UNIVERSITY
OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRADITION AND CHANGE

AGA KHAN HUMANITIES PROJECT

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PREFACE

Central Asia is undergoing profound cultural changes with new foundations for identity emerging as the recently independent states face broader economic and political challenges. Central Asians are reaching into their past for inspiration and seek assistance in drawing upon the rich traditions of their societies to anchor a new system of values. Responding to a widely felt need by educationalists for initiatives to foster to a deeper understanding of ethical issues and the moral choices facing society, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture established the Aga Khan Humanities Project (AKHP) in 1997. In 2007 AKHP became part of the University of Central Asia (UCA). UCA was founded as an international educational organization in 2000 by the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, and His Highness the Aga Khan.

AKHP promotes pluralism in ideas, cultures, and peoples by initiating and supporting the creation and implementation of an interdisciplinary undergraduate humanities curriculum, pedagogical and professional development of faculty in Central Asian universities and community outreach projects. AKHP builds bridges across communities in the region and helps Central Asians explore and share their traditions and establish links with the outside world.

An appreciation and understanding of the breadth of their cultural heritage will enable the people of Central Asia to identify those aspects that can help them adjust to rapid change. Central Asia has interacted with many different cultures, including Buddhist, Chinese, Greek, Indian, Iranian, Islamic, Jewish, Mongol, Russian, Turkic and Zoroastrian. In addition, the impact of the more recent Soviet experience on shaping values and identities should not be underestimated. In all cases students are encouraged to develop the skills of critical thinking to help them understand the diversity within each culture and the similarities between different cultures.

Educators at partner universities in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have been trained to teach AKHP courses, assess curriculum materials, co-ordinate student projects, and conduct further teacher training. Students explore a variety of media and genres through divergent classroom techniques, designed to promote active learning, encouraging students to come to their own critical and insightful understanding of key issues.

The curriculum material has been developed, tested and revised over a period of ten years. Such piloting took place within Central Asian classrooms at AKHP's partner universities, where intensive training in student-centred learning was provided. The material was subsequently reviewed by two external committees of international scholars. Based on this input, final editorial revisions were completed in 2008.

The final version of the eight courses that comprise the AKHP curriculum will move beyond the AKHP partner universities and are flexible enough to be utilised in a variety of settings including secondary schools where the pilot testing has already commenced. Each institution has its own needs and expectations, and instructors are encouraged to adapt the materials contained within these courses to their own particular classrooms and the needs of their own students. Such creative adaptation to specific needs forms the basis of a critical education, and is a key step in encouraging Central Asian teachers and students to respond to the needs of their own region.

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INTRODUCTION

The Humanities call for a careful observation and analysis of the day to day lived-out experience of humanity at large. One area of focus is the constantly changing habitat of human beings. Naturally, this condition requires us to change. How then do we maintain our values, culture, rituals, etc? Are we constantly changing them or are we holding on to them at all costs? Are we living at the centre of a tug of war, being incessantly pulled in different directions? In other words, are we struggling to maintain a balance between holding on to our traditions and needing to change to meet the new conditions in our lives? The writers in this text try to answer some of these very fundamental questions.

Each chapter in this book will raise different sets of questions and offer a wide variety of answers. Some of these questions and answers might seem strange, and others might offer extraordinary perspectives. In fact, this book offers an exciting and challenging journey through lived-out human experience in many cultures, societies and even intellectual constructs. The response of humans to the conditions of their lives is so enormous that one book cannot bring them all together to the reader. However, this book brings a selective set of readings that address six issues.

The first issue addressed in this book is the creation of tradition. This chapter explores the meaning of tradition and examines traditions as practiced in different parts of the world. The second issue addressed is religious innovation. Here, the reader is drawn into the debate on religious innovation. Each reader is expected to consider the possibility of religious innovation and find their own perspective on the issue. The Third Chapter focuses on nostalgia for traditions, values, and rituals in our history. Why and how we feel nostalgia for these and other aspects of our history are explored in this chapter. Chapter Four investigates urban traditions that most city dwellers practice but may not even realize that these have become their traditions. Chapter Five examines some areas where tradition meets modernity. How do traditions adjust to modern conditions? Or is there no adjustment but only confrontation? The reader is offered an eclectic collection of readings in this chapter that provoke contradictory responses. The final chapter looks at traditions in the light of globalization.

The reader must bear in mind that the selection of readings offered here are not comprehensive but are insightful and unique. Traditions and the responses they generate from the practitioners, voyeurs and narrators offer a glimpse of the complexity of social life, the diversity of meanings and emotions it generates, and a sample of cultural perspectives from across the globe.

Exciting and provocative though these chapters and issues might be, the reader is requested to be careful and thorough in reading the chapters, critical and rigorous in reflection, and cautious and moderate in arriving at conclusions. Indeed, the reader will naturally change his/her viewpoint not only as s/he reads the book but also during his/her lifetime over these very issues as the experiences of life require individuals to do so. In other words, there are no hard and fast answers to questions raised in reading and reflecting on the chapters. Just by reading this book, the reader will not arrive at the big truth but will achieve clarification of some ideas, which will be proportional to the amount of reflection undertaken by the reader.

The reader is recommended to bring all the critical thinking skills learnt in this and other courses to bear upon the issues addressed in this text. The sharper the review of the materials, the more likely it is that the reflection and conclusions generated will be insightful and valuable.

CHAPTER ONE:
CREATION OF TRADITIONS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One introduces the discussion of traditions, and raises questions related to the creation of traditions. We often connect our traditions to our identity, and the creation of traditions also creates the way in which we imagine ourselves. At the same time, traditions have a social role in creating ways of communicating between individuals, groups and communities, thus ensuring stability in society.

What is a tradition? Is it something static or dynamic, or is it a fluid concept that alternates somewhere between the two extremes? Is it present in our day-to-day lives or is it only important during ceremonial and official activities? Are there official traditions? Are there non-official traditions? Is it good or bad?

At face value, what an individual, community, or society calls a "tradition" seems to be something natural that is not scrutinized on a regular basis. We might not even notice traditions which we are acting out everyday, because on the whole, traditions are not perceived as significant. Nevertheless they may play a significant role in people's lives during important events, such as marriage or divorce, birth and death, noteworthy family or community events, and the like. Traditions can also clash and create tension when something unexpected challenges the status quo and the possibility is opened to look at traditions from a different perspective. We may discover traditions which we were never consciously aware of.

This Chapter raises these questions and many other issues related to the idea of traditions in historical, political, economic and social contexts. It starts off by considering the issue of traditions in Indonesia. The case study, an anthropological description of a burial in a small Indonesian town, focuses on challenges to and creation of traditions. The questions of "why do we create traditions?" and "what role do traditions play in our society?" are examined in the context of urbanization, political upheaval, and religious renewal.

The rest of Chapter One asks how a microcosmic instance of traditions is related to society at large. The student is offered not only studies of traditions, but also fiction writings that depict the issue as it is relevant to contemporary life. The spectrum of texts varies, but the reader is encouraged to consider them together in order to gain a better and more complete insight into the theme of the chapter.


PDI
PERJUA

CLIFFORD GEERTZ: RITUAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A JAVANESE EXAMPLE

Clifford James Geertz (1926 -2006) was a leading figure in anthropological studies. Originally from San Francisco, California, Geertz received his education in Ohio and Massachusetts and until his death was based at the School of Social Science at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. Based on his ethnographical studies in Java, Bali, Celebes, Sumatra and Morocco, he made a significant contribution to cultural theory by studying people's lives, their interactions on various social levels, and how people live in a vast range of varied environments. He is the author of dozens of books and articles, and a recipient of numerous awards and honorary titles.

The following selection comes from Geertz's The Interpretation of Cultures (1973). The author sets out a theoretical background where he distinguishes between different functionalist approaches to anthropology. Functionalism is a theory in social sciences that states that every aspect of a society – institutions, norms, roles, rituals, etc. - have an important purpose or function that is necessary for the operation of the whole of the society. In an effort to prove that social tension must be observed through a "dynamic functionalist" approach, Geertz presents an instance of community tension over a religious rite of burial in Modjokuto, a town on the Indonesian island of Central Java. Java was the centre of an early Hindu Javanese civilization which converted to Islam before the arrival of the Europeans, mainly Dutch, in the late sixteenth century. When the traditional burial of the boy is upset, the anthropologist is better able to understand the foundations of Javanese culture. Geertz argues that this example of a ritual failing to fulfill its purpose in the community illustrates tensions which are usually hidden. As you read, pay close attention to slametan and the role it plays in people's lives. Consider the ambiguous nature of culture because it may lead to both social instability and conflict. Also consider the theoretical conclusions that the author reaches based on the case study.

As in so many areas of anthropological concern, functionalism, either of the sociological sort associated with the name of **Radcliffe-Brown** or of the social-psychological sort associated with **Malinowski**, has tended to dominate recent theoretical discussions of the role of religion in society. Stemming originally from **Durkheim**'s The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life and **Robertson-Smith**'s Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, the sociological approach (or, as the British anthropologists prefer to call it, the social anthropological approach) emphasises the manner in which belief and particularly ritual reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals; it stresses the way in which the social structure of a group is strengthened and **perpetuated** through the ritualistic or mythic symbolisation of the underlying social values upon which it rests.[1] The social-psychological approach, of which **Frazer** and **Tylor** were perhaps the pioneers but which found its clearest statement in Malinowski's classic Magic, Science and Religion, emphasises what religion does for the individual—how it satisfies both his cognitive and affective demands for a stable, comprehensible, and

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald - 1881-1955, British social anthropologist who developed a systematic framework of concepts and generalisations relating to the social structures of relatively simple societies

Malinowski, Bronislaw Kasper - 1884-1942, British-Polish anthropologist who maintained that customs and beliefs have specific social functions

Durkheim, Emile - 1858-1917, French social scientist and a founder of sociology who is known for his study of social values and alienation

Robertson-Smith, William - 1846-1894, Scottish Semitic scholar, encyclopaedist, and student of comparative religion and social anthropology

perpetuate - cause to continue indefinitely, make perpetual

Frazer, James George - 1854-1941, British anthropologist who examined the importance of magic, religion, and science in the development of human thought

Tylor, Edward Burnett - 1832-1917, British anthropologist regarded as the founder of cultural anthropology

1 E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (Glencoe, I 1947); W. Robertson-Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (Edinburgh 1894).

coercible world, and how it enables him to maintain an inner security in the face of natural **contingency**.[2] Together, the two approaches have given us an increasingly detailed understanding of the social and psychological "functions" of religion in a wide range of societies.

Where the functional approach has been least impressive, however, is in dealing with social change. As has been noted by several writers, the emphasis on systems in balance, on social **homeostasis**, and on timeless structural pictures, leads to a bias in favour of "well-integrated" societies in stable equilibrium and to a tendency to emphasise the functional aspects of a people's social usages and customs rather than their dysfunctional implications.[3] In analyses of religion, this static, **ahistorical** approach has led to a somewhat overconservative view of the role of ritual and belief in social life. Despite cautionary comments by **Kluckhohn**[4] and others on the "gain and cost" of various religious practices such as witchcraft, the tendency has been consistently to stress the harmonising, integrating, and psychologically supportive aspects of religious patterns rather than the disruptive, disintegrative, and psychologically disturbing aspects; to demonstrate the manner in which religion preserves social and psychological structure rather than the manner in which it destroys or transforms it. Where change has been treated, as in **Redfield's** work on Yucatan, it has largely been in terms of progressive disintegration: "The changes in culture that in **Yucatan** appear to 'go along with' lessening isolation and homogeneity are seen to be chiefly three: disorganisation of the culture, secularisation and individualisation."[5] Yet even a passing knowledge of our own religious history makes us hesitate to affirm such a simply "positive" role for religion generally.

It is the thesis of this chapter that one of the major reasons for the inability of functional theory to **cope** with change lies in its failure to treat sociological and cultural processes on equal terms; almost inevitably one of the two is either ignored or sacrificed to become but a simple reflex, a "mirror image," of the other. Either culture is regarded as wholly **derivative** from the forms of social organisation—the approach characteristic of the British structuralists as well as many American sociologists; or the forms of social organisation are regarded as behavioural **embodiments** of cultural

contingency -
the condition of being dependent on chance, uncertainty

homeostasis -
the ability or tendency of an organism or cell to maintain internal equilibrium by adjusting its physiological processes

ahistorical -
unconcerned with or unrelated to history or to historical development or to tradition

Kluckhohn, Clyde Kay Maben -
1905-1960, American professor of anthropology who contributed to anthropology by his ethnographic studies of the Navajo, and his theories of culture, partial-value systems, and cultural patterns

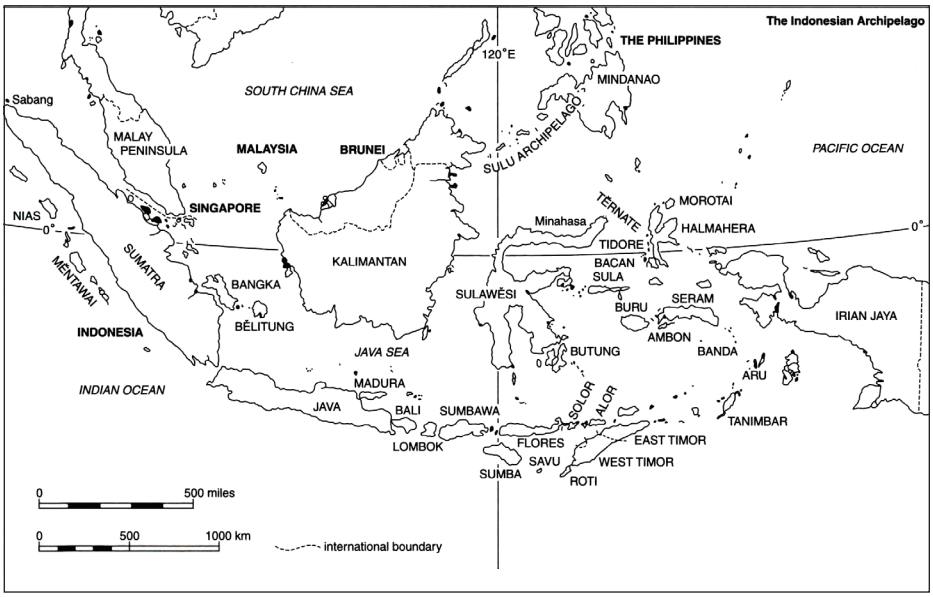
Redfield, Robert -
1897-1958, American cultural anthropologist who was the pioneer and, for a number of years, the principal ethnologist to focus on those processes of cultural and social change characterising the relationship between folk and urban societies

Yucatan -
a peninsula in south-eastern Mexico

cope -
to be able to deal with something

derivative -
resulting from, characterised by

embodiments -
concrete forms of abstract concept



THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

2 B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Boston, 1948).

3 See, for example, E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); and R. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, 111., 1949).

4 See C. Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft,* Peabody Museum Papers, No. 22 (Cambridge, Mass., 1944).

5 R. Redneld, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago, 1941), p. 339.

patterns—the approach of Malinowski and many American anthropologists. In either case, the lesser term tends to drop out as a dynamic factor, and we are left either with an **omnibus** concept of culture ("that complex whole…") or else with a completely comprehensive concept of social structure ("social structure is not an aspect of culture but the entire culture of a given people handled in a special frame of theory").[6] In such a situation, the dynamic elements of social change that arise from the failure of cultural patterns to be perfectly **congruent** with the forms of social organisation are largely incapable of being formulated. "We functionalists," E. R. Leach recently remarked, "are not really 'antihistorical' by principle; it is simply that we do not know how to fit historical materials into our framework of concepts."[7]

A revision of the concepts of functional theory so as to make them capable of dealing more effectively with 'historical materials' might well begin with an attempt to distinguish analytically between the cultural and social aspects of human life, and to treat them as independently variable yet mutually interdependent factors. Though separable only conceptually, culture and social structure will then be seen to be capable of a wide range of modes of integration with one another, of which the simple **isomorphic** mode is but a limiting case - a case common only in societies which have been stable over such an extended time so as to make possible a close adjustment between social and cultural aspects. In most societies, where change is a characteristic rather than an abnormal occurrence, we shall expect to find more or less radical **discontinuities** between the two. I would argue that it is in these very discontinuities that we shall find some of the primary driving forces in change.

One of the more useful ways - but far from the only one - of distinguishing between culture and social system is to see the former as an ordered system of meaning and of symbols, in terms of which social interaction takes place; and to see the latter as the pattern of social interaction itself.[8] At the one level there is the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols, and values in terms of which individuals define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgments; at the other there is the ongoing process of interactive behaviour, whose persistent form we call social structure. Culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; social structure is the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations. Culture and social structure are then but different abstractions from the same phenomena. The one considers social action in respect to its meaning for those who carry it out, the other considers it in terms of its contribution to the functioning of some social system.

The nature of the distinction between culture and social system is brought out more clearly when one considers the contrasting sorts of integration characteristic of each of them. This contrast is between what **Sorokin** has called "logico-mean-

omnibus - providing for many things at once

congruent - corresponding in character or kind

isomorphic - having a similar structure or appearance but being of different ancestry

discontinuities - lack of continuities, logical sequences, or cohesions

Sorokin, Pitirim Alexandrovitch - 1889-1968, Russian-American sociologist

6 M. Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist,* 55 (1953): 17-41.

7 Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma,* p. 282.

8 T. Parsons and E. Shils, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

ingful integration" and what he has called "causal-functional integration." [9] By logico-meaningful integration, characteristic of culture, is meant the sort of integration one finds in a **Bach fugue**, in Catholic **dogma**, or in the general **theory of relativity**; it is a unity of style, of logical implication, of meaning and value. By causal-funct ional integration, characteristic of the social system, is meant the kind of integration one finds in an organism, where all the parts are united in a single causal web; each part is an element in a **reverberating** causal ring which "keeps the system going." And because these two types of integration are not identical, because the particular form of one of them takes does not directly imply the form the other will take, there is an inherent **incongruity** and tension between the two and between both of them and a third element, the pattern of motivational integration within the individual which we usually call personality structure:

> *Thus conceived, a social system is only one of three aspects of the structuring of a completely concrete system of social action. The other two are the personality systems of the individual actors and the cultural system which is built into their action. Each of the three must be considered to be an independent focus of the organization of the elements of the action system in the sense that no one of them is theoretically reducible to terms of one or a combination of the other two. Each is indispensable to the other two in the sense that without personalities and culture there would be no social system and so on around the* ***roster*** *of logical possibilities. But this interdependence and interpenetration is a very different matter from reducibility, which means that the important properties and processes of one class of system could be theoretically* derived *from our theoretical knowledge of one or both of the other two. The action frame of reference is common to all three and this fact makes certain "transformations" between them possible. But in the level of theory here attempted they do not constitute a single system, however this might turn out to be on some other theoretical level.*[10]

I shall attempt to demonstrate the utility of this more dynamic functionalist approach by applying it to a particular case of a ritual which failed to function properly. I shall try to show how an approach which does not distinguish the "logico-meaningful" cultural aspects of the ritual pattern from the "causal-functional" social structural aspects is unable to account adequately for this ritual failure, and how an approach which does so distinguish between them is able to analyze more explicitly the cause of the trouble. It will further be argued that such an approach is able to avoid the simplistic view of the functional role of religion in society which sees that role merely as structure-conserving, and to substitute for it a more complex conception of the relations between religious belief and practice and secular social life. Historical materials can be fitted into such a conception, and the functional analysis of religion can therefore be widened to deal more adequately with processes of change.

