine splendour, life is the opportunity to experience it, and the purified human soul is the locus of its ultimate fulfilment.

Chapter 8 concerns end-of-life healthcare decision-making. Advanced Care Planning, a normative biomedical tool for end-of-life care decision-making, raises challenges for Muslim patients, families, and healthcare professionals. Integrating biomedical knowledge and practice and Muslim theological understandings within end-of-life care are nuanced, not simply opposing or linearly concurrent. Muslim chaplains with expertise in clinical contexts and theological knowledge are relied upon to interpret clinical decisions. This is not just a post hoc rationalisation of clinical decisions. Rather, it is a sensitive and complex process that offers insights into

communication, language, knowledge, and trust-building resources. There is a growing need for experts who can navigate both the spheres of biomedical and Islamic knowledge, understanding, and practice. This dual expertise will enable the appropriate translation of values, beliefs, and practices of faith alongside the evaluation of scientific data and clinical goals.

In Chapter 9, the definition and discussion of medical death are investigated. Death is a process, not a singular moment in time, a concept deeply embedded in society through arts, literature, and law. As defined by Muslim theologians, the soul becomes 'independent' or 'separated' from the body when the death cascade has been initiated, and there is a permanent loss of capacity for higher-brain functioning. Further research is needed to determine more precisely how the soul ties into the content of consciousness of higher-brain functioning and to ascertain which diagnostic tests would accurately account for the absence of the 'soul-related functioning' of the cerebral cortex. Moreover, the boundary between life and death is not perfectly sharp. Whatever definition of death is adopted, the possibility of misdiagnosis will always remain. The chapter emphasises that the Muslim public's acceptance of when death behaviours can begin is ultimately important.

Beginning from Chapter 10, the Part III of the book examines the philosophical interface between biomedical knowledge and Islamic theology. Chapter 10 itself reorients the readers on the discourse of Islam and Science, proposing that the metaphysical commitments of scientific activity can be explored within the Islamic tradition, particularly within a school of Muslim theology or Kalām. One example is the Ash'arī theologian, 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1356), who contested the Aristotelian conception of nature and the Ptolemaic picture of the cosmos from the perspective of Ash'arī doctrine of atomism. He did so without contesting the empirically observed phenomena of the natural world. The analysis of the dialogue between Islam and science should be taken as a model that presents a nuanced and positive 'Islamic' engagement with the deliverables of science, illustrating the futility of the conflict thesis. Nevertheless, fuller conceptions of 'Islam' and 'science,' which emphasise methodological and metaphysical commitments, are

required to move the investigation towards more substantial issues.

Chapter 11 explores the role of science in the framework of Islamic legal epistemology. Islam shows significant interest in the material existence of human beings, creating an opportunity for science and religion to complement each other in understanding humanity. There are three more components to a human in the Islamic model: the *qalb* (heart), *'aql* (mind/brain), and *nafs* (desire, appetite, ego), each of which has material and immaterial aspects. Islamic epistemology recognises an immaterial aspect to these three components, with the *qalb* being the locus of human emotions, the *'aql* being the locus of thoughts and analysis, and the *nafs* being the locus of desires, urges, and passions. Science can be conceptualised in the same manner as earlier Muslim scholars conceived *'aql* and *'urf* (societal customs) and can be used to better inform our understanding of both empirical and social realities without resulting in a confrontation with scriptural revelation.

Chapter 12 expanded that discussion with a focus on genetic and reproductive technologies. Responses to bioethical issues are often presented as forms of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) due to the novel nature of the issues and the lack of exact historical precedents in the classical legal corpus. Muslim jurists aim to maintain the continuity of tradition by investigating interpretive possibilities of scriptural sources. They search for relevant precedents or selectively appropriate opinions from different legal schools within the Islamic tradition. For example, current scientific knowledge has been used to revisit classical legal rules, such as the juristic discussion concerning the average pregnancy duration. Other examples are the use of DNA testing for paternity or forensic verification and the use of medical-genetic testing to determine suitability for marriage. These are examples of how modern scientific knowledge and technical applications have been accommodated. Interestingly, Islamic bioethical discourses on genetic and reproductive technologies reveal different forms of interaction between Islamic law and ethics and modern scientific knowledge and applications.

The book closes with Chapter 13, promoting the integration of science and scripture to produce moral knowledge. The process of moral evaluation in Islamic law involves two steps: understanding

the present reality of the issue and evaluating whether the present or future state of the issue furthers the end goals of Islam. This process incorporates knowledge about both this world and the next. Ethico-legal verdicts on organ donation in Islamic law involve conceptions of worldly conditions, aiming to balance harms and benefits (*dar' al-mafāsīd wa jalb al-maṣāliḥ*). Within this context, jurists must identify and measure the harms and benefits of organ donation, aligning these with scriptural analogues of harm and benefit. The moral deliberation process should incorporate different techniques of knowing to disclose all relevant aspects of the issue at hand, including social, clinical, legal, biological, emotional, and other dimensions. Importantly, the endpoint of moral deliberation occurs when jurists conclude, to a reasonable degree of certainty, whether the benefits or harms of organ donation are preponderant. Here, the *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* frameworks provide a final 'rational' check, serving as principles by which the accuracy of a moral assessment can be examined.