Bach, Johann Sebastian - 1685-1750, German composer and organist during the late Baroque period
fugue - a type of musical composition
dogma - a doctrine or a corpus of doctrines relating to matters such as morality and faith, set forth in an authoritative manner by the church
theory of relativity - the theory that space and time are relative rather than absolute concepts
reverberating - repeatedly reflecting
incongruity - clash, opposition
roster - a list of something
subdued - toned down, quieted

THE SETTING

The case to be described is that of a funeral held in Modjokuto, a small town in eastern Central Java. A young boy, about ten years of age, who was living with his uncle and aunt, died very suddenly. His death, instead of being followed by the usual hurried,

9 Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, 3 vols. (New York, 1937).
10 T. Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), p. 6.

subdued, yet methodically efficient Javanese funeral ceremony and burial routine, brought on an extended period of pronounced social **strain** and severe psychological tension. The complex of beliefs and rituals which had for generations brought countless Javanese safely through the difficult **post-mortem** period suddenly failed to work with its **accustomed** effectiveness. To understand why it failed demands knowledge and understanding of a whole range of social and cultural changes which have taken place in Java since the first decades of this century. This disrupted funeral was in fact but a microscopic example of the broader conflicts, structural dissolutions, and attempted reintegrations which, in one form or another, are characteristic of contemporary Indonesian society.

The religious tradition of Java, particularly of the peasantry, is a composite of Indian, Islamic, and **indigenous** Southeast Asian elements. The rise of large, militaristic kingdoms in the inland rice **basins** in the early centuries of the Christian era was associated with the **diffusion** of Hinduist and Buddhist culture patterns to the island; the expansion of international **maritime** trade in the port cities of the northern coast in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was associated with the diffusion of Islamic patterns. Working their way into the peasant mass, these two world religions became fused with the underlying **animistic** traditions characteristic of the whole Malaysian culture area. The result was a balanced **syncretism** of myth and ritual in which Hindu gods and goddesses, Muslim prophets and saints, and local spirits and demons all found a proper place.

The central ritual form in this syncretism is a communal feast, called the *slametan*. *Slametans*, which are given with only slight variations in form and content on almost all occasions of religious significance—at passage points in the life cycle, on **calendrical** holidays, at certain stages of the crop cycle, on changing one's residence, and so on—are intended to be both offerings to the spirits and **commensal** mechanisms of social integration for the living. The meal, which consists of specially-prepared dishes, each symbolic of a particular religious concept, is cooked by the female members of one **nuclear family** household and set out on mats in the middle of the living room. The male head of the household invites the male heads of the eight or ten **contiguous** households to attend; no closer neighbour is ignored in favour of one farther away. After a speech by the host explaining the spiritual purpose of the feast and a short Arabic chant, each man takes a few hurried, almost **furtive**, gulps of food, wraps the remainder of the meal in a banana-leaf basket, and returns home to share it with his family. It is said that the spirits draw their sustenance from the **odour** of the food, the **incense** which is burned, and the Muslim prayer; the human participants draw theirs from the material substance of the food and from their social interaction. The result of this quiet, undramatic little ritual is twofold: the spirits are **appeased** and neighbourhood solidarity is strengthened.

The ordinary **canons** of functional theory are quite adequate for the analysis of such a pattern. It can rather easily be shown that the *slametan* is well-designed both to "tune up

strain -
stress
post-mortem -
occurring after death
accustomed -
to be used to something
indigenous -
native
diffusion -
spread, taking more place or space
maritime -
along the sea coast
animistic -
animism: the belief that natural phenomena (plants, animals, rain, sun, starts, etc.) have spirits living within them
syncretism -
the union of different systems of belief
calendrical -
regularly occurring events according to the calendar
commensal -
in a symbiotic relationship where one species is benefited while the other is unaffected
nuclear family -
smallest family unit including the mother, father and their children
contiguous -
neighbouring, close by
furtive -
secretive, cautious
odour -
smell
incense -
an aromatic substance, such as wood or spice, that is burned to produce a pleasant smell
appeased -
brought to peace, quieted, or calmed
canon-
established principle

the ultimate value attitudes" necessary to the effective integration of a territorially-based social structure, and to fulfil the psychological needs for intellectual coherence and emotional stability characteristic of a peasant population. The Javanese village (once or twice a year, villagewide *slametans* are held) is essentially a set of geographically contiguous, but rather self-consciously autonomous, nuclear-family households whose economic and political interdependence is of roughly the same **circumscribed** and explicitly defined sort as that demonstrated in the *slametan*. The demands of the labour-intensive rice and dry-crop agricultural process require the perpetuation of specific modes of technical cooperation and enforce a sense of community on the otherwise rather self-contained families—a sense of community which the *slametan* clearly reinforces. And when we consider the manner in which various conceptual and behavioural elements from Hindu-Buddhism, Islam, and "animism" are reinterpreted and balanced to form a distinctive and nearly homogeneous religious style, the close functional adjustment between the communal feast pattern and the conditions of Javanese rural life is even more readily apparent.

But the fact is that in all but the most isolated parts of Java, both the simple territorial basis of village social integration and the syncretic basis of its cultural homogeneity have been progressively undermined over the past fifty years. Population growth, urbanisation, **monetisation**, occupational differentiation, and the like, have combined to weaken the traditional ties of peasant social structure; and the winds of doctrine which have accompanied the appearance of these structural changes have disturbed the simple uniformity of religious belief and practice characteristic of an earlier period. The rise of nationalism, Marxism, and Islamic reform as ideologies, which resulted in part from the increasing complexity of Javanese society, has affected not only the large cities where these creeds first appeared and have always had their greatest strength, but has had a heavy impact on the smaller towns and villages as well. In fact, much of recent Javanese social change is perhaps most aptly characterised as a shift from a situation in which the primary integrative ties between individuals (or between families) are phrased in terms of geographical proximity to one in which they are phrased in terms of ideological **like-mindedness**.

In the villages and small towns these major ideological changes appeared largely in the **guise** of a widening split between those who emphasised the Islamic aspects of the indigenous religious syncretism and those who emphasised the Hinduist and animistic elements. It is true that some difference between these variant subtraditions has been present since the arrival of Islam; some individuals have always been particularly skilled in Arabic **chanting** or particularly learned in Muslim law, while others have been adept at more Hinduistic mystical practices or specialists in local curing techniques. But these contrasts were softened by the easy tolerance of the Javanese for a wide range of religious concepts, so long as basic ritual patterns—that is, *slametans*—were faithfully supported; whatever social divisiveness they stimulated was largely **obscured** by the overriding commonalities of rural and small-town life.

However, the appearance after 1910 of Islamic modernism (as well as vigorous conservative reactions against it) and religious nationalism among the economically and politically sophisticated trading classes of the larger cities strengthened the feeling for Islam as an exclusivist, antisyncretic **creed** among the more orthodox element of the mass of the population. Similarly, secular nationalism and Marxism, appearing among the civil servants and the expanding proletariat of these cities, strengthened the pre-Islamic (that is, Hinduist-animist) elements of the syncretic pattern, which these groups tended to prize as a **counterweight** to puristic Islam and which some of them adopted as a general religious framework in which to set their more specifically political ideas. On the one hand, there arose a more self-conscious Muslim, basing his religious beliefs and

circumscribed -
limited or confined
monetisation -
establishing something as the legal tender of a country, adoption of money
like-mindedness -
characteristic of people who think in the same way
guise -
form, appearance
chanting -
a prayer sung in a monotonous tone
obscure -
make unclear, doubtful
creed -
system of principles or beliefs
counterweight -
a force or influence equally counteracting another

practices more explicitly on the international and universalistic doctrines of Muhammad; on the other hand there arose a more self-conscious "nativist," attempting to evolve a generalised religious system out of the material—**muting** the more Islamic elements— of his inherited religious tradition. And the contrast between the first kind of man, called a *santri*, and the second, called an *abangan*, grew steadily more acute, until today it forms the major cultural distinction in the whole of the Modjokuto area.

It is especially in the town that this contrast has come to play a crucial role. The absence of pressures toward interfamilial cooperation exerted by the technical requirements of wet-rice growing, as well as lessened effectiveness of the traditional forms of village government in the face of the complexities of urban living, severely weaken the social supports of the syncretic village pattern. When each man makes his living—as chauffeur, trader, clerk, or labourer—more or less independently of how his neighbours make theirs, his sense of the importance of the neighbourhood community naturally diminishes. A more differentiated class system, more bureaucratic and impersonal forms of government, greater **heterogeneity** of social background, all tend to lead to the same result—the de-emphasis of strictly geographical **ties** in favour of diffusely ideological ones. For the townsman, the distinction between *santri* and *abangan* becomes even sharper, for it emerges as his primary point of social reference; it becomes a symbol of his social identity, rather than a mere contrast in belief. The sort of friends he will have, the sort of organisations he will join, the sort of political leadership he will follow, the sort of person he or his son will marry, will all be strongly influenced by the side of this ideological **bifurcation** which he adopts as his own.

There is thus emerging in the town—though not only in the town—a new pattern of social living organised in terms of an altered framework of cultural classification. Among the elite this new pattern has already become rather highly developed, but among the mass of the townspeople it is still in the process of formation. Particularly in the *kampongs,* the of-the-street neighbourhoods in which the common Javanese townsmen live crowded together in a **helter-skelter** profusion of little bamboo houses, one finds a transitional society in which the traditional forms of rural living are being steadily dissolved and new forms steadily reconstructed. In these **enclaves** of peasants-come-to-town (or of sons and grandsons of peasants-come-to-town), Redfield's folk culture is being constantly converted into his urban culture, though this latter is not accurately characterised by such negative and **residual** terms as "secular," "individualised," and "culturally disorganised." What is occurring in the *kampongs* is not so much a destruction of traditional ways of life, as a construction of a new one; the sharp social conflict characteristic of these lower-class neighbourhoods is not simply indicative of a loss of cultural consensus, but rather is indicative of a search, not yet entirely successful, for new, more generalised, and flexible patterns of belief and value.

In Modjokuto, as in most of Indonesia, this search is taking place largely within the social context of the mass political parties, as well a in the women's clubs, youth organizations, labour unions, and other **sodalities** formally or informally linked with

muting - softening, reducing
heterogeneity - diversity
bifurcation - a division into two branches
helter-skelter - haphazard, in a disorderly manner
enclaves - distinctly bordered communities
residual - remaining

them. There are several of these parties (though the recent [1955] general election severely reduced their number), each led by educated urban elites—civil servants-teachers, traders, students, and the like—and each competing with the others for the political **allegiance** of both the half-rural, half-urban *kampong* **dwellers** and of the mass of the peasantry. And almost without exception, they appeal to one or another side of the *santri-abangan* split. Of this complex of political parties and sodalities, only two are of immediate concern to us here: Masjumi, a huge, Islam-based political party; and Permai, a vigorously anti-Muslim politico-religious cult.

Masjumi is the more or less direct descendant of the pre-war Islamic reform movement. Led, at least in Modjokuto, by modernist *santri* intellectuals, it stands for a socially conscious, **antischolastic**, and somewhat **puritanical** version of back-to-the-Qur'an Islam. In company with the other Muslim parties, it also supports the institution of an "Islamic State" in Indonesia in place of the present secular republic. However, the meaning of this ideal is not entirely clear. Masjumi's enemies accuse it of pressing for an intolerant, medievalist **theocracy** in which *abangans* and non-Muslims will be **persecuted** and forced to follow exactly the **prescripts** of the Muslim law, while Masjumi's leaders claim that Islam is **intrinsically** tolerant and that they only desire a government explicitly based on the Muslim creed, one whose laws will be in **consonance** with the teachings of the Qur'an and **Hadith**. In any case, Masjumi, the country's largest Muslim party, is one of the major spokesmen on both the national and the local levels for the values and aspirations of the *santri* community.

Permai is not so impressive on a national scale. Though it is a nationwide party, it is a fairly small one, having strength only in a few fairly circumscribed regions. In the Modjokuto area, however, it happened to be of some importance, and what it lacked in national scope it made up in local intensity. Essentially, Permai is a fusion of Marxist politics with *abangan* religious patterns. It combines a fairly explicit anti-Westernism, anti-capitalism, and anti-imperialism with an attempt to formalise and generalise some of the more characteristic diffuse themes of the peasant religious syncretism. Permai meetings follow both the *slametan* pattern, complete with incense and symbolic food (but without Islamic chants), and modern parliamentary procedure; Permai pamphlets contain calendrical and **numerological divinatory** systems and mystical teachings as well as analyses of class conflict; and Permai speeches are concerned with elaborating both religious and political concepts. In Modjokuto, Permai is also a curing cult, with its own special medical practices and spells, a secret password, and **cabalistic** interpretations of passages in the leaders' social and political writings.

But Permai's most notable characteristic is its strong anti-Muslim stand. Charging that Islam is a foreign import, unsuited to the needs and values of the Javanese, the cult urges a return to "pure" and "original" Javanese beliefs, by which they seem to mean to the indigenous syncretism with the more Islamic elements removed. In line with this the cult-party has initiated a **drive**, on both national and local levels, for secular (that is, non-Islamic) marriage and funeral **rites**. As the situation stands now, all but Christians and **Balinese** Hindus must have their marriages legitimatised by means of the Muslim ritual.[11] Funeral rites are an individual concern but, because of the long history of syncretism, they are so deeply involved with Islamic customs that a genuinely non-Islamic funeral tends to be a practical impossibility.

sodalities - associations
allegiance - loyalty
dwellers - inhabitants
antischolastic - against rigidly scholarly methods
puritanical - very basic, fundamentalist
theocracy - a government ruled by or subject to religious authority
persecuted - oppressed and treated badly often by the authorities
prescripts - strict regulations of behaviour
intrinsically - inborn, essential
consonance - agreement, harmony, accord
Hadith - a report of the sayings or actions of Muhammad or his companions, together with the tradition of its chain of transmission
numerological - based on numbers
divinatory - predicted, prophesised
cabalistic - symbolic
drive - campaign
rites - ceremonies, rituals
Balinese - someone from Bali

11 Actually, there are two parts to Javanese marriage rites. One, which is part of the general syncretism, is held at the bride's home and involves a *slametan* and an elaborate ceremonial 'meeting' between bride and groom. The other, which is the official ceremony in the eyes of the Government, follows the Muslim law and takes place at the office of the subdistrict religious officer, or Naib. See C. Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), pp. 51-61, 203.

Permai's action on the local level in pursuit of non-Islamic marriage and funeral ceremonies took two forms. One was heavy pressure on local government officials to permit such practices, and the other was heavy pressure on its own members to follow, voluntarily, rituals purified of Islamic elements. In the case of marriage, success was more or less **precluded** because the local officials' hands were tied by Central Government **ordinances**, and even highly ideologised members of the cult would not dare an openly "illegitimate" marriage. Without a change in the law, Permai had little chance to alter marriage forms, though a few **abortive** attempts were made to conduct civil ceremonies under the **aegis** of *abangan*-minded village chiefs.

The case of funerals was somewhat different, for a matter of custom rather than law was involved. During the period I was in the field (1952-1954), the tension between Permai and Masjumi increased very sharply. This was due in part to the **imminence** of Indonesia's first general elections, and in part to the effects of the cold war. It was also influenced by various special occurrences—such as a report that the national head of Permai had publicly called Muhammad a false prophet; a speech in the nearby regional capital by a Masjumi leader in which he accused Permai of intending to raise a generation of **bastards** in Indonesia; and a bitter village-chief election largely fought out on *santri* vs. *abangan* grounds. As a result, the local subdistrict officer, a worried bureaucrat trapped in the middle, called a meeting of all the village religious officials, or Modins. Among many other duties, a Modin is traditionally responsible for conducting funerals. He directs the whole ritual, instructs the mourners in the technical details of burial, leads the Qur'an chanting, and reads a set speech to the **deceased** at the graveside. The subdistrict officer instructed the Modins—the majority of whom were village Masjumi leaders—that in the case of the death of a member of Permai, they were merely to note the name and age of the deceased and return home; they were not to participate in the ritual. He warned that if they did not do as he advised, they would be responsible if trouble started and he would not come to their support.

This was the situation on July 17, 1954, when Paidjan, nephew of Karman, an active and ardent member of Permai, died suddenly in the Modjokuto *kampong* in which I was living.

preclude - make impossible
ordinances - orders
abortive - unsuccessful
aegis - guidance
imminence - nearness, soon to occur
bastards - children born outside marriage
deceased - the person who died
bereavement - state of sorrow over the death or departure of a loved one
languid - lacking energy or vitality, weak, slow
relinquishment - the act of giving up
linger - slow to leave, stay behind

THE FUNERAL

The mood of a Javanese funeral is not one of hysterical **bereavement**, unrestrained sobbing, or even of formalised cries of grief over the deceased's departure. Rather, it is a calm, undemonstrative, almost **languid** letting go, a brief ritualised **relinquishment** of a relationship no longer possible. Tears are not approved of and certainly not encouraged; the effort is to get the job done, not to **linger** over the pleasures of grief. The detailed busy-work of the funeral, the politely formal social intercourse with the neighbours pressing in from all sides, the series of commemorative *slametans* stretched out at intervals for almost three years — the whole momentum of the Javanese ritual system — is supposed to carry one through grief without severe emotional distur-

bance. For the mourner, the funeral and postfuneral ritual is said to produce a feeling of *iklas,* a kind of willed affectlessness, a detached and static state of "not caring"; for the neighbourhood group it is said to produce *rukun,* "communal harmony."

The actual service is in essence simply another version of the *slametan*, adapted to the special requirements of **interment**. When the news of a death is broadcast through the area, everyone in the neighbourhood must drop what he is doing and go immediately to the home of the survivors. The women bring bowls of rice, which is cooked up into a *slametan*; the men begin to cut wooden grave markers and to dig a grave. Soon the Modin arrives and begins to direct activities. The **corpse** is washed in ceremonially prepared water by the relatives (who **unflinchingly** hold the body on their laps to demonstrate their affection for the deceased as well as their self-control); then it is wrapped in **muslin**. About a dozen *santris*, under the leadership of the Modin, chant Arabic prayers over the body for five or ten minutes; after this it is carried, amid various ritual acts, in a ceremonial procession to the graveyard, where it is interred in prescribed ways. The Modin reads a graveside speech to the deceased, reminding him of his duties as a believing Muslim; and the funeral is over, usually only two or three hours after death. The funeral proper is followed by commemorative *slametans* in the home of the survivors at three, seven, forty, and one hundred days after death; on the first and second anniversary of death; and, finally, on the thousandth day, when the corpse is considered to have turned to dust and the gap between the living and the dead to have become absolute.

INDONESIAN FIGURE OF SHIVA

This was the ritual pattern which was called into play when Paidjan died. As soon as dawn broke (death occurred in the early hours of the morning), Karman, the uncle, **dispatched** a telegram to the boy's parents in a nearby city, telling them in characteristic Javanese fashion that their son was ill. This **evasion** was intended to soften the impact of death by allowing them to become aware of it more gradually. Javanese feel that emotional damage results not from the severity of a frustration but from the suddenness with which it comes, the degree to which it "surprises" one unprepared for it. It is "shock," not suffering itself, which is feared. Next, in the expectation that the parents would arrive within a few hours, Karman sent for the Modin to begin the ceremony. This was done on the theory that by the time the parents had come little would be left to do but inter the body, and they would thus once more be spared unnecessary stress. By ten o'clock at the very latest it should all be over; a saddening incident, but a ritually-muted one.

But when the Modin, as he later told me, arrived at Karman's house and saw the poster displaying Permai's political symbol, he told Karman that he could not perform the ritual. After all, Karman belonged to "another religion," and he, the Modin, did not know the correct burial rituals for it; all he knew was Islam. "I don't want to insult your religion," he said piously. "On the contrary, I hold it in the utmost regard for there is no intolerance in Islam. But I don't know your ritual. The Christians have their own ritual and their own specialist (the local preacher), but what does Permai do? Do they burn the corpse or what?" (This is a sly allusion to Hindu burial practices; evidently the Modin enjoyed himself hugely in this interchange.) Karman was, the Modin told me, rather upset at all this and evidently surprised, for although he was an active member of Permai, he was a fairly unsophisticated one. It had evidently never occurred to him that the anti-Muslim-funeral agitation of the party would ever appear as a concrete problem, or that the Modin would actually refuse to **officiate**. Karman was actually not a bad fellow, the Modin concluded; he was but a **dupe** of his leaders.

interment -
burying
corpse -
a dead human body
unflinchingly -
not showing fear, bravely
muslin -
textiles made of cotton
dispatched -
sent
evasion -
a statement that is not literally false but that cleverly avoids an unpleasant truth

After leaving the now highly-agitated Karman, the Modin went directly to the subdistrict officer to ask if he had acted properly. The officer was morally bound to say that he had, and thus fortified the Modin returned home to find Karman and the village policeman, to whom Karman had gone in desperation, waiting for him. The policeman, a personal friend of Karman's, told the Modin that according to time-honoured custom he was supposed to bury everyone with **impartiality**, never mind whether he happened to agree with their politics. But the Modin, having now been personally supported by the subdistrict officer, insisted that it was no longer his responsibility. However, he suggested, if Karman wished, he could go to the village chief's office and sign a public statement, sealed with the Government stamp and **countersigned** by the village chief in the presence of two witnesses, declaring that he, Karman, was a true believing Muslim and that he wished the Modin to bury the boy according to Islamic custom. At this suggestion that he officially abandon his religious beliefs, Karman exploded into a rage and stormed from the house, rather uncharacteristic behaviour for a Javanese. By the time he arrived home again, **at his wit's end** about what to do next, he found to his dismay that the news of the boy's death had been broadcast and the entire neighbourhood was already gathering for the ceremony.

Like most of the *kampongs* in the town of Modjokuto, the one in which I lived consisted both of pious *santris* and ardent *abangans* (as well as a number of less intense adherents of either side), mixed together in a more or less random manner. In the town, people are forced to live where they can and take whomever they find for neighbours, in contrast to the rural areas where whole neighbourhoods, even whole villages, still tend to be made up almost entirely of either *abangans* or *santris*. The majority of the *santris* in the *kampong* were members of Masjumi, and most of the *abangans* were followers of Permai, and in daily life, social interaction between the two groups was minimal. The *abangans*, most of whom were either petty artisans or manual labourers, gathered each late afternoon at Karman's roadside coffee shop for the idle twilight conversations which are typical of small-town and village life in Java; the *santris*—tailors, traders, and storekeepers for the most part—usually gathered in one or another of the *santri*-run shops for the same purpose. But despite this lack of close social ties, the demonstration of territorial unity at a funeral was still felt by both groups to be an unavoidable duty; of all the Javanese rituals, the funeral probably carries the greatest obligation on attendance. Everyone who lives within a certain roughly-defined radius of the survivors' home is expected to come to the ceremony; and on this occasion everyone did.

With this as background, it is not surprising that when I arrived at Karman's house about eight o'clock, I found two separate **clusters** of **sullen** men **squatting disconsolately** on either side of the yard, a nervous group of whispering women sitting idly inside the house near the still-clothed body, and a general air of doubt and uneasiness in place of the usual quiet busyness of *slametan* preparing, body washing, and guest greeting. The *abangans* were grouped near the house, where Karman was crouched,

officiate - perform or supply as an official duty or function

dupe - a person who functions as the tool of another person or power

impartiality - without prejudice, fairness

countersigned - signed (a previously signed document) as for authentication

at his wit's end - expression saying that someone is frustrated and does not know what to do next

clusters - groups

sullen - gloomy, angry or silent

squatting - resting on the heels

disconsolately - hopelessly sad, filled with grief

staring blankly off into space, and where Sudjoko and Sastro, the town Chairman and Secretary of Permai (the only non-residents of the *kampong* present) sat on chairs, looking vaguely out of place. The *santris* were crowded together under the narrow shadow of a coconut palm about thirty **yards** away, chatting quietly to one another about everything but the problem at hand. The almost motionless scene suggested an unlooked-for **intermission** in a familiar drama, as when a motion picture stops in mid-action.

After half an hour or so, a few of the *abangans* began to chip **half-heartedly** away at pieces of wood to make grave markers and a few women began to construct small flower offerings for want of anything better to do; but it was clear that the ritual was arrested and that no one quite knew what to do next. Tension slowly rose. People nervously watched the sun rise higher and higher in the sky, or glanced at the impassive Karman. Mutterings about the sorry state of affairs began to appear ("everything these days is a political problem," an old, traditionalistic man of about eighty grumbled to me, "you can't even die any more but what it becomes a political problem"). Finally, about 9:30, a young *santri* tailor named Abu decided to try to do something about the situation before it deteriorated entirely: he stood up and gestured to Karman, the first serious instrumental act which had occurred all morning. And Karman, roused from his meditation, crossed the **no man's land** to talk to him.

JAVANESE PUPPET

As a matter of fact, Abu occupied a rather special position in the *kampong*. Although he was a pious *santri* and a loyal Masjumi member, he had more contact with the Permai group because his tailor shop was located directly behind Karman's coffee shop. Though Abu, who stuck to his sewing machine night and day, was not properly a member of this group, he would often exchange comments with them from his work bench about twenty feet away. True, a certain amount of tension existed between him and the Permai people over religious issues. Once, when I was inquiring about their **eschatological** beliefs, they referred me sarcastically to Abu, saying he was an expert, and they teased him quite openly about what they considered the wholly ridiculous Islamic theories of the afterlife. Nevertheless, he had something of a social bond with them, and it was perhaps reasonable that he should be the one to try to break the deadlock.

"It is already nearly noon," Abu said. "Things can't go on like this." He suggested that he send Umar, another of the *santris*, to see if the Modin could now be **induced** to come; perhaps things were cooler with him now. Meanwhile, he could get the washing and wrapping of the corpse started himself. Karman replied that he would think about it, and returned to the other side of the yard for a discussion with the two Permai leaders. After a few minutes of vigorous gesturing and nodding, Karman returned and said simply, "All right, that way." "I know how you feel," Abu said; "I'll just do what is absolutely necessary and keep the Islam out as much as possible." He gathered the *santris* together and they entered the house.

The first requisite was stripping the corpse (which was still lying on the floor, because no one could bring himself to move it). But by now the body was rigid, making it necessary to cut the clothes off with a knife, an unusual procedure which deeply disturbed everyone, especially the women clustered around. The *santris* finally managed to get the body outside and set up the bathing enclosure. Abu asked for volunteers for the washing; he reminded them that God would consider such an act a good work. But the relatives, who normally would be expected to undertake this task, were by now so deeply shaken and confused that they were unable to bring themselves to hold the boy on their laps in the customary fashion. There was another wait while people looked

yard -
a unit of length: 3 feet or 91.5cm
intermission -
break, pause
half-heartedly -
showing little interest or enthusiasm
no man's land -
an unoccupied neutral area between two opposing groups
eschatological -
relating to or dealing with the ultimate destiny of mankind and the world
induced -
persuaded, convinced

hopelessly at each other. Finally, Pak Sura, a member of Karman's group but no relative, took the boy on his lap, although he was clearly frightened and kept whispering a protective **spell**. One reason the Javanese give for their custom of rapid burial is that it is dangerous to have the spirit of the deceased **hovering** around the house.

Before the washing could begin, however, someone raised the question as to whether one person was enough—wasn't it usually three? No one was quite sure, including Abu; some thought that although it was customary to have three people it was not obligatory, and some thought three a necessary number. After about ten minutes of anxious discussion, a male cousin of the boy and a carpenter, unrelated to him, managed to work up the courage to join Pak Sura. Abu, attempting to act the Modin's role as best he could, sprinkled a few drops of water on the corpse and then it was washed, rather **haphazardly** and in **unsacralised** water. When this was finished, however, the procedure was again stalled, for no one knew exactly how to arrange the small cotton pads which, under Muslim law, should plug the body **orifices**. Karman's wife, sister of the deceased's mother, could evidently take no more, for she broke into a loud, unrestrained **wailing**, the only demonstration of this sort I witnessed among the dozen or so Javanese funerals I attended. Everyone was further upset by this development, and most of the *kampong* women made a **frantic** but **unavailing** effort to comfort her. Most of the men remained seated in the yard, outwardly calm and inexpressive, but the embarrassed uneasiness which had been present since the beginning seemed to be turning toward fearful desperation. "It is not nice for her to cry that way," several men said to me, "it isn't proper." At this point, the Modin arrived.

However, he was still **adamant**. Further, he warned Abu that he was courting eternal damnation by his actions. "You will have to answer to God on Judgment Day," he said, "if you make mistakes in the ritual, it will be your responsibility. For a Muslim, burial is a serious matter and must be carried out according to the Law by someone who knows what the Law is, not according to the will of the individual." He then suggested to Sudjoko and Sastro, the Permai leaders, that they take charge of the funeral, for as party "intellectuals" they must certainly know what kind of funeral customs Permai followed. The two leaders, who had not moved from their chairs, considered this as everyone watched expectantly, but they finally refused, with some **chagrin**, saying they really did not know how to go about it. The Modin **shrugged** and turned away. One of the bystanders, a friend of Karman's, then suggested that they just take the body out and bury it and forget about the whole ritual; it was extremely dangerous to leave things as they were much longer. I don't know whether this remarkable suggestion would have been followed, for at this **juncture** the mother and father of the dead child entered the *kampong*.

They seemed quite **composed**. They were not unaware of the death, for the father later told me he had suspected as much when he got the telegram; he and his wife had prepared themselves for the worst and were more or less **resigned** by the time they arrived. When they approached the *kampong* and saw the whole neighbourhood

spell - a word or formula believed to have magical power
hovering - floating in the air
haphazardly - in a random manner
unsacralised - not sacred, unholy
orifices - openings, especially to a cavity or passage of the body
wailing - crying
frantic - highly excited with strong emotion or frustration
unavailing - ineffectual or useless
adamant - resisting requests or reason, stubbornly not changing
chagrin - annoyance or embarrassment
shrugged - raised (the shoulders), especially as a gesture of doubt, disdain, or indifference
juncture - point in time, moment
composed - serenely self-possessed, calm

President Sukarno was active in the movement for Indonesian independence from Dutch rule

gathered, they knew that their fears were well founded. When Karman's wife, whose weeping had subsided slightly, saw the dead boy's mother come into the yard, she burst free of those who were comforting her and with a **shriek** rushed to embrace her sister. In what seemed a split second, both women had dissolved into wild hysterics and the crowd had rushed in and pulled them apart, dragging them to houses at opposite sides of the *kampong*. Their wailing continued in undiminished volume, and nervous comments arose to the effect that they ought to get on with the burial in one fashion or another, before the boy's spirit possessed someone.

But the mother now insisted on seeing the body of her child before it was wrapped. The father at first forbade it, angrily ordering her to stop crying—didn't she know that such behaviour would darken the boy's pathway to the other world? But she persisted and so they brought her, stumbling, to where he lay in Karman's house. The women tried to keep her from drawing too close, but she broke loose and began to kiss the boy about the genitals. She was **snatched** away almost immediately by her husband and the women, though she screamed that she had not yet finished; and they pulled her into the back room where she subsided into a **daze**. After a while—the body was finally being wrapped, the Modin having unbent enough to point out where the cotton pads went—she seemed to lose her bearings entirely and began to move about the shaking hands with everyone, all strangers to her, and saying, "Forgive me my faults, forgive me my faults." Again she was forcibly restrained; people said, "Calm yourself; think of your other children—do you want to follow your son to the grave?"

The corpse was now wrapped, and new suggestions were made that it be taken off immediately to the graveyard. At this point, Abu approached the father, who, he evidently felt, had now displaced Karman as the man legally responsible for the proceedings. Abu explained that the Modin, being a Government official, did not feel free to approach the father himself, but he would like to know: how did he wish the boy to be buried—the Islamic way, or what? The father, somewhat **bewildered**, said, "Of course, the Islamic way. I don't have much of any religion, but I'm not a Christian, and when it comes to death the burial should be the Islamic way. Completely Islamic." Abu explained again that the Modin could not approach the father directly, but that he, being "free," could do as he pleased. He said that he had tried to help as best he could but that he had been careful to do nothing Islamic before the father came. It was too bad, he apologised, about all the tension that was in the air, that political differences had to make so much trouble. But after all, everything had to be "clear" and "legal" about the funeral. It was important for the boy's soul. The *santris*, somewhat **gleefully**, now chanted their prayers over the corpse, and it was carried to the grave and buried in the usual manner. The Modin gave the usual graveyard speech, as **amended** for children, and the funeral was finally completed. None of the relatives or the women went to the graveyard; but when we returned to the house—it was now well after noon—the *slametan* was finally served, and Paidjan's spirit presumably left the *kampong* to begin its journey to the other world.

Three days later, in the evening, the first of the commemorative *slametans* was held, but it turned out that not only were no *santris* present but that it was as much a Permai political and religious cult meeting as a mourning ritual. Karman started off in the traditional fashion by announcing in high Javanese that this was a *slametan* in remembrance of the death of Paidjan. Sudjoko, the Permai leader, immediately burst in saying, "No, no, that is wrong. At a third day *slametan* you just eat and give a long Islamic chant for the dead, and we are certainly not going to do that." He then launched into a long, **rambling** speech. Everyone, he said, must know the philosophical-religious basis of

resigned -
prepared to accept something
shriek -
a shrill, often frantic cry
snatched -
grasped or seized hastily or suddenly
daze -
a stunned or bewildered condition
bewildered -
perplexed
gleefully -
joyfully
amended -
modified

the country. "Suppose this American [he pointed to me; he was not at all pleased by my presence] came up and asked you: what is the spiritual basis of the country? and you didn't know—wouldn't you be ashamed?"

He went on in this **vein**, building up a whole rationale for the present national political structure on the basis of a mystical interpretation of **President Sukarno**'s "Five Points" (Monotheism, Social Justice, Humanitarianism, Democracy, and Nationalism) which are the official ideological foundation of the new republic. Aided by Karman and others, he worked out a micro-**macrocosm** correspondence theory in which the individual is seen to be but a small **replica** of the state, and the state but an enlarged image of the individual. If the state is to be ordered, then the individual must also be ordered; each implies the other. As the president's Five Points are at the basis of the state, so the five senses are at the basis of an individual. The process of harmonising both are the same, and it is this we must be sure we know. The discussion continued for nearly half an hour, ranging widely through religious, philosophical, and political issues (including, evidently for my benefit, a discussion of the **Rosenbergs**' execution).

We paused for coffee and as Sudjoko was about to begin again, Paidjan's father, who had been sitting quietly and expressionless, began suddenly to talk, softly and with a curiously mechanical tonelessness, almost as if he were reasoning with himself, but without much hope of success. "I am sorry for my rough city accent," he said, "but I very much want to say something." He hoped they would forgive him; they could continue their discussion in a moment. "I have been trying to be *iklas* ['detached,' 'resigned'] about Paidjan's death. I'm convinced that everything that could have been done for him was done and that his death was just an event which simply happened." He said he was still in Modjokuto because he could not yet face the people where he lived; he couldn't face having to tell each one of them what had occurred. His wife, he said, was a little more *iklas* now, too. It was hard, though. He kept telling himself it was just the will of God, but it was so hard, for nowadays people didn't agree on things any more; one person tells you one thing and others tell you another. It's hard to know which is right, to know what to believe. He said he appreciated all the Modjokuto people coming to the funeral, and he was sorry it had been all mixed up. "I'm not very religious myself. I'm not Masjumi and I'm not Permai. But I wanted the boy to be buried in the old way. I hope no one's feelings were hurt." He said again he was trying to be *iklas,* to tell himself it was just the will of God, but it was hard, for things were so confused these days. It was hard to see why the boy should have died.

This sort of public expression of one's feelings is extremely unusual—in my experience unique—among Javanese, and in the formalised traditional *slametan* pattern there is simply no place for it (nor for philosophical or political discussion). Everyone present was rather shaken by the father's talk, and there was a painful silence. Sudjoko finally began to talk again, but this time he described in detail the boy's death. How Paidjan had first gotten a fever and Karman had called him, Sudjoko, to come and say a Permai spell. But the boy did not respond. They finally took him to a male nurse in

rambling -
lengthy and digressive
vein -
manner
President Sukarno -
1901-1970, Indonesian politician who obtained his country's independence from the Netherlands in 1949, served as Indonesia's first president (1949-1967), and was ousted from office by a coup d'état
macrocosm -
a system reflecting on a large scale one of its component systems or parts
replica -
copy
Rosenbergs -
reference to Julius Rosenberg and his wife Ethel Rosenberg (Greenglass), the first American civilians who were executed for espionage on June 19, 1953.

the hospital, where he was given an injection. But still he worsened. He vomited blood and went into **convulsions**, which Sudjoko described rather graphically, and then he died. "I don't know why the Permai spell didn't work," he said; "it has worked before. This time it didn't. I don't know why; that sort of thing can't be explained no matter how much you think about it. Sometimes it just works and sometimes it just doesn't." There was another silence and then, after about ten minutes more of political discussion, we **disbanded**. The father returned the next day to his home and I was not invited to any of the later *slametans*. When I left the field about four months later, Karman's wife had still not entirely recovered from the experience, the tension between the *santris* and the *abangans* in the *kampong* had increased, and everyone wondered what would happen the next time a death occurred in a Permai family.

ANALYSIS

"Of all the sources of religion," wrote Malinowski, "the supreme and final crisis of life — death — is of the greatest importance."[12] Death, he argued, provokes in the survivors a dual response of love and **loathing**, a deep-going emotional **ambivalence** of fascination and fear which threatens both the psychological and social foundations of human existence. The survivors are drawn toward the deceased by their affection for him, **repelled** from him by the dreadful transformation **wrought** by death. Funeral rites, and the mourning practices which follow them, focus around this paradoxical desire both to maintain the tie in the face of death and to break the bond immediately and utterly, and to ensure the domination of the will to live over the tendency to despair. **Mortuary** rituals maintain the continuity of human life by preventing the survivors from yielding either to the impulse to flee panic-stricken from the scene or to the contrary impulse to follow the deceased into the grave:

> *And here into this play of emotional forces, into this supreme dilemma of life and final death, religion steps in, selecting the positive creed, the comforting view, the culturally valuable belief in immortality, in the spirit independent of the body, and in the continuance of life after death. In the various ceremonies at death, in commemoration and* ***communion*** *with the departed, and worship of ancestral ghosts, religion gives body and form to the saving beliefs.... Exactly the same function it fulfils also with regard to the whole group. The ceremony of death, which ties the survivors to the body and* ***rivets*** *them to the place of death, the beliefs in the existence of the spirit, in its beneficent influences or malevolent intentions, in the duties of a series of commemorative or sacrificial ceremonies—in all this religion counteracts the* ***centrifugal*** *forces of fear, dismay, demoralization, and provides the most powerful means of reintegration of the group's shaken solidarity and of the re-establishment of its morale. In short, religion here assures the victory of tradition over the mere negative response of* ***thwarted*** *instinct.*[13]

convulsions - seizures manifested by discontinuous involuntary skeletal muscular contractions
disbanded - separated and moved in different directions
loathing - great dislike, hate
ambivalence - uncertainty, hesitation
repelled - driven back
wrought - caused or brought about
mortuary - relating to burial practices
communion - religious or spiritual fellowship
rivets - causes a person's attention to be fixed in fascination or horror
centrifugal - moving or directed away from a centre or axis
thwarted - prevented

To this sort of theory, a case such as that described above clearly poses some difficult problems. Not only was the victory of tradition and culture over "thwarted instinct" a narrow one at best, but it seemed as if the ritual were tearing the society apart rather than integrating it, were disorganizing personalities rather than healing them. To this

12 Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion,* p. 29.
13 Ibid., pp. 33-35.

the functionalist has a ready answer, which takes one of two forms depending upon whether he follows the Durkheim or the Malinowski tradition: social disintegration or cultural demoralisation. Rapid social change has disrupted Javanese society and this is reflected in a disintegrated culture; as the unified state of traditional village society was mirrored in the unified *slametan*, so the broken society of the *kampong* is mirrored in the broken *slametan* of the funeral ritual we have just witnessed. Or, in the alternate **phraseology**, cultural decay has led to social fragmentation; loss of a vigorous folk tradition has weakened the moral ties between individuals.

It seems to me that there are two things wrong with this argument, no matter in which of the two vocabularies it is stated: it identifies social (or cultural) conflict with social (or cultural) disintegration; it denies independent roles to both culture and social structure, regarding one of the two as a mere **epiphenomenon** of the other.

In the first place, *kampong* life is not simply **anomic**. Though it is marked by vigorous social conflicts, as is our own society, it nevertheless proceeds fairly effectively in most areas. If governmental, economic, familial, **stratificatory**, and social control institutions functioned as poorly as did Paidjan's funeral, a *kampong* would indeed be an uncomfortable place in which to live. But though some of the typical symptoms of urban upheaval—such as increased gambling, petty thievery, and prostitution—are to some degree present, *kampong* social life is clearly not on the verge of collapse; everyday social interaction does not **limp** along with the suppressed bitterness and deep uncertainty we have seen focused around burial. For most of its members most of the time, a semi urban neighbourhood in Modjokuto offers a viable way of life, despite its material disadvantages and its transitional character; and for all the sentimentality which has been **lavished** on descriptions of rural life in Java, this is probably as much as one could say for the village. As a matter of fact, it is around religious beliefs and practices—*slametans*, holidays, curing, **sorcery**, cult groups, and so on—that the most seriously disruptive events seem to cluster. Religion here is somehow the centre and source of stress, not merely the reflection of stress elsewhere in the society.

Yet it is not a source of stress because commitment to the inherited patterns of belief and ritual has been weakened. The conflict around Paidjan's death took place simply because all the *kampong* residents did share a common, highly integrated, cultural tradition concerning funerals. There was no argument over whether the *slametan* pattern was the correct ritual, whether the neighbours were obligated to attend, or whether the **supernatural** concepts upon which the ritual is based were valid ones. For both *santris* and *abangans* in the *kampong*s, the *slametan* maintains its force as a genuine sacred symbol; it still provides a meaningful framework for facing death—for most people the only meaningful framework. We cannot attribute the failure of the ritual to secularization, to a growth in skepticism, or to a disinterest in the traditional "saving beliefs," any more than we can attribute it to anomie.

We must rather, I think, ascribe it to a discontinuity between the form of integration existing in the social structural ("causal-functional") dimension and the form of

phraseology - the way in which words and phrases are used in speech or writing

epiphenomenon - a secondary phenomenon that results from and accompanies another

anomic - socially unstable, alienated, and disorganised

stratificatory - layering, creating strata

limp - move or proceed haltingly or unsteadily

lavished - given or bestowed in abundance

sorcery - use of supernatural power over others, witchcraft

supernatural - of or relating to existence outside the natural world

integration existing in the cultural ("logico-meaningful") dimension—a discontinuity which leads not to social and cultural disintegration, but to social and cultural conflict. In more concrete, if somewhat **aphoristic** terms, the difficulty lies in the fact that socially *kampong* people are **urbanites**, while culturally they are still village folk.

I have already pointed out that the Javanese *kampong* represents a transitional sort of society, that its members stand "in between" the more or less fully-urbanised elite and the more or less traditionally-organised peasantry. The social structural forms in which they participate are, for the most part, urban ones. The emergence of a highly-differentiated occupational structure in place of the almost entirely agricultural one of the countryside; the virtual disappearance of the semihereditary, traditional village government as a personalistic **buffer** between the individual and the rationalised central government bureaucracy, and its replacement by the more flexible forms of modern parliamentary democracy; the evolution of a multiclass society in which the *kampong*, unlike the village, is not even a potentially self-sufficient entity, but is only one dependent subpart—all this means that the *kampong* man lives in a very urban world. Socially, his is a ***Gesellschaft*** existence.

But on the cultural level—the level of meaning—there is much less of a contrast between the *kampong* dweller and the villager; much more between him and a member of the urban elite. The patterns of belief, expression, and value to which the *kampong* man is committed—his world view, ethos, ethic, or whatever—differ only slightly from those followed by the villager. Amid a radically more complex social environment, he clings noticeably to the symbols which guided him or his parents through life in rural society. And it is this fact which gave rise to the psychological and social tension surrounding Paidjan's funeral.

The disorganisation of the ritual resulted from a basic ambiguity in the meaning of the rite for those who participated in it. Most simply stated, this ambiguity lay in the fact that the symbols which compose the *slametan* had both religious and political significance; they were charged with both sacred and **profane** import. The people who came into Karman's yard, including Karman himself, were not sure whether they were engaged in a sacralised consideration of first and last things or in a secular struggle for power. This is why the old man (he was a graveyard keeper, as a matter of fact) complained to me that dying was nowadays a political problem; why the village policeman accused the Modin not of religious but of political bias for refusing to bury Paidjan; why the unsophisticated Karman was astonished when his ideological commitments suddenly loomed as obstacles to his religious practices; why Abu was torn between his willingness to submerge political differences in the interest of a harmonious funeral and his unwillingness to **trifle** with his religious beliefs in the interest of his own salvation; why the commemorative rite **oscillated** between political **diatribe** and a **poignant** search for an adequate explanation of what had happened—why, in sum, the *slametan* religious pattern stumbled when it attempted to "step in" with the "positive creed" and "the culturally-valuable belief."

As emphasized earlier, the present severity of the contrast between *santri* and *abangan* is in great part due to the rise of nationalist social movements in twentieth century Indonesia. In the larger cities where these movements were born, they were originally various sorts of tradesmen's societies to fight Chinese competition; unions of workers to resist plantation exploitation; religious groups trying to redefine ultimate concepts; philosophical discussion clubs attempting to clarify Indonesian metaphysical and moral notions; school associations striving to **revivify** Indonesian education; cooperative societies trying to work out new forms of economic organization; cultural groups moving toward a renaissance of Indonesian artistic life; and, of course, politi-

aphoristic -
terse and witty like a maxim
urbanites -
city dwellers
buffer -
barrier
***Gesellschaft* -**
German term for 'society.' Reference is to the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' 1887 work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (Community and Society)*. He conceptualised the nature of social systems into the *Gemeinschaft* (communal society) and the *Gesellschaft* (associational society)
profane -
nonreligious in subject matter, form, or use; secular
trifle -
deal with something as if it were of little significance or value
oscillated -
swung back and forth
diatribe -
a bitter, abusive denunciation
poignant -
physically painful

cal parties working to build up effective opposition to Dutch rule. As time wore on, however, the struggle for independence absorbed more and more of the energies of all these essentially elite groups. Whatever the distinctive aim of each of them—economic reconstruction, religious reform, artistic renaissance—it became submerged in a diffuse political ideology; all the groups were increasingly concerned with one end as the prerequisite of all further social and cultural progress—freedom. By the time the revolution began in 1945, reformulation of ideas outside the political sphere had noticeably **slackened** and most aspects of life had become intensely ideologised, a tendency which has continued into the post-war period.

In the villages and small-town *kampongs*, the early, specific phase of nationalism had only a minor effect. But as the movement unified and moved toward eventual triumph, the masses, too, began to be affected and, as I have pointed out, mainly through the **medium** of religious symbols. The highly-urbanised elite **forged** their bonds to the peasantry not in terms of complex political and economic theory, which would have had little meaning in a rural context, but in terms of concepts and values already present there. As the major line of **demarcation** among the elite was between those who took Islamic doctrine as the overall basis of their mass appeal and those who took a generalized philosophical refinement of the indigenous syncretic tradition as such a basis, so in the countryside *santri* and *abangan* soon became not simply religious but political categories, denoting the followers of these two diffuse approaches to the organization of the emerging independent society. When the achievement of political freedom strengthened the importance of **factional** politics in parliamentary government, the *santri-abangan* distinction became, on the local level at least, one of the primary ideological axes around which the process of party manoeuvring took place.

The effect of this development has been to cause political debate and religious **propitiation** to be carried out in the same vocabulary. A Qur'anic chant becomes an affirmation of political allegiance as well as a **paean** to God; a burning of incense expresses one's secular ideology as well as one's sacred beliefs. *Slametans* now tend to be marked by anxious discussions of the various elements in the ritual, of what their "real" significance is; by arguments as to whether a particular practice is essential or optional; by *abangan* uneasiness when *santris* lift their eyes to pray and *santri* uneasiness when *abangans* recite a protective spell. At death, as we have seen, the traditional symbols tend both to solidify individuals in the face of social loss and to remind them of their differences; to emphasise the broadly human themes of mortality and undeserved suffering and the narrowly social ones of factional opposition and party struggle; to strengthen the values the participants hold in common and to "tune up" their **animosities** and suspicions. The rituals themselves become matters of political conflict; forms for the sacralisation of marriage and death are transformed into important party issues. In such an **equivocal** cultural setting, the average *kampong* Javanese finds it increasingly difficult to determine the proper attitude toward a particular event, to choose the meaning of a given symbol appropriate to a given social context.

revivify -
impart new life; revive
slackened -
slowed down
medium -
means by which something is accomplished, conveyed, or transferred
forged -
gave form or shape to, especially by means of careful effort
demarcation -
a separation; a distinction
factional -
divided into factions or groups
propitiation -
the act of atoning for sin or wrongdoing
paean -
a song of joyful praise or exultation
animosities -
bitter hostility or open enmity

The **corollary** of this interference of political meanings with religious meanings also occurs: the interference of religious meanings with political ones. Because the same symbols are used in both political and religious contexts, people often regard party struggle as involving not merely the usual **ebb and flow** of parliamentary manoeuvre, the necessary factional give-and-take of democratic government, but involving as well decisions on basic values and **ultimates**. *Kampong* people in particular tend to see the open struggle for power explicitly institutionalised in the new republican forms of government as a struggle for the right to establish different **brands** of essentially religious principles as official: "If the *abangans* get in, the Qur'anic teachers will be forbidden to hold classes"; "If the *santris* get in, we shall all have to pray five times a day." The normal conflict involved in electoral striving for office is **heightened** by the idea that literally everything is **at stake**: the "If we win, it is our country" idea that the group which gains power has a right, as one man said, "to put his own foundation under the state." Politics thus takes on a kind of sacralised bitterness; and one village election in a **suburban** Modjokuto village actually had to be held twice because of the intense pressures generated in this way.

The *kampong* man is, so to speak, caught between his ultimate and his proximate concepts. Because he is forced to formulate his essentially metaphysical ideas, his response to such basic "problems" as fate, suffering, and evil, in the same terms as when he states his claims to secular power, his political rights and aspirations, he experiences difficulty in enacting either a socially and psychologically efficient funeral or a smoothly-running election.

But a ritual is not just a pattern of meaning; it is also a form of social interaction. Thus, in addition to creating cultural **ambiguity**, the attempt to bring a religious pattern from a relatively less-differentiated rural background into an urban context also gives rise to social conflict, simply because the kind of social integration demonstrated by the pattern is not congruent with the major patterns of integration in the society generally. The way *kampong* people go about maintaining solidarity in everyday life is quite different from the way the *slametan* insists that they should go about maintaining it.

As emphasised earlier, the *slametan* is essentially a territorially-based ritual; it assumes the primary tie between families to be that of residential **propinquity**. One set of neighbours is considered a significant social unit (politically, religiously, economically) as against another set of neighbours; one village as against another village; one village-cluster as against another village-cluster. In the town, this pattern has in large part changed. Significant social groups are defined by a plurality of factors—class, political commitment, occupation, ethnicity, regional origins, religious preference, age, and sex, as well as residence. The new urban form of organisation consists of a careful balance of conflicting forces arising out of diverse contexts: class differences are softened by ideological similarities; ethic conflicts by common economic interests; political opposition, as we have been, by residential intimacy. But in the midst of all this pluralistic checking and balancing, the *slametan* remains unchanged, blind to the major lines of social and cultural demarcation in urban life. For it, the primary classifying characteristic of an individual is where he lives.

Thus when an occasion arises demanding sacralisation—a life-cycle transition, a holiday, a serious illness—the religious form which must be employed acts not with, but against the **grain** of social equilibrium. The *slametan* ignores those recently-devised mechanisms of social **insulation** which in daily life keep group conflict within fixed bounds, as it also ignores the newly-evolved patterns of social integration among opposed groups which balance contradictory tensions in a reasonably-effective fashion.

equivocal - of a doubtful or uncertain nature
corollary - a natural consequence or effect, a result
ebb and flow - a decline and increase, constant fluctuation
ultimates - elements, principles
brands - distinctive categories, particular kinds
heightened - intensified
at stake - at risk, in question
suburban - in the outskirts of a city
ambiguity - doubtfulness or uncertainty
propinquity - proximity, nearness
grain - arrangement, pattern

People are pressed into an intimacy they would as soon avoid; where the incongruity between the social assumptions of the ritual ("we are all culturally homogeneous peasants together") and what is in fact the case ("we are several different kinds of people who must **perforce** live together despite our serious value disagreements") leads to a deep uneasiness of which Paidjan's funeral was but an extreme example. In the *kampong*, the holding of a *slametan* increasingly serves to remind people that the neighbourhood bonds they are strengthening through a dramatic enactment are no longer the bonds which most **emphatically** hold them together. These latter are ideological, class, occupation, and political bonds, divergent ties which are no longer adequately summed up in territorial relationships.

In sum, the disruption of Paidjan's funeral may be traced to a single source: an incongruity between the cultural framework of meaning and the patterning of social interaction, an incongruity due to the persistence in an urban environment of a religious symbol system adjusted to peasant social structure. Static functionalism, of either the sociological or socio-psychological sort, is unable to isolate this kind of incongruity because it fails to discriminate between logico-meaningful integration and causal-functional integration; because it fails to realise that cultural structure and social structure are not mere reflexes of one another but independent, yet interdependent, variables. The driving forces in social change can be clearly formulated only by a more dynamic form of functionalist theory, one which takes into account the fact that man's need to live in a world to which he can attribute some significance, whose essential import he feels he can grasp, often diverges from his **concurrent** need to maintain a functioning social organism. A diffuse concept of culture as "learned behaviour," a static view of social structure as an equilibrated pattern of interaction, and a stated or unstated assumption that the two must somehow (save in "disorganised" situations) be simple mirror images of one another, is rather too primitive a conceptual apparatus with which to attack such problems as those raised by Paidjan's unfortunate but instructive funeral.

insulation -
detachment, isolation
perforce -
by necessity, by force of circumstance
emphatically -
forcibly, in a striking manner or degree
concurrent -
happening at the same time

SOURCE: Geertz, Clifford. "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example." *The Interpretation of Cultures*. USA: BasicBooks, 1973, pp. 142-169.

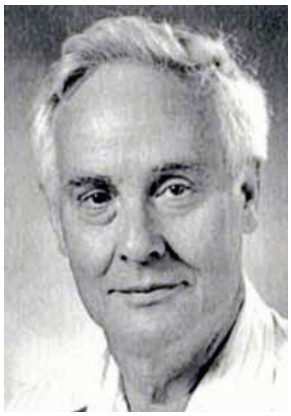
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is functionalism? What is the difference between the social anthropological and socio-psychological approaches?
2. According to Geertz, what is the problem with functionalist approaches to the study of culture and society?
3. How does Geertz justify the necessity of understanding 'cultural' and 'social' processes on a new plane? What are its advantages?

4. Can you elaborate on the example the author chooses to analyse and his approach to his subject?
5. Describe the *slametan* ritual in Modjokuto and its social application.
6. What are the factors, in Geertz's formulation, that have affected traditional life in Central Java? Consider the outcomes of these changes.
7. Discuss the *santri* and *abangan* divide in the context of the development of modernist movements in Java and the way they have incorporated traditions.
8. How did social changes alter the way of life in towns, urban areas and *kampongs* in Geertz's setting?
9. On what traditions did the Permai and Masjumi movements create their social base and how did these associations relate to rural people?
10. What are the funeral rituals in Modjokuto? How did the traditional *slametan* clash with the new customs promoted by Permai and Masjumi?
11. How would functionalists, according to Geertz, understand the issues raised by the funeral in the *kampong*?
12. In what way is the *kampong* life different from a regular town or village life? What is the effect of the *kampong* on the traditional beliefs of its inhabitants?
13. How do political organisations shape vague traditions into institutionalized practices?
14. What is Geertz's answer, as an anthropologist, to the conflict that developed around the funeral process in Modjokuto?
15. Can you think of an example from your life when ritual traditions failed to fulfill their role or purpose in society?

BENEDICT ANDERSON: THE LAST WAVE

Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson (1936 -) is one of the major figures in nationalism studies. He was born in Kuming, China while his father was working for the Imperial Maritime Customs, and later grew up in California. He received his education in England and the United States, first in Classics and then in Asian studies. While working in Jakarta in the 1960s, he was banned from living in Indonesia for his research which was critical of the government, and subsequently moved to Thailand. Currently, Professor Anderson teaches at Columbia University and heads the Modern Indonesia Program. The following extract comes from his influential book Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (1983). The author analyses the formation of the official Indonesian language – Bahasa Indonesia – and offers his ingenious explanation of how a marginal language spread through the Indonesian islands and took strong hold due to historical circumstances. As you read, pay attention to the way certain social groups unwittingly support the institutionalization of the 'national' language.



[. . .] One can not ignore the curious accident that by the 1920s an 'Indonesian language' had come into self-conscious existence. How this accident came about is so instructive that it seems worth a brief digression. Earlier, mention was made of the fact that only to a limited and late extent were the **Indies** ruled through Dutch language. How could it not be so, when the Dutch had begun their local conquests in the early seventeenth century, while Dutch-language instruction for inlanders was not seriously undertaken until the early twentieth? What happened instead was that by a slow, largely unplanned process, a strange language-of-state evolved on the basis of an ancient **inter-insular** lingua franca.[14] Called dienstmaleisch (perhaps 'service-Malay' or 'administrative-Malay'), it belonged typologically with 'Ottoman' and that 'fiscal German' which emerged from the **polyglot** barracks of the Habsburg empire.[15] By the early nineteenth century it was solidly in place inside **officialdom**. When print-capitalism arrived on the scene in a sizeable way after the mid-century, the language moved out into the marketplace and the media. Used at first mainly by Chinese and Eurasian newspapermen and printers, it was picked up by inlanders at the century's close. Quickly, the dienst branch of its family tree was forgotten and replaced by a **putative** ancestor in the **Riau Islands** (of which the most important had—perhaps fortunately—since 1819 become British Singapore). By 1928, shaped by two generations of urban writers and readers, it was ready to be adopted by Young Indonesia as the national(-ist) language Bahasa Indonesia. Since then, it has never looked back.

Indies -
East Indies, a synonym for the islands that now constitute the Republic of Indonesia (formerly known as the Netherlands Indies, or Dutch East Indies)

inter-insular -
between the islands

***lingua franca* -**
a common language used by people who speak different languages

polyglot -
multilingual

officialdom -
people elected or appointed to administer a government

putative -
commonly accepted or supposed; assumed to exist or have existed

Riau Islands -
an archipelago of Indonesian islands located south of Singapore

14 See the valuable account in John Hoffman, 'A Foreign Investment: Indies Malay to 1902,' *Indonesia*, 27 (April 1979), pp. 65-92.

15 The military 'constituted something like an *anational caste*, the members of which lived, even in their private lives, ordinarily distinct from their national environments and spoke very often a special language, the so-called *ararisch deutsch* ("fiscal German"), as it was ironically named by the representatives of the literary German, meaning by it a strange linguistic mixture which does not take the rules of grammar very seriously.' Jaszi, *The Dissolution*, p. 144. Author's emphases.

Ashanti -
the language of the Akan people in Ghana
solidarities -
unifying elements produced or based on a community of interests, objectives and standards
vernacular -
the everyday language spoken by a people as distinguished from the official literary language
Babel -
Tower of Babel is, in biblical literature, a structure built in the land of Shinar (Babylonia). The story of its construction, given in Genesis, appears to be an attempt to explain the existence of diverse human languages. According to Genesis, the Babylonians wanted to make a name for themselves by building a mighty city and a tower "with its top in the heavens." God disrupted the work by so confusing the language of the workers that they could no longer understand one another. The city was never completed, and the people were dispersed over the face of the earth.
per se -
in itself
diffusion -
spread

Yet, in the end, the Indonesian case, interesting as it is, should not mislead us into thinking that, if Holland had been a bigger power,[16] and had arrived in 1850 rather than 1600, the national language could not just as well have been Dutch. Nothing suggests that Ghanaian nationalism is any less real than Indonesian simply because its national language is English rather than **Ashanti**. It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them-as *emblems* of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building, in effect, *particular* ***solidarities***. After all, imperial languages are still ***vernaculars***, and thus particular vernaculars among many. If radical Mozambique speaks Portuguese, the significance of this is that Portuguese is the medium through which Mozambique is imagined (and at the same time limits its stretch into Tanzania and Zambia). Seen from this perspective, the use of Portuguese in Mozambique (or English in India) is basically no different than the use of English in Australia or Portuguese in Brazil. Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of **Babel**: no one lives long enough to learn *all* languages. Print-language is what invents nationalism, not *a particular* language ***per se***.[17] The only question-mark standing over languages like Portuguese in Mozambique and English in India is whether the administrative and educational systems, particularly the latter, can generate a politically sufficient **diffusion** of bilingualism. Thirty years ago, almost no Indonesian spoke *Bahasa Indonesia* as his or her mother-tongue; virtually everyone had their own 'ethnic' language, and some, especially people in the nationalist movement, *Bahasa Indonesia*/*dienst-maleisch* as well. Today there are perhaps millions of young Indonesians, from dozens of ethnolinguistic backgrounds, who speak Indonesian as their mother-tongue.

SOURCE: Anderson, Benedict. "The Last Wave." *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991, pp. 132-134.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How did the Indonesian language emerge?
2. What is the connection between dienstmaleisch and ararisch deutsch? What does it say about the nature of language creation?
3. In what way does print-capitalism and the educational system at large influence language creation?

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16 Not merely in the obvious sense. Because, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Holland had, for all intents and purposes, only one colony, and a huge, profitable one at that, it was quite practical to train its functionaries in a (single) non-European *diensttaal*. Over time, special schools and faculties grew up in the metropole to prepare future functionaries linguistically. For multi-continental empires like the British, no single locally-based *diensttaal* would have sufficed.

17 Marr's account of language-development in eastern Indochina is very revealing on this point. He notes that as late as c. 1910 'most educated Vietnamese assumed that Chinese or French, or both, were essential modes of 'higher' communication.' (*Vietnamese Tradition*, p. 137). After 1920, however, and partly as a result of state promotion of the phonetic *quôc ngû* script, things changed quickly. By then 'the belief was growing that spoken Vietnamese was an important and perhaps [sic] essential component of national identity. Even intellectuals more at home in French than in their mother tongue came to appreciate the significance of the fact that at least 85% of their fellow-countrymen spoke the same language.' (p. 138) They were, by then, fully aware of the role of mass literacy in advancing the nation-states of Europe and Japan. Yet Marr also shows that for a long time there was no clear correlation between language-preference and political stance: 'Upholding the Vietnamese mother tongue was not inherently patriotic, any more than promoting the French language was inherently collaborationist.' (p. 150).

4. Is Anderson surprised by the Ghanaian nationalists speaking English and Mozambicans speaking Portuguese?
5. Why is language not an emblem of nation-ness in a literal sense of the word but only as a means of creating particular solidarities?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. What kinds of parallels can one draw between the creation of Bahasa Indonesia and the influence of modernist political beliefs on the conduct of *slametan* in Modjokuto?
2. According to Anderson, language serves as a means of creating 'imagined communities'. Does Geertz's funeral example serve the same purpose?
3. How do the examples from Geertz and Anderson challenge the common understanding of 'traditions'?
4. What is the role of 'change' in terms of institutionalisation of various traditions? Refer to the text examples of the intellectuals upholding the Bahasa Indonesia and

INDONESIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM
By Wage Rudolf Supratman, 1928

Indonesia, tanah airku, tanah tumpah darahku
disanalah aku berdiri, jadi pandu ibuku
Indonesia, kebangsaanku, bangsa dan tanah airku
marilah kita berseru: Indonesia bersatu
hiduplah tanahku, hiduplah negriku
bangsaku, rakyatku, semuanya
bangunlah jiwanya, bangunlah badannya
untuk Indonesia Raya
Indonesia Raya, merdeka merdeka
tanahku, negriku, yang kucinta
Indonesia Raya, merdeka merdeka
hiduplah Indonesia Raya

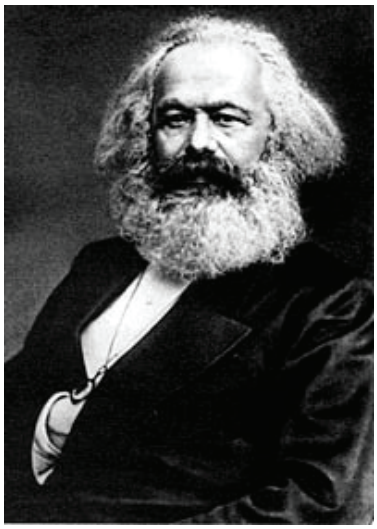
the way the Modin in Java is drawn into reasserting a particular kind of behaviour as expected by the authorities.

5. Can you bring any examples of peaceful co-existence of 'new' and 'old' traditions from the texts above?

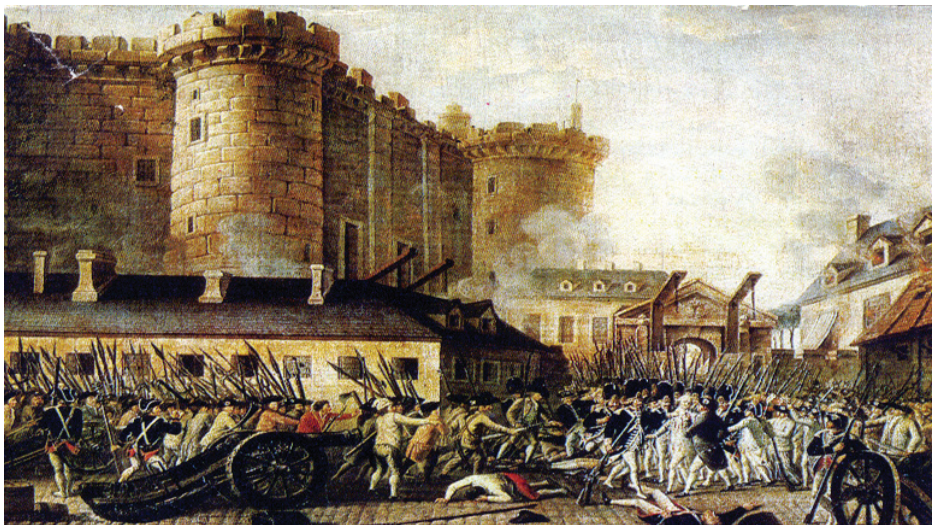
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
By Jacques-Louis David, French painter, 1800

KARL MARX: THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) was one of the greatest social thinkers the world has ever seen. Born into a family of rabbis in Trier, Germany, he got his education at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin. He was involved in the "Young Hegelian" Movement, which was established in honour of the German idealist philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). Hegel's interpretation of nature, human history and culture as a dialectical process of opposing forces (thesis and antithesis) in which Spirit, or Mind, realizes its full potentiality was crucial to nineteenth century German philosophy. Marx was critical of some aspects of Hegel's thought but relied upon his dialectical synthesis to work out his own materialist understanding of history in cooperation with Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). The following excerpt, offered for your consideration, is from The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon (1852), where Marx contemplated the French revolution and its consequences. Here Marx argues that the uprising in France in February 1848 which chased away the monarchy forever and briefly established a republican regime was a farcical (comical) repetition of the French Revolution of 1789. Brumaire was the second month of the Revolutionary calendar and the eighteenth Brumaire (November 9, 1799) was the date of the coup d'etat when Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the *Directory* in France. This event is often viewed as the effective end of the French Revolution. For Marx, the rise of Bonaparte's nephew, Charles Louis Bonaparte in 1848 was part of a historical tradition. As you read, consider the nature of traditions and the influence that this way of looking at history (as traditional) has on our understanding of history. Finally, consider the nature of traditions to resurface in critical moments, such as revolutions.



Hegel remarks somewhere that all great world-historic facts and personages appear, so to speak, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. **Caussidiere** for **Danton**, **Louis Blanc** for **Robespierre**, the **Montagne of 1848 to 1851** for the **Montagne of 1793 to 1795**, the nephew for the uncle.



STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14, 1789

Directory
The body of 5 *Directors* that held executive power in France from 1795-1799,

Caussidiere, Louis Marc -
1808-1861 participated in the Paris uprisings of 1831 and 1834, later elected to the General Asembly

Danton, Georges-Jacques -
1759-1794, French revolutionary leader and orator, often credited as the chief force in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the First French Republic

Louis Blanc, Jean-Joseph Charles -
1811-1882, French utopian socialist, noted for his theory of worker-controlled "social workshops"

Robespierre, Maximillien-François-Marie-Isidore -
1758-1794, radical Jacobin leader and one of the principal figures in the French Revolution

Montagne of 1848 to 1851 -
reference to the Second Republic in France

Montagne of 1793 to 1795 -
reference to the French Constitution of June 1793

conjure up -
evoke or call forth

Luther, Martin -
1483-1586, the founder of the 16th century Reformation and of Protestantism. He seized on the doctrine of justification by faith from the Apostle Paul and made the distinction between faith and works, providing the basis of his attack on the late medieval church

Apostle Paul -
a Christian missionary to the Gentiles; author of many Epistles in the New Testament of the Bible

salient -
most important, outstanding

Desmoulins, Lucie-Simplice-Camille-Benoist -
1760-1794, moderate democrat who was one of the most influential journalists and pamphleteers of the French Revolution

St. Just -
Louis Saint-Just, 1767-1794, French revolutionary leader, close associate of Robespierre

bourgeois -
dominated by commercial and industrial interest; in Marxist theory, a member of the property-owning class; a capitalist

parcelled-out -
distributed

unfettered -
free, unrestrained

antediluvian -
very old, antique

colossi -
plural of colossus: a big statue or building that has historical significance

Romanism -
offensive reference to Roman Catholicism

Brutuses -
reference to Marcus Junius Brutus, 85-42 BCE, Roman politician and general who conspired to assassinate Julius Caesar

Gracchi -
reference to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, 163-133 BCE, Roman social reformer and his brother Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, 153-121 BCE, known as "the Gracchi." They sought to aid poor farmers through greater subdivision of land but were killed in riots.

publicolas -
possible reference to Publius Valerius Publicola, one of the first republican statesmen of ancient Rome

Say -
reference to Léon Say, 1826-1896, economist who served as finance minister in the Third Republic of France

And the same caricature occurs in the circumstances of the second edition of the Eighteenth Brumaire.

Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionising themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously **conjure up** the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language. Thus **Luther** put on the mask of the **Apostle Paul**, the Revolution of 1789-1814 draped itself **alternately** in the guise of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire, and the Revolution of 1848 knew nothing better to do than to parody, now 1789, now the revolutionary tradition of 1793-95. In like manner, the beginner who has learned a new language always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he assimilates the spirit of the new language and expresses himself freely in it only when he moves in it without recalling the old and when he forgets his native tongue.

When we think about this conjuring up of the dead of world history, a **salient** difference reveals itself. **Camille Desmoulins**, Danton, Robespierre, **St. Just**, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the parties and the masses of the old French Revolution, performed the task of their time—that of unchaining and establishing modern **bourgeois** society—in Roman costumes and with Roman phrases. The first one destroyed the feudal foundation and cut off the feudal heads that had grown on it. The other created inside France the only conditions under which free competition could be developed, **parcelled-out** land properly used, and the **unfettered** productive power of the nation employed; and beyond the French borders it swept away feudal institutions everywhere, to provide, as far as necessary, bourgeois society in France with an appropriate up-to-date environment on the European continent. Once the new social formation was established, the **antediluvian colossi** disappeared and with them also the resurrected **Romanism** – the **Brutuses**, the **Gracchi**, the **publicolas**, the tribunes, the senators, and Caesar himself. Bourgeois society in its sober reality bred its own true interpreters and spokesmen in the **Says**, **Cousins**, **Royer-Collards**, **Benjamin Constants**, and **Guizots**; its real military leaders sat behind the office desk and the **hog-headed Louis XVIII** was its political chief. Entirely absorbed in the production of wealth and in peaceful competitive struggle, it no longer remembered that the ghosts of the Roman period had watched over its **cradle**.

SOURCE: Marx, Karl. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon." *Marx and Engels Internet Archive*. URL: www.marxists.org.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does history, according to Marx, repeat itself? Consider the examples listed in the text.
2. One of the famous lines of Marx is "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please." How do you understand this statement?
3. What does the author say about traditions and the way they influence people's thought at any given moment in history?

4. In what ways did the past reveal itself in the French revolution?
5. How can one interpret the assertion that Louis XVIII and his followers "no longer remembered that the ghosts of the Roman period had watched over its cradle"?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Interpreting Marx, it is possible to say that people do not completely realize that their actions are largely controlled by circumstances of the past, no matter how innovative they may claim to be. Is it applicable in Geertz's example of the Modjokuto funeral?
2. What is the role for the individual in terms of challenging traditions in the cases of Geertz, Anderson, and Marx?
3. Anderson's analysis into language creation in Indonesia seems to suggest that it is hard to challenge institutionalised traditions. Do you agree with this statement? Compare it to the other texts you have read.
4. Based on the examples you have encountered so far, is it possible to assume that when traditions of the past and modernity challenge each other, a synthesis is created? Or is one of the two driven out of the scene?
5. How could Marx comment on the Geertz and Anderson studies?

Cousin -
reference to Victor Cousin, 1792-1867, French philosopher, educational reformer, and historian whose systematic eclecticism made him the best known French thinker in his time

Royer-Collard -
reference to Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard, 1763-1845, French statesman and philosopher, a moderate partisan of the Revolution who became a liberal Legitimist and the exponent of a realist "philosophy of perception"

Benjamin Constant -
reference to Henri-Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, 1767-1830, Franco-Swiss novelist and political writer, the author of *Adolphe* (1816), a forerunner of the modern psychological novel

Guizot -
reference to François-Pierra-Guillaume Guizot, 1787-1874, French political figure and historian who, as leader of the conservative constitutional monarchists during the July Monarchy (1830-48), was the dominant minister in France

hog-headed -
'pig-headed'; greedy

Louis XVIII -
Louis-Stanislas-Xavier, 1755-1824, king of France by title from 1795 and in fact from 1814 to 1824

cradle -
a baby's bed

RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA

MUHAMMAD IQBAL: IS RELIGION POSSIBLE?

Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was one of the most prominent Islamic scholars from India. Born in Sialkot, which is in present-day Pakistan, he studied at the Government College in Lahore and later at the Universities of Cambridge and Munich. Iqbal traveled significantly in Islamic countries, and suggested that people live an Islamic life detached from the Qu'ranic vision, which he considered to be universal. He is mostly remembered in Pakistan for being an ardent supporter of the separation of the Islamic state from India. Philosophically, he embraced the idea that God should be the source of vitality in people's lives. He expressed his beliefs both in his works and in political speeches. The following writing by Iqbal is but one of many works produced by him on Islam. Here, he analyses the reasons for the detachment of spirituality from modern life conceptions. He advocates the possibility of bridging such a gap and reconsidering the relationship between religion and scientific reasoning. As you read, closely consider the means he proffers for bringing Islam back into centrality in people's lives. Also, consider his attitude towards nationalism and patriotism as new traditions which do not exactly fit with the 'way' of Islam in his understanding.

REASONS FOR THE CRISIS IN SPIRITUALITY

…Thus, completely **addled** by the results of personal mental activity, the modern person has stopped living spiritually, that is to say, inwardly. In thinking, people are in open conflict with themselves, and in their economic and political life, they come into direct conflict with other people. People believe that they are not capable of controlling their own **ruthless egoism** and their **indefatigable** thirst for gold that gradually eats away at their higher aspirations and will not result in anything except a sense of **weariness** from life. Submerged in 'fact', i.e. in the optical present source of feelings, people are completely cut off from the underdeveloped depths of their own being. Their consistent materialism will overtake them in the end… [and lead to a] **paralysis** of energy… In the east, things are not any better. The technique of medieval mysticism helped religious life in its highest manifestation to develop both in the east and the west, but has practically failed today. In the Muslim east, its destructive influence was perhaps greater than anywhere else. Instead of reintegrating the powers of the average person's inward life and thereby preparing people for participation in the historical process, religion has taught people to falsely **renounce** and has done it with total satisfaction in ignorance and spiritual slavery.

HOW IS SALVATION SOUGHT FROM THE SPIRITUAL CRISIS?

It is no wonder that the modern Muslim in Turkey, Egypt and Persia is forced to look for new sources of energy by creating new loyalties such as patriotism and nationalism, which **Nietzsche** called 'sick, and reckless' and 'a mighty power against culture'. Disil-

addled - confused
ruthless egoism - merciless self-interest
indefatigable - never stopping, persistent
weariness - temporary loss of strength and energy
paralysis - total stoppage
renounce - to give up, reject, abandon
salvation - the act of delivering from sin or saving from evil
Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm - 1844-1900, influential German philosopher remembered for his concept of the *Übermensch* (superman) and for his rejection of Christian values

lusioned with a purely religious method of spiritual renewal, which alone only brings us into contact with an eternal source of life and power by expanding our horizons in ideas and emotions, the modern Muslim naively hopes to find sources of energy by serving his thoughts and emotions. The worldview of modern **atheistic** socialism as seen in the **zealous** supporters of this new religion is broader. It is true that, in finding their philosophical foundation in **Hegelianism**, people come out against the same source that could give them power and purposefulness. Both nationalism and atheistic socialism (at least under modern conditions) regulate human relations and depend on psychological powers of hatred, jealousy and **offensiveness**, all of which lead to poverty in people's souls and **concealment** that wastes away their sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of medieval mysticism, nor nationalism nor atheistic socialism can **relieve** an unhappy person of their **ailments**. There is no doubt that we are currently experiencing one of the greatest crises in the history of modern culture.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION AND PROPHETS IN RENEWAL

Today, the world stands before an essential biological renewal. Only religion that in its highest manifestation does not have dogma, clergy or ritual is capable of ethically preparing the modern person to carry out their great responsibility, as it is inevitably called by the progress of modern science, and to restore to it the faith that allows people to win their individuality now and to preserve it in the future. Only with a new vision of their origins and future, their 'where from' and 'where to', will people eventually gain victory over society, over the **exculpatory**, inhuman competition, and also over the civilisation that has lost its spiritual integrity because of internal conflict between religious and political values. As I mentioned earlier, it is impossible to deny that religion aims to understand the ultimate principle of values and thereby reintegrate the powers of the individual. All world religious literature—including descriptions of believers' private feelings and possibly also in intellectual forms of archaic psychology—is **unfailing** evidence of this. These feelings are just as natural as our usual feelings. It is clear that the person who actually feels this has cognitive values and what is more of the essence, they show the ability to concentrate their strengths on it and thereby **confer** a new individuality on themselves. The opinion that similar feelings are the result of **neuroses** or mysticism does not resolve the question of their meaning or value in the long run. If the possible angle is beyond the bounds of physics, then we must bravely look such possibilities in the face, even if they are capable of destroying or yielding to changes in our normal way of life and thoughts. The interests of truth demand that we turn away from our genuine opinion. It is really not of importance if a religious connection is at first conditional on some kind of psychological rejection. **George Fox** might perhaps be a neurotic, but who can deny his purifying strength for the religious life of modern Britain? Muhammad, we are told, was a **psychopath**. But what if a psychopath possesses the strength to give human history a new direction, if that person was extremely interested in the angle of psychology that reveals the original **expediency** that converted slaves into leaders, determined their behaviour and guaranteed the success of the whole human race. Judging by the various types of activities that have arisen from the movement initiated by Islamic prophets, his [Muhammad's] spiritual exertion and the particular type of behaviour that has resulted from this cannot be examined as a simple fantasy of the mind. This should not be understood as anything other than a reaction to an objective situation bearing new enthusiasm, new

atheistic - rejecting any belief in God
zealous - ardent
Hegelianism - the monist, idealist philosophy of Hegel in which the dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis is used as an analytic tool in order to approach a higher unity or a new thesis
offensiveness - giving pain or unpleasant sensations; disagreeable; aggressive
concealment - the condition of being concealed or hidden
relieve - set free
ailments - a physical or mental disorder, especially a mild illness
exculpatory - clearing, or tending to clear, from alleged fault or guilt; excusing
unfailing - certain; sure
confer - to present; give
neuroses - a mental or emotional disorder
Fox, George - 1624-1691, English religious leader who founded the Society of Friends, or Quakers in England
psychopath - a mentally ill or unstable individual
expediency - appropriateness to the purpose at hand

organizations and new starts. If we look at this from an anthropological point of view, it turns out that the psychopath plays an important role in human social organisation. His path consists not in classifying facts and discovering reasons—he thinks in terms of life and movement directed towards the creation of new forms of human behaviour. There is not doubt that he has his **lapses** and his illusions, just as the scholar relying on **perceptible** experiences has his lapses and illusions. However, thorough studies of his methods show that he is no less **vigilant** than scholars with the exception of a dash of illusion from his own experience.

SOURCE: Iqbal, Muhammad. "Is Religion Possible?" *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Edited by M. T. Stepanyants. Moscow: Eastern Languages, 1997. Translated by Emma Wolfson. Dushanbe: AKHP, 2003, p. 497.

LOGO OF THE IQBAL ACADEMY IN LAHORE

lapses -
a usually minor or temporary failure; a slip; a mortal fall

perceptible -
understandable

vigilant -
carefully observant or attentive

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. From the author's perspective, what is the reason for the spiritual decline in society?
2. How did the role of religion and medieval mysticism change in the East?
3. Discuss the attitude of Iqbal towards modern loyalties, such as patriotism and nationalism. Why does the author find these novelties problematic?
4. According to Iqbal, what is the role of religion and how can it be incorporated into modern life?
5. Iqbal says that "The interests of truth demand that we turn away from our genuine opinion." Considering this statement, how would the author resolve the tension between modern beliefs and the traditional values of religion and spirituality?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Iqbal suggests, from an anthropological stance, that religion is a positive occurrence which can revive human powers. Compare this claim to Geertz's anthropological conclusions.
2. Clifford Geertz brings examples of the Permai and Masjumi political associations that have incorporated traditions and religious beliefs to a certain functional extent. Why then does Iqbal believe that modern beliefs are incompatible with religious traditions?
3. Can you point out any normative differences in Geertz, Anderson, Marx and Iqbal's approaches to the notion of traditions?
4. Do you think Anderson's particular solidarities and Iqbal's vision of religion and nationalism conflict with one another?
5. What would Marx say about Iqbal's solution to modern spiritual decline?

ISAAC BABEL: THE MOST HOLY PATRIARCH

Isaac Emmauilovich Babel (1894-1941) was a short-story writer from the USSR. Born into a Jewish family in Odessa, which was then part of the Russian empire, he gained recognition for his writing in the 1930s. Amidst increasing Stalinist repressions, he was arrested in 1939 and sent to a labor camp in Siberia, which he did not survive. After Stalin's death, he was posthumously rehabilitated and the Soviet censorship allowed for publication of his works again. However, before the unfortunate end of his life he took advantage of early liberties in post-revolutionary Russia and in minute detail depicted the negative consequences of the revolution on ordinary people's lives. He was supportive of the Soviet ideals, but believed that the wrong people had been implementing them in the wrong way, which defeated the value of such goals. The following selection comes from his Reports from Saint Petersburg, first published in Maxim Gorky's "New Life" magazine in 1918. In over a dozen journalistic-type investigative stories, Babel concerned himself with the social problems after the Communist revolution. As you read this short story on the Russian Patriarch, pay attention to the reaction of the author to the imposition of new social values and the way these interacted with religion at that time.

Two weeks ago **Tikhon**, the Patriarch of Moscow, received a group of delegations from the **parochial** councils, the **ecclesiastical** academy, and religious-educational societies.

Representatives of the delegations—monks, clergymen, and laymen—made speeches. I recorded the speeches and am reporting them here.

"Socialism is the religion of swine grovelling in the mud!"

"Ignorant men are marauding through towns and villages, **pyres** are smoking, the blood of those slaughtered for their faith is flowing! They tell us, 'This is socialism!' Our response is, 'This is robbery, the destruction of the Russian land, the challenging of the Holy Eternal Church!'"

"Ignorant men are proclaiming brotherhood and equality. They stole these slogans from Christianity and have **heinously** distorted them to the utmost, shameful degree."

There is a quick procession of curly-haired priests, black-bearded church wardens, short, breathless generals, and little girls in white dresses.

They **prostrate** themselves before the Patriarch, striving to kiss the beloved boot hidden beneath the **cassock**'s sweeping purple silk, and grapple for the patriarchal hand, unable to muster the strength to tear themselves from the faltering, bluish fingers.

The Patriarch is sitting in a gilded armchair. He is surrounded by bishops, archbishops, **archimandrites**, and monks. White flower petals are caught in the silk of his sleeves. The tables and the carpet runners are covered with flowers.

Reams of titles flow with sugary clarity from the lips of the generals—"Your Holiness, Holy Father beloved of God, Czar of Our Church." Following ancient custom, they bow deeply before the Patriarch, awkwardly touching the floor with their hands. The monks watch the procession of reverence with stern discretion, and make way for the delegates with **haughty apprehension**.

Tikhon - became the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. He was canonised in 1989

parochial - relating to, supported by or located in a parish

ecclesiastical - of or relating to a church, especially as an organised institution

pyres - heap of combustibles for burning a corpse as a funeral rite

heinously - in a terribly evil manner

prostrate - throw or lie face down

cassock - an ankle-length garment with a close-fitting waist and sleeves, worn by the clergy and others assisting in church services

archimandrites - a cleric ranking below a bishop

haughty apprehension - very strong concern, worry

The people crane their trembling necks. They are standing trapped in the vise of steaming bodies, singing hymns and breathing heavily in the stifling heat. The priests flit about in all directions, pressing their flapping cassocks between their boots.

The golden chair is hidden by the round priestly backs. A time-worn **lassitude** rests on the Patriarch's thin wrinkles, lighting up the yellowness of his quietly-shivering cheeks, which are sparsely covered with silver hair.

Strident voices thunder with unrelenting fervour. The mounting ecstasy of the word torrents pours forth unimpeded. The archimandrites rush up to the podium, hastily bowing their wide backs, and a wall of black grows silently and swiftly, coiling around the holy chair. The white **mitre** is hidden from the fervent eyes. A harsh voice pierces the ears of the **congregation** with impatient words: "The restoration of the Patriarchy to Moscow is the first sign that the state of Russia will once again arise from the ashes. The church believes that her true sons, led in the name of the Lord by Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, will tear the mask from the blood-drenched face of our motherland!"

"As in ancient times of trouble, Russia lifts her tortured eyes with hope to her one true leader, who in these days of anarchy has shouldered the holy burden of unifying the shattered church!"

Strident voices thunder. Upright and frail, his head high, the Patriarch trains his unflinching gaze on the speakers. He listens with the dispassion and **alacrity** of a condemned man.

Around the corner lies a dead horse, its four legs pointing straight up to the sky.

The evening is flushed.

The street is silent.

Orange streams of heat flow between the smooth houses.

Sleeping cripples lie on the church porch. A wrinkled official is chewing an oatcake. The nasal tones of blind men ring out in the crowd huddling in front of the church. A fat woman is lying flat on the ground before the crimson glimmer of the icons. A one-armed soldier, his immobile eyes staring into space, mutters a prayer to the Virgin Mary. He discreetly brushes his hand over the icons, and with **nimble** fingers swipes the fifty-rouble notes.

Two old beggar women press their faces against the colourful stone wall of the church.

I overhear their whispering.

"They are waiting for them to come out. This isn't no service. The Patriarch and all his men have gathered in the church. They're having a discussion."

The swollen feet of the beggar women are wound in red rags. White tears dampen their inflamed lids.

I go and stand next to the official. He is chewing without lifting his eyes, spittle bubbling in the corners of his purplish lips.

The bells chime heavily. The people huddle by the wall and are silent.

lassitude -
a feeling of lack of interest or energy

strident -
conspicuously and offensively loud

mitre -
headdress worn on solemn occasions by church dignitaries

congregation -
gathering of the people usually for religious purposes

alacrity -
cheerful readiness, willingness, or promptitude; briskness

nimble -
quick, light, or agile in movement or action

SOURCE: Babel, Isaac. "The Most Holy Patriarch." *The Complete Works of Isaac Babel.* Edited by Nathalie Babel. Translated by Peter Constantine. London: Picador, 2002, pp. 536-538.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What kind of reactions to socialism does the protagonist report from the Church?
2. What, according to the author, did socialists borrow from Christianity?
3. Can you describe the rituals around the Patriarch? What do they symbolise?
4. Is the Church presented as an example of traditional stability in times of upheaval? Bring examples from the text.
5. How are the "common" people and church officials presented in the story?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Is it possible to compare the tension between socialism and Christianity present in Babel's story with the tension between Islamic and indigenous practices described by Geertz? What are the similarities and dissimilarities?
2. If one were to juxtapose Babel and Iqbal, which of the authors foresees a positive role for religion in society? Do you think Babel is endorsing religion in the face of socialist rhetoric and activities?
3. In the texts you have read above, can you find examples of powerful authorities supporting old traditions as opposed to weak but grassroots groups who are against this? What private and public interests may be behind such actions?
4. Babel, speaking of Tikhon, says that "Russia lifts her tortured eyes with hope to her one true leader…," who assumes the responsibility of standing up against "destructive" forces. How is this apprehension of the role of the Church different from what Marx describes in the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napolean"?
5. What is the main preoccupation of the author in "The Most Holy Patriarch"? Is it analogous to Iqbal's "Is Religion Possible?"?

"COURT SCENE" FROM SA'DI, *BÛSTÂN*, BUKHARA, 1616

R.D. McCHESNEY: ZAMZAM WATER ON A WHITE FELT CARPET: ADAPTING MONGOL WAYS IN MUSLIM CENTRAL ASIA

Robert D. McChesney is a professor of Middle Eastern Studies at New York University. He earned his doctoral degree in Near Eastern Studies from Princeton University in 1973. McChesney has done extensive research on the sixteenth through nineteenth century history of Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan. He is interested in the culture and social history of the period. His major works include Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480-1889 (1991), Central Asia: Foundations of Change (1997), and translator of Fayz Muhammad's Kabul Under Siege (1999). Professor McChesney is also an editor of the Iranian Studies journal. The following selection comes from his recent work on the interrelationship of Islamic and Mongol traditions. McChesney describes a ritual of enthroning in the Shibanid khanate in the sixteenth century. The Shibanid (or Shaybanid) dynasty, c. 1500-1598, ruled the territory of contemporary Uzbekistan. They traced their descent from Juchi's son Shiban. Although the way 'Abd Allah was placed on the throne might not necessarily have restricted his behaviour when he was in power, the power of traditions at that time mattered enough for him to accept them. So, as you read, consider how tradition is used to give social status to a person and the way different traditions have been merged to do that.

In late June 1582, Iskandar b. Jani Beg, the titular Shibanid khan, passed away. At the time of his death, he exercised nominal authority over most of **Mawarannahr** and **Balkh**, an area now corresponding to the republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, as well as much of northern Afghanistan. News of his death reached his second son, 'Abd Allah (at the time arguably the most powerful member of the Shibanid house) while he was on a campaign in the vicinity of Khujand at the western end of the Ferghana Valley, in what is now Tajikistan. According to the Sharaf-nâmah-i shâhî, a work 'Abd Allah himself commissioned, the Shibanid sultân[18] on hearing the news, immediately broke camp and headed back toward Bukhara. He stopped at Nafrandi, a district of Ura Tapah some 130 miles east of Samarqand, where he met with his spiritual advisor, Khwâjah Saâd al-Din Jûybâri (aka Khwâjah Kalân Khwâjah) and other "leaders, notables, and military commanders."

The author of this record, Hafiz-i Tanish—who may or may not have been in 'Abd Allah's **retinue** at the time—has nonetheless produced what he represents as an ear-witness record of the consultations and the subsequent ceremony of enthronement (or 'encarpetment') of 'Abd Allah as his father's successor to the khanate.

> *At this point (following a discussion of the question of eligibility for the khanate), a group of amirs addressed his holiness, the Khwâjah [Khwâjah Sa'd al-Din] saying: 'It is the custom of the great khans and the noble sultans that*

Mawarannahr - Arabic term that literally means 'that which is behind the river,' referring to the regions on the right bank of Amu-Darya, which included the cities Bukhara, Samarkand and Khujant

Balkh - an ancient city in present-day northern Afghanistan; one of the world's oldest settlements, it was the capital of Bactria and is the legendary birthplace of the prophet Zoroaster

retinue - the group following and attending to some important person

18 On the titles khân, sultân, and amîr see 'Central Asia vi. In the 10th-12th/16th-18th centuries', pp. 177-178.

> *whenever an* ***auspicious*** *person is acknowledged as deserving of the royal seat [*masnad-i shâhî*] and worthy of the throne to which the world turns [*sarir-i jahân pinâhî*], they seat him on a piece of white felt (*qit'ah-yi namadñi safîd*) and raise him up on it. So the Khwajah, with great joy, brought to the conclave a white felt* takiyah *[small carpet or bolster] whose owner, while performing circumambulation of the two holy precincts [Mecca and Medina] had washed it [*shustah bûd*] with the water of [the sacred well of] Zamzam, and which was that very day in the possession of the Khwajah. They seated the royal personage on that piece of felt. Then, joined by a group of persons of distinction and leaders of the realm [*ashâb-i dawlat va arbâb-i mulk va millat*] such as that* ***felicitous progeny*** *of saintly men and heir to the office of the* niqâbat, *Yusuf Khwâjah [b. Hasan Khwâjah* naqîb*]; the pilgrim to the two holy precincts, Turdîkah Khan; the great* nû'în *[noyan] Nazar Âî; and the noble* amîr, *Tursûn Bi, the blessed khwâjah stepped forward and lifted up that royal person to the* pâdshâh*-ship and so installed him."*[19]

This story offers a vivid example of the literary melding of **Chinggisid** and Perso-Islamicate traditions. At the centre of the story is Khwâjah Sa'd Juybari, who appears as a kind of master of ceremonies. In the text from which this story comes, *Sharaf-nâmah-i shâhî*, the Khwâjah plays many roles. Though ostensibly the work is a biography of 'Abd Allah b. Iskandar, it is almost equally a **hagiography** of Khwajah Sa'd al-Din (d. 995/1589) and his father, Khwâjah Muhammad Islâm (aka Khwâjah Jûybâri) (d. late 1563). Throughout the work, both men are portrayed as the real decision-makers without whose guidance and blessing 'Abd Allah would not undertake any activity. Khwajah Sa'd's central role here at the enthronement is thus perfectly in keeping with the thematic structure of the book.

It is to Khwajah Sa'd and not the khan-designate, 'Abd Allah, that the possessors of the ancient lore turn to explain how things are supposed to be done at an enthronement. Then, once they have made the procedure clear to him, he takes over and carries it out.

Besides the roles of decision-maker and orchestrator, there is another less obvious part which the author assigns to the character of the Khwâjah here and that is as the 'Islamiser', the one whose religious authority is so self-evident as to empower him to sanctify and 'Islamise' rituals and customs that might otherwise be considered by the reader or auditor to be non-Islamic. Indeed, the whole point of the story might simply be to assert the religious authority of the Khwajah and to affirm his holiness. Otherwise difficult questions arise: is the reader or auditor of this story to understand that this was the first time the ceremony of enthronement or encarpetment was being enacted in Central Asia? At least nine other Shibanids had succeeded to the khanate founded by Muhammad Shibani Khan in Mawarannahr and Balkh before 'Abd Allah assumed the title, not to mention the numerous appanage successions that had occurred in the preceding three-quarters of a century. Is the reader to understand that he was the first to undergo the white-felt ritual? The rendering of this scene certainly suggests that the central characters, Khwajah Sa'd and 'Abd Allah b. Iskandar, were ignorant of the ceremony, yet immediately accepted its authenticity and legitimacy as soon as it was revealed

auspicious -
prosperous; fortunate
felicitous progeny -
happy, prosperous or successful descendant
Chinggisid -
relating to Chingis Khan
hagiography -
a biography of saints
skirt -
avoid

19 Hafiz-i Tanish, *Sharaf-nâmah-yi shâhî*, India Office Library (London), ms. no. 574, f. 391a-b.

to them. Hafiz-i Tanish's text **skirts** these questions, avoiding any reference to **precedent**. Instead his account simply places Khwâjah Sa'd in the foreground and emphasises his ability both to organise and to legitimise the ritual of succession. The report that the white felt had been 'baptised' with Zamzam water is additional evidence that this story may have been more about the related issues of Islamicisation and the Chinggisid heritage than about the succession ceremony *per se*. It is certainly difficult to read it as the description of an actual event as observed by a neutral reporter. The author's intent seems to have been to use the story of the transformation of a non-Islamic artefact into an Islamic one through **ablution** with holy water from the Zamzam well at Mecca as a way of normalising and indigenising what might otherwise have still seemed like an alien ceremony to his readers. And in doing so to underline the triumphant power of Islam. There are, of course, other ways to read this text. First is the implicit cultural gulf between the Uzbek military represented by the amirs who have to explain how political leadership is ceremonially acknowledged and the Tajik populace represented by the Khwâjah who presumably remain (willfully?) ignorant of these non-Islamic ways. The story dramatises some of the elements of the Mongol heritage in Central Asia: white as a significant colour, the ceremonial importance of felt; positioning four representatives of the peoples (*ûlûsât*) loyal to the khan-designate at the corners of the carpet; and the 'raising up' of the khan-designate to the throne are all familiar phenomena in Mongol and steppe political tradition.[20] Not enough work has been done to adequately explain the contemporary significance of the four individuals chosen to assist the Khwâjah in 'raising up' 'Abd Allah and installing him on the throne or the various versions of who those four were. Two of them, Turdikah Khan[21] and Tursun Bi, were members of the Qushji clan-group or *ûlûs*. Nazar Bi was a member of the Nayman *ûlûs* and Yusuf Khwajah was a Tajik and the son of Hasan Khwajah, the *naqib*.[22] Some fifty years later, representatives of the Qushji and the Nayman, along with the Durman (Dorben) tribal/military organisations (the *Bahr al-asrâr* uses the terms *qushûn* and *ûlûs* for the Qushji, *ûlûs* alone for the Nayman and Durman), occupied the highest ceremonial positions at the Tuqay-Timurid Chinggisid court of Balkh, despite the fact that individual amirs from these

precedent - example
ablution - washing or cleansing

20 For those interested in the extensive literature on Mongol ceremonial practices, a very useful source is the annotated translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols* published serially by I. de Rachewiltz in *Papers in Far Eastern History* (1971-1981). Of particular importance for this paper are his notes on the symbolic meaning of the color white (paras. 63, 202, 216), on the ceremonial use of a white felt rug and libations poured on it (para. 189), and on the titles *'qan'* and *'qa'an'* (para. 244).

21 The use of the title *'khân'* here as part of the name is highly unusual. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is almost exclusively reserved (by indigenous sources) for the reigning member of the paramount Chinggisid clan. Both manuscripts of *Sharaf-nâmah* (the India Office copy and the British Museum, ms. no. OR. 3497) have the title suffixed to Turdikah's name here. But in the British Museum manuscript, the title is inserted above the line as an emendation—whether by the same hand or not is uncertain. Elsewhere in the work, the individual is styled 'Turdikah Bi'.

22 The office of *naqîb* was very closely associated with the court and, given its rank in the court Protocol of the seventeenth century, it was apparently the highest office which Tajiks could hold at court. According to the *Bahr al-asrâr* account, the *naqîb* sat immediately to the left of the khan. (Mahmud b. Amir Wali, *Bahr al-asrâr fi manâqib*

organisations were not prominent in the politics of the time, a fact that suggests their ceremonial functions had deep historical roots.[23]

SOURCE: McChesney, R. D. "Zamzam Water on a White Felt Carpet: Adapting Mongol Ways in Muslim Central Asia, 1550-1650." *Religion, Customary Law, and Nomadic Technology*. Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia, 4, 2000, pp. 66-69.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the ritual that 'Abd Allah has to go through to succeed his father in the khanate?
2. Is there any symbolic meaning attached to the ritual of the white felt carpet and the Zamzam water?
3. Does the enthronement ceremony delineate authoritative power in the Shibanid khanate?
4. What kind of conclusions does the author draw from the ritual in terms of "Islamicising" non-Islamic objects?
5. How does McChesney see the interaction between Islamic and Mongol values in Central Asia? Does he suggest the interrelationship was socially integrating or disintegrating?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. The records of the encarpetment ritual, as recorded by Hafiz-i Tanish, indicate observances of the tradition in minute detail. How similar is the interment procedure in Modjokuto to the example from Central Asia with regards to enacting prescribed ways of customs?
2. What is the social significance of the felt procession? Compare it to the social meaning of slametan in Java.
3. Can you draw any parallels between the function of the Modin in Geertz's text and Khwajah in McChesney's writing?
4. How does the indigenisation of non-Islamic symbols in McChesney alter local Central Asian traditions? Can this process be compared to the appropriation of Bahasa Indonesia in Anderson if language is seen as a process promoted by authoritative persons, intellectuals, media, or the educational system?

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al-akhyâr, vol. 6, part 4, India Office Library, ms. no. 575, f. 388a). The *naqîb* accompanied the khan on military campaigns and appears frequently as a field commander in *Sharaf-nâmah* (see the Salakhetdinova edition, index of names for references). For the post-1579 period, see the I. O. L. copy (inv. no. 574), ff. 296b, 322a-b, 382b, 424b, 4Mb, 435b). For a full study of the Central Asian *naqîb* see now Devin DeWeese, 'The Descendants of Sayyid Ata and the rank of *naqîb* in Central Asia', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 4 (1995), pp. 612-634.

23 See 'The Amirs of Muslim Central Asia in the XVIIth Century', pp. 39, 41.

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. What is a tradition? What kind of definition can you assign to this word after having read the texts in the first chapter?
2. How are traditions created? Is it a spontaneous and impersonal process? Is it something static coming from the past?
3. Do traditions bring stability to social life? Consider examples from the texts, and compare them with your own experience.
4. When does a tradition become an urgent issue? Do traditions have positive or negative roles in a person's life? How do people cope with traditions?
5. To what extent does application of traditions involve value judgments?
6. Can you think of examples of family or community traditions? Do you follow these traditions? Would you follow a tradition even if it conflicted with your principles and beliefs?

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CHAPTER TWO:
RELIGIOUS INNOVATION

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two introduces the topic of religious innovation. All major religions of the world have their own characteristic rites, customs and traditions. Still, one can find many differences even within one religion. This is due to the fact that when religions develop, they develop according to social and historical circumstances. They may be influenced by major migrations, wars, politics, economics and many other factors. Furthermore, people perceive and absorb the same religion in various ways. Some groups of people might adopt a new religion while keeping some their old "pagan" customs, and other groups might claim that a religion should be practiced only in its "original", fundamental form. This chapter will show examples of both.

This reader is first presented with religious innovation in the history of Indonesia and the way Islam was introduced to the Indonesian islands. As one reads, it is important to ask how the geographical location of the country, the Javanese native culture and people's attitude towards outside ideas have shaped the path of Islam in Indonesia. This case study raises questions such as how traditions and cultural artefacts indicate the arrival of a new faith, and whether a religion can have more than just one form.

In the following texts, the reader can learn that not only factors of geography or historical events influence the development of a religion, but also science, ideology or one may even say the necessity of circumstances. The main questions are, What is religion? What is the purpose of religion? Is religion an absolute necessity for humans? Can we call any ideology a religion that provides its believers with explanations for life and death? Does it matter whether one practices his or her faith within an institutional environment such as the Church, or simply find God in nature? These and many more fundamental questions will be addressed and discussed in this chapter.

A combined look at texts on different religions may present new perspectives on understanding religious innovation. Therefore, the reader is asked to approach the writings based on their own merit rather than their reputations. Instead of comparing religions in terms of their good or evil, usefulness or uselessness, superiority or inferiority, the reader should consider religion in light of the traditions it generates and the changes it undergoes in the community.

BANDA ACEH'S GRAND MOSQUE, INDONESIA

M. C. RICKLEFS: THE COMING OF ISLAM

Merle Calvin Ricklefs (1943 -) is a researcher in Asian studies. Born in Iowa in the USA, Ricklefs later adopted Australian citizenship. He is currently the director of the Melbourne Institute of Asian Lanugages and Societies at the University of Melbourne. He earned his doctoral degree from Cornell University in 1973 and has taught courses in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and various schools in Australia. Ricklefs has done a significant amount of research on Southeast Asia, written dozens of reviews for various academic journals, translated and edited several studies on Javanese culture, and published many articles and books. His books include A History of the Division of Java (1974) and War, Culture and Economy in Java, 1677-1726: Asian and European Imperialism in the Early Kartasura Period (1993). He is mainly interested in the history of Javanese society and Islam in Indonesia. In the following selection taken from Ricklefs' History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200 (2001), the author traces the origins of Islam in Indonesia. He addresses controversial issues on the date of Indonesia's "Islamisation", the reasons and the mediums of the spread of Islam, the variations in "Islamisation" among the different parts of the region, and the way historical circumstances influenced the role of Islam in Indonesia. As you read, consider why and how traditions and cultures change through the interactions of different societies. What parts of a culture can be preserved while other parts change during such an interaction? What evidence can you use to determine when a culture becomes Islamic?

The spread of Islam is one of the most significant processes of Indonesian history, but also one of the most obscure. Muslim traders had apparently been present in some parts of Indonesia for several centuries before Islam became established within the local communities. When, why and how the conversion of Indonesians began has been debated by several scholars, but no definite conclusions have been possible because the records of Islamisation that survive are so few, and often so uninformative. In general, two processes probably occurred. On the one hand, indigenous Indonesians came into contact with Islam and made an act of conversion. On the other, foreign Asians (Arabs, Indians, Chinese, and so on) who were already Muslims settled permanently in an Indonesian area, intermarried and adopted local lifestyles to such a degree that in effect they became Javanese or Malay or whatever. These two processes may often have occurred in conjunction with each other, and when a piece of evidence survives indicating, for instance, that a Muslim dynasty had been established in some area, it is often impossible to know which of these two processes was the more important.

There must have been an Islamic presence in maritime Southeast Asia from early in the Islamic era. From the time of the third Caliph of Islam, 'Uthman (644-56), Muslim **emissaries** from Arabia began to arrive at the Chinese **court**. By at least the ninth century there were several thousand Muslim merchants in **Canton**. Such contacts between China and the Islamic world would have been maintained primarily via the sea routes through Indonesian waters. It is therefore not surprising that Muslims seem to have played an important role in the affairs of the great **Sumatran** Buddhist trading state of Śrīvijaya, which was founded in the later seventh century. Between 904 and

conversion -
the act of changing or converting someone's religion or ideology
conjunction -
in combination, together
emissaries -
agents sent on a mission to represent or advance the interests of others
court -
the place of residence of a sovereign or dignitary
Canton -
another name for the city of Guangzhou, in China
Sumatra -
a mountainous island in western Indonesia

the mid-twelfth century, envoys with Arabic names came from there to the Chinese court. In 1282, the king of Samudra in northern Sumatra sent two emissaries with Arabic names to China. Unfortunately, the presence of foreign Muslims in the Indonesian area does not demonstrate either that local Islamic states had been established or that a significant level of local conversions had occurred.

The most reliable evidence for the spread of Islam within a local Indonesian society consists of Islamic **inscriptions** (mostly tombstones) and a few travellers' accounts. The earliest surviving Muslim gravestone on which the date is clear is found at Leran in East Java and is dated *Anno Hijrae* (AH) 475 (AD 1082). This was the gravestone of a woman, a daughter of someone named Maimun. It has, however, been doubted whether the grave to which the stone belongs was actually in Java, or whether the stone was for some reason transported to Java (for instance, as **ballast** on a ship) some time after the lady's death. In any case, since the deceased appears to have been a non-Indonesian Muslim, this stone sheds no light on the establishment of Islam among Indonesians.

The first evidence of Indonesian Muslims concerns the northern part of Sumatra. In the graveyard of Lamreh is found the gravestone of Sultan Sulaiman bin Abdullah bin al-Basir, who died in AH 608 (AD 1211). This is the first evidence of the existence of an Islamic kingdom in Indonesian territory. When the Venetian traveller Marco Polo touched at Sumatra on his way home from China in 1292, he found that Perlak was a Muslim town, while two nearby places which he called 'Basma(n)' and 'Samara' were not. 'Basma(n)' and 'Samara' have often been identified with Pasai and Samudra, but this identification is open to question. It is possible either that 'Samara' is not Samudra, or if it is, that Polo was wrong in saying that it was non-Muslim, for the gravestone of the first Muslim ruler of Samudra, Sultan Malik as-Salih, has been found, and is dated AH 696 (AD 1297). Further gravestones demonstrate that this part of North Sumatra remained under Islamic rule. The Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta passed through Samudra on his way to and from China in 1345 and 1346, and found that the ruler was a follower of the **Shafi'i** school of law. This confirms the presence from an early date of the school which was later to dominate Indonesia, although it is possible that the other three Orthodox schools (**Hanafi**, **Maliki** and **Hanbali**) were also present at an early time.

ISLAMIC GRAVESTONE IN INDONESIA

inscriptions - words which were cut in stone or metal

ballast - heavy material that is placed in the hold of a ship

Shafi'i - Sunni school of law, derived from the teachings of Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shafi'i. It admits the validity of both divine will and human speculation. The Shafiites argued for the unquestioning acceptance of the Hadith as the major basis for legal and religious judgments and the use of qiyas (analogical reasoning) when no clear directives could be found in the Qur'an or the Hadith. The school predominates in eastern Africa, parts of Arabia, and Indonesia.

Hanafi - Sunni school of law, incorporating the legal opinions of the ancient Iraqi schools of al-Kufah and Basra. Founded in the 8th century by the imam Abu Hanifa, and his disciples AbuYusuf and Muhammad ash-Saybani, it acknowledges the Qur'an and the Hadith as primary sources of law, but also accepts ra'y (personal opinion) in the absence of precedent. It currently predominates in Central Asia, India, Pakistan, Turkey, and the countries of the former Ottoman Empire.

Maliki - Sunni school of law, formerly the ancient school of Medina. Founded in the 8th century by the imam Malik ibn Anas. Malikiyah stressed local Medinese community practice (sunnah), preferring traditional opinions and analogical reasoning to a strict reliance on Hadith as a basis for legal judgement. The Maliki school currently prevails through northern and western Africa, in the Sudan, and in some of the Persian Gulf states.

Hanbali - the most fundamentalist of the four Sunni schools of religious law. Based on the teachings of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, it emphasised virtually complete dependence on the divine in the establishment of legal theory and rejected ra'y, qiyas and Hellenistic dogma, on the grounds that human speculation is likely to introduce sinful innovations (bid'ah). It relies on literal reading of the Qur'an and the Hadith. It was revived by the Wahhabiyah movement of central Arabia in the 18th century, and is currently the

Two late-fourteenth-century gravestones from Minye Tujoh in North Sumatra appear to document the continuing cultural transition there. The two stories are in the same form, but one has an Arabic inscription and the other an Old Malay inscription in **paleo**-Sumatran (Indian-type) characters, both inscriptions being Islamic. They both date the death of a daughter of a deceased Sultan Malik az-Zahir, but although they have the same month, date and day of the week, they differ by ten years (AH 781 and 791 (AD 1380, 1389)). It seems likely that there is an error in one of the years, that both inscriptions refer to the same woman and that she was therefore commemorated with inscriptions in two languages and two scripts. After this time, the documents from North Sumatra are wholly in the Arabic script.

From the fourteenth century survives evidence of the spread of Islam to Brunei, Trengganu (in what is now northeast Malaysia) and East Java. An Arabic inscription on a tombstone from Brunei praises a dead ruler called both Sultan (Arabic) and Maharaja (**Sanskrit**) of Brunei; although the stone is undated, Chen argues that it must have been made in Guangzhou (Kwangchow), South China, and imported from there early in the fourteenth century, in any case before 1366. Another gravestone records in Chinese the death in Brunei in 1264 of a Chinese who was apparently a Muslim. The Trengganu stone is a fragment of a legal **edict**. The date at the end appears to be incomplete, however, and the possible range of dates for this inscription is between AD 1302 and 1387. The stone appears to represent the introduction of Islamic law into a previously non-Islamic area, as is suggested by the predominance of Sanskrit over Arabic words, even for such an important word as God, which is given in one case as *dewata mulia raya* rather than *Allah*.

A particularly significant series of gravestones is found in the East Javanese graveyards of Trawulan and Tralaya, near the site of the Hindu-Buddhist court of Majapahit. These stones mark the burial of Muslims, but with one exception they are dated in the Indian Œaka (œ) era rather than the Islamic *Anno Hijrae* and use Old Javanese rather than Arabic numerals. The Œaka era was used by the Javanese courts from Old Javanese times down to AD 1633, and its presence on these tombstones and the use of Old Javanese numerals mean that these are almost certainly the tombs of Javanese, as opposed to foreign, Muslims. The earliest is found at Trawulan, bearing the date œ 1290 (AD 1368-9). At Tralaya is a series of gravestones extending from œ 1298 to 1533 (AD 1376-1611). These stones carry Qur'anic quotations and pious formulae. From the elaborate decoration on some of them and their **proximity** to the site of the Majapahit capital, Damais concluded that these were probably the graves of very distinguished Javanese, perhaps even members of the royal family.

These East Javanese stones therefore suggest that some members of the Javanese elite adopted Islam at a time when the Hindu-Buddhist state of Majapahit was at the very height of its glory. These were, moreover, the first Javanese Muslims of whom evidence survives. Since evidence is so **scanty**, of course it cannot be said with certainty that these were the first Javanese adherents to Islam. But the Trawulan and Tralaya

official legal school of Saudi Arabia

paleo - ancient, old

Sanskrit - old Indo-Aryan language, the classical literary language of Hinduism

edict - a formal pronouncement or command

proximity - closeness

scanty - insufficient

gravestones certainly contradict, and therefore cast grave doubts upon, the view once held by scholars that Islam originated on the coast of Java and initially represented a religious and political force which opposed Majapahit.

The likelihood or otherwise of Javanese **courtiers** embracing Islam before Javanese coastal communities did so is influenced by one's view of the relative importance of traders and Sufis as the bringers of Islam; this issue is discussed below. There can be little doubt that Majapahit, with its far-flung political and trading contacts outside Java, would have seen foreign Muslim traders. The problem is whether its sophisticated courtiers would have been attracted to a religion of merchants. Mystical Islamic teachers, perhaps claiming supernatural powers, seem a more plausible agent of conversion in Javanese court circles, which had long been familiar with the mystical speculations of Hinduism and Buddhism.

When Islam began to be adopted among the communities of the north coast of Java is unclear. During a voyage of 1413-15, the Chinese Muslim Ma Huan visited the coast of Java. He reported in his book *Ying-yai sheng-lan* ('The overall survey of the ocean's shores', published in 1451) that there were only three kinds of people in Java: Muslims from the west, Chinese (some of them Muslims) and the **heathen** Javanese. Since the Trawulan and Tralaya gravestones show that there were Javanese Muslims at the court some fifty years before this time, Ma Huan's report suggests that Islam was indeed adopted by Javanese courtiers before coastal Javanese began to convert. An early Muslim gravestone dated AH 822 (AD 1419) has been found at Grešik, one of the most important East Javanese ports. It marks the burial of one Malik Ibrahim, but since this gentleman was apparently not Javanese it merely confirms the presence of foreign Muslims in Java, and sheds no further light on the question of coastal Javanese conversion. Local traditions, however, say that Malik Ibrahim was one of the first nine **apostles** of Islam in Java (the *wali sanga*), a tradition for which there is no documentary evidence.

Around the beginning of the fifteenth century, the great Malay trading state of **Malacca** was founded. Its history will be considered briefly in Chapter 2. Malacca was the most important trading centre of the western **archipelago**, and therefore became a centre for foreign Muslims and apparently a supporter of the spread of Islam. From Malacca and elsewhere survive gravestones showing this spread in the Malay Peninsula. The gravestone of Malacca's sixth Sultan, Mansur Syah (died (d.) AH 822 (AD 1477)), has been found, as has the gravestone of the first Sultan of Pahang, Muhammad Syah (d. AH 880 (AD 1475)). From Pìngkalan Kìmpas in Nìgìri Sìmbilan survives an inscription which appears to show that this region was in transition to an Islamic culture in the 1460s. The stone is in two parts, one written in Malay with Arabic script, and the other in Malay with Indian-type characters like those found on the Minye Tujoh inscription. The stone uses the Indian Œaka era, and apparently records the death of a local hero named Ahmat Majanu in œ 1385 (AD 1463-4).

Returning to North Sumatra, late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century graves document the establishment of further Islamic states there. The first Sultan of Pìdir, Muzaffar Syah, was buried in AH 902 (AD 1497), and the second, Ma'ruf Syah, in AH 917 (AD 1511). At the very tip of North Sumatra, the state of Aceh was founded in the early sixteenth century; it was soon to become the most powerful North Sumatran state and one of the most powerful states of the Malay-Indonesian area. The first Sultan of the Acehnese 'empire' was Ali Mughayat Syah, whose tombstone is dated AH 936 (AD 1530).

Outside of Java, Sumatra, Brunei and the Malay Peninsula, there is no evidence of the adoption of Islam by Indonesians before the sixteenth century. It is quite clear,

courtiers - attendants at a sovereign's court
heathen - unconverted
apostles - the first followers or pioneers of a religion or ideology
Malacca - a town and district upon the seacoast of the Malay Peninsula
archipelago - a large group of islands

however, that Islam had spread to some points farther east, for near Jolo (in the Sulu archipelago, southern Philippines) there was a tombstone dated AH 710 (AD 1310) marking the grave of a Muslim who was apparently of foreign origin but who had become some sort of local ruler. Much later legendary sources from Mindanao and Sulu, the Islamic areas of the Philippines, describe the bringing of Islam by Arabs and Malays from the western archipelago. It seems probable that Chinese Muslims also played a role in the spread of Islam in this area.

Before the sixteenth century, the **fragmentary** evidence shows that the spread of Islam began in the western archipelago. There does not, however, seem to have been a continuous rolling wave of Islam, with one contiguous area after another adopting the new faith. The evidence provides only a few brief hints of the process which was under way, but it was apparently complicated and rather slow. By the end of the thirteenth century, Islam was established in North Sumatra; in the fourteenth century in northeast Malaya, Brunei, the southern Philippines and among some courtiers in East Java; and in the fifteenth century in Malacca and other areas of the Malay Peninsula. A few gravestones or travellers' accounts can only provide evidence about the presence of indigenous Muslims in a certain place at a certain time. The fact that no evidence of Islamization happens to have survived from other places does not necessarily mean that there were no Muslims there. And the surviving evidence cannot answer more complex questions—such as, for instance, how many of the people of Lamreh other than the ruler were Muslims in 1211, or how deeply the lifestyles or religious ideas of the first Indonesian **converts** were affected by Islam. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, Islamization is a process which has continued down to the present day. It must not be assumed that once an area is known to have had a Muslim ruler, the process of Islamization was complete. Indeed, this probably symbolizes more the beginning than the end of Islamization among the **populace**.

In the early sixteenth century, an extraordinary European source makes possible a general survey of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago. **Tomé Pires** was an **apothecary** from Lisbon who spent the years from 1512 to 1515 in Malacca, immediately after its conquest by the Portuguese in 1511. During this time he visited Java and Sumatra personally, and **avidly** collected information from others concerning the entire Malay-Indonesian area. His book *Suma Oriental* reveals a discriminating observer, whose descriptions are far superior to those of other Portuguese writers. It is full of invaluable material of many varieties, but in this chapter attention must be focused upon what Pires observed regarding Islam. His evidence cannot be presumed to be accurate in all details, of course. But so much of what he wrote seems consistent with the other fragments of evidence described above, and his description is so free of obviously erroneous statements about the area, that it seems to stand as one of the most important documents on the spread of Islam in Indonesia.

According to Pires, most of the kings of Sumatra were Muslims by his time, but there were still non-Islamic states. From Aceh in the north down the east coast as far as

fragmentary - consisting of small disconnected parts
converts - persons who have changed their religion
populace - the general public the masses
Pires, Tomé - 15-16th century Portuguese writer; an author of *Suma Oriental: an account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan*
apothecary - a pharmacist
avidly - greedily; eagerly

Palembang, the rulers were Muslims. South of Palembang and around the tip of Sumatra up the west coast, most of them were not. At Pasai there was a thriving international trading community and Pires attributed the original establishment of Islam in Pasai to the 'cunning' of these Muslim merchants. The ruler of Pasai had not, however, been able to convert the people of the interior. Similarly, the Minangkabau king and a hundred of his men were reportedly Muslims, although the remaining Minangkabau people were not. But Pires said that Islam was winning new adherents daily in Sumatra.

The Sundanese-speaking region of West Java was not yet Muslim in Pires's day, and indeed was hostile to Islam. Although Pires did not mention the name, this was the area ruled by the Hindu-Buddhist state of Pajajaran, concerning which there are hardly any reliable records. The Islamisation of this area by conquest in the sixteenth century is discussed in Chapter 4.

Central and East Java, the areas where the ethnic Javanese lived, was still claimed by the Hindu-Buddhist king living in the interior of East Java at Daha (Kìdiri). The coastal areas as far east as Surabaya were, however, Islamised, and were often at war with the interior, except for Tuban, which remained loyal to the Hindu-Buddhist king. Some of the coastal Muslim lords were Javanese who had adhered to Islam. Some were not originally Javanese, but rather Muslim Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Malays who had settled on the coast and established trading states. Pires described a process of Javanisation under way among these latter groups, who so admired the culture of the Hindu-Buddhist court that they attempted to **emulate** its style and were becoming Javanese thereby. The fourteenth-century gravestones of Trawulan and Tralaya discussed above suggest that for its part the Hindu-Buddhist court was able, at least at times, to tolerate Muslims within its own circle. The warfare which Pires describes between coast and interior should not, therefore, be seen as necessarily a product of **irreconcilable** religious and cultural differences, for there was a process of **cultural assimilation** at work as Islam encountered the powerful high culture of Old Java. This process of assimilation and accommodation continued long after the vast majority of Javanese were at least nominally Muslim, and has made the Islam of Java rather different in style from that of Malaya or Sumatra. The warfare between coast and interior also continued long after both regions had adopted Islam, and its origins are probably to be sought more in the political and economic differences between the two areas which are discussed in following chapters. East of Surabaya, the Javanese coast was still pre-Islamic, and apparently Hindu, for widow-burning was practised. 'Thus,' said Pires, 'they lose their bodies in this life and their souls burn in the next' (Cortesão, *Suma Oriental*, 198).

In Kalimantan (**Borneo**), Pires reported that Brunei had a king who had recently become a Muslim. The rest of Kalimantan was non-Muslim, as were also the islands of Madura, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Solor and Timor to the east of Java. The Bugis and Makasarese of South Sulawesi (Celebes) were also not yet Islamised.

Islam was, however, spreading in the '**Spice Islands**' of Maluku in East Indonesia. Muslim Javanese and Malay merchants were established on the coast of Banda, but there was no king there and the interior still contained non-Muslims. Tìrnate, Tidore and Bacan had Muslim kings. The rulers of Tidore and Bacan used the Indian title raja, but that of Tìrnate had adopted the title of sultan, and the Raja of Tidore had taken the Arabic name al-Mansur.

All the evidence taken together gives a general picture of the progress of Islam from the early thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. From a starting point in the north of Sumatra, it had spread as far as the spice-producing areas of East Indonesia.

emulate -
imitate
irreconcilable -
impossible to reconcile; incompatible
cultural assimilation -
the social process of absorbing one cultural group into harmony with another
Borneo -
an island of the western Pacific Ocean in the Malay Archipelago between the Sulu and Java seas southwest of the Philippines
Spice Islands -
a group of island in eastern Indonesia between Celebes and New Guinea; settled by the Portuguese but taken by the Dutch who made them the centre for a spice monopoly, at which time they became known as Spice Islands

The areas where it was most firmly established were those that were most important in international trade: the Sumatran shores of the Straits of Malacca, the Malay Peninsula, the north coast of Java, Brunei, Sulu and Maluku. Yet not all important trade areas had, on Tomé Pires's evidence, been Islamised. For example, Timor and Sumba, which produced **sandalwood**, were still non-Islamic. And the presence of international trade does little to explain why there should have been Muslim **aristocrats** at the court of Majapahit in the fourteenth century, or why Trìngganu is the earliest area of Malaya where Islamisation is documented. Some kind of link between trade and Islam is none the less apparent.

The general timing of the beginnings of Islamisation can thus be established to some degree, but there remain important questions which have provoked considerable controversy. After several centuries during which foreign Muslims had been passing through or residing in Indonesia, why was it that significant Indonesian conversions began only in the thirteenth, and especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Where did the Islam of Indonesia come from? And how did Islam succeed in becoming the majority religion of Indonesia?

To attempt an answer to such questions, some scholars have thought it appropriate to turn from the primary historical records discussed above to the Indonesian legends which record how Indonesians themselves told the story of their conversion. All these legends are much later than the coming of Islam; although they may contain old stories, most of the texts are known only in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century versions. These are not reliable historical accounts, but in their shared emphasis upon the roles played by **esoteric** learning and magical powers, upon the foreign origins and trade connections of the first teachers, and upon a process of conversion which began with the elite and worked downwards, they may reveal something of the original events.

Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai ('Story of the kings of Pasai') is one such legendary source. The text is in Malay, but was copied at Dìmak (North Java) in 1814. It tells how Islam came to Samudra; the gravestone of the first Sultan, Malik as-Salih, of 1297 was discussed above. In this story, the Caliph of Mecca hears of the existence of Samudra and decides to send a ship there in fulfilment of a prophecy of the Prophet Muhammad that there would one day be a great city in the East called Samudra, which would produce many saints. The ship's captain, Shaikh Ismail, stops *en route* in India to pick up a sultan who has stepped down from his throne to become a holy man. The ruler of Samudra, Merah Silau (or Silu), has a dream in which the Prophet appears to him, magically transfers knowledge of Islam to him by spitting in his mouth, and gives him the title Sultan Malik as-Salih. Upon awakening, the new Sultan discovers that he can read the *Qur'an*, although he has never been instructed, and that he has been magically circumcised. His followers are understandably mystified by the Sultan's recitations in Arabic. But then the ship arrives from Mecca. When Shaikh Ismail hears Malik as-Salih's Confession of Faith, he installs him as ruler with **regalia** and state **robes** from Mecca. Ismail goes on to teach the populace how to recite the Confession—that there is no

sandalwood - a type of tropical Asian tree
aristocrats - members of a ruling class or of the nobility
esoteric - mysterious; intended for or understood by only a particular group
regalia - great feast
robes - clothes; apparel

God but God and Muhammad is His messenger. He then departs, but the Indian holy man stays behind to establish Islam more firmly in Samudra.

Sejarah Melayu ('Malay history') is another Malay text known in several versions. One text carries the date AH 1021 (AD 1612), but this exists only in an early-nineteenth-century copy. As well as a story about the conversion of Samudra which is like that of *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*, this text contains a tale about the conversion of the king of Malacca. He, too, has a dream in which the Prophet appears, teaches him the Confession of Faith, gives him the new name Muhammad, and tells him that on the following day a ship will arrive from Arabia carrying a teacher whom he is to obey. On waking, the king discovers that he has been magically circumcised, and as he goes about continually repeating the Confession of Faith, the rest of the court (who cannot understand the Arabic phrases) become convinced that he has gone mad. But then the ship arrives, and from it Sayyid Abdul Aziz steps down to pray upon the shore, much to the wonderment of the population who ask the meaning of his ritual movements. The king announces that this is all as it was in his dream, and the court officials thereupon join him in embracing Islam. The king now takes the title Sultan Muhammad Syah and commands all the populace to embrace Islam. Sayyid Abdul Aziz becomes the teacher of the king.

These two Malay texts are different from the Islamisation legends concerning Java which have so far been studied. Whereas the Malay texts see Islamisation as a great turning point, marked by the formal signs of conversion such as circumcision, the Confession of Faith and the adoption of an Arabic name, the Javanese legends do not present Islamisation as such a great **watershed**. This seems consistent with the evidence discussed above, suggesting that a process of assimilation was at work in Java. But, in Javanese stories, magical events still play a prominent role.

Babad Tanah Jawi ('History of the land of Java') is a **generic** title covering a large number of manuscripts in Javanese, which vary in their arrangement and details, and none of which exists in copies older than the eighteenth century. These texts ascribe the first Javanese conversions to the work of the nine saints (*wali sanga*), but the names and relationships among these nine differ in various texts. It is impossible to reduce these variations to a list of nine persons upon which all texts would agree; indeed some manuscripts accept the convention that there were nine, but none the less proceed to list ten. The following names would, however, be fairly widely found in the manuscripts: Sunan Ngampel-Denta, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Murya, Sunan Bonang,

watershed -
a period of time that marks an important change

generic -
not specific

HINDU-BUDDHIST TEMPLE
IN BALI, INDONESIA

Sunan Giri, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Sitijenar, Sunan Gunungjati and Sunan Wali-lanang. A tenth *wali*, Sunan Bayat, is also often found.

The term *wali* which is applied to all these figures is Arabic (meaning 'saint'), but the title *sunan* which they all carry is Javanese. The origin of the latter is somewhat unclear, but it may derive from *suhun*, meaning 'to do honour to', here in a passive form meaning 'honoured'. Several, but not all, of the *walis* are said to have been of non-Javanese descent, and several are said to have studied in Malacca (notably Sunans Giri, Bonang and Wali-lanang). Several are also said to have had commercial connections, Giri as the **foster** child of a female trader, Bayat as the employee of a woman rice merchant, and Kalijaga as a grass salesman.

The *Babad Tanah Jawi* story of how Sunan Kalijaga was brought to the rightful path is instructive. It is notable that the formal signs of conversion (circumcision, Confession of Faith, and so on) are so entirely absent that it is not in fact clear whether Kalijaga is already nominally Muslim at the time of his 'conversion'. In this story, Kalijaga is said to be the son of a Tumenggung Wilatikta in the service of Majapahit, whose religious affiliation is unspecified. The young man, however, has the name Said, which is Arabic. Having lost at **gambling**, Said becomes a highway robber on the north coast. One day Sunan Bonang passes and is **accosted** by Said, but Bonang tells him that it would be much better to rob a person who will later pass by, dressed entirely in blue with a red **hibiscus** flower behind his ear. Said takes this advice, and three days later this other person appears. It is, of course, Bonang himself in disguise. When Said attacks him, however, Bonang turns himself into four persons. Said is so shaken by the experience that he gives up his bad ways and adopts the life of an **ascetic**. He takes the name Kalijaga, becomes a *wali* and marries a sister of Sunan Gunungjati.

Sìjarah Bantìn ('History of Bantìn') is another Javanese text containing conversion stories. Most manuscripts of this chronicle are late-nineteenth-century, but two are copies of originals written in the 1730s and 1740s. As is the case with the *Babad Tanah Jawi* legends, there are many magical events here, but conversions are not very explicitly described and there is no emphasis on the Confession of Faith, circumcision, and so on. The story of the origins of Sunan Giri is of interest. According to *Sìjarah Bantìn*, a foreign holy man named Molana Usalam comes to Balambangan in the Eastern Salient (*Oosthoek*) of Java, an area where Islam was not in fact established until the late eighteenth century. The ruler of Balambangan has a daughter who is incurably ill, but she recovers when Molana Usalam