Overall, the book does justice to the title by exploring the intersection of Islamic theological tradition and biomedicine. The threads that connect the chapters revolve around the challenges and potential solutions for integrating Islamic theology with contemporary biomedical sciences. It emphasises the need for a multidisciplinary approach involving theologians and scientists to address complex ethical issues.

For biomedical scientists, the book provides a deeper understanding of Islamic theology and its perspectives on scientific and ethical issues. It offers a framework for engaging with Islamic ethical considerations in their work, such as organ donation and reproductive technology. It encourages scientists to consider the broader social and religious implications of their work, promoting a more holistic approach to biomedical research and practice.

At the same time, Islamic theologians, jurists, and philosophers will also benefit from this book. It offers insights into the complexities of contemporary biomedical sciences, helping them to engage more effectively with these topics. It provides a model for integrating scientific knowledge with theological understanding, promoting a more nuanced approach to ethical deliberation. It

encourages Islamic scholars to engage with scientists and other experts, fostering interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration.

The limitation of this book comes in the form of its accessibility. Reading through its chapters, it becomes evident that the book expects a reasonably high level of expertise in theology and science to engage with its content entirely. Additionally, the book's approach may not be universally accepted within the Islamic community, given the diversity of interpretations and beliefs within the religion.

Such limitations do not at all invalidate its multiple strengths. Firstly, the book provides a comprehensive exploration of the convergence of Islam and biomedicine. It also offers a practical framework for integrating Islamic theology with scientific knowledge. Most importantly, it promotes interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration, encouraging Islamic scholars and scientists to work together to address complex ethical issues.

The book is undoubtedly the beginning of exciting future works in this area. Future works can be expanded to cover other areas of biomedical ethics, applying its framework to a broader range of ethical issues. They can also incorporate feedback and perspectives from a broader range of theologians, scientists, and other stakeholders in response to this book. Scholars and scientists who are involved in this project can develop additional resources to support the application of the book's framework in practice, such as educational materials or guidelines for ethical deliberation, especially for the public who do not share their level of expertise.

Islam and Biomedicine contains invaluable contributions to the far-reaching conversation between Islam and science. By bringing together theologians, clinicians, and intellectual historians, the book draws sustained attention to the shared intellectual space of Islam and biomedicine. It provides a foundation for dedicated research at this junction for many years to come.

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

CONSONANTS

Ar=Arabic, Pr=Persian, OT=Ottoman Turkish, Ur=Urdu

Ar	Pr	OT	UR	Ar	Pr	OT	UR	Ar	Pr	OT	UR	
ء	ب	پ	پ	ز	ز	ز	ز	گ	—	g	g	g
ب	ب	ب	ب	ژ	—	—	ř	ل	l	l	l	l
پ	پ	پ	پ	ژ	—	zh	j	م	m	m	m	m
ت	ت	ت	ت	س	s	s	s	ن	n	n	n	n
ث	—	—	ﺖ	ش	sh	sh	ş	ه	h	h	h ¹	h ¹
ث	th	th	th	ص	ş	ş	ş	و	w	v/u	v	v/u
ج	j	j	c	ض	đ	ž	ž	ی	y	y	y	y
چ	—	ch	çh	ط	ﺖ	ﺖ	ﺖ	ة	-ah	—	—	-a ²
ح	h	h	h	ظ	ž	ž	ž	ال	al ³	—	—	—
خ	kh	kh	kh	ع	‘	‘	‘	—	—	—	—	—
د	d	d	d	غ	gh	ğh	ğh	—	—	—	—	—
ذ	—	—	d	ف	f	f	f	—	—	—	—	—
ذ	dh	dh	dh	ق	q	q	k	—	—	—	—	—
ر	r	r	r	ك	k	k/g	k/ñ	—	—	—	—	—

¹ – when not final
² – at in construct state
³ – (article) al - or l-

VOWELS

	Arabic and Persian	Urdu	Ottoman Turkish
Long	ا	ā	ā
	آ	Ā	—
	و	ū	ū
	ي	ī	ī
Doubled	ي	iy (final form i)	iy (final form i)
	و	uww (final form ū) uvv (for Persian)	uvv
Diphthongs	و	au or aw	ev
	ی	ai or ay	ey
Short	ا	a	a or e
	ا	u	u or ū
	ا	i	o or ö
	ا	i	i

URDU ASPIRATED SOUNDS

For aspirated sounds not used in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish add h after the letter and underline both the letters e.g. جھ jh گھ gh

For Ottoman Turkish, modern Turkish orthography may be used.

AL-SHAJARAH

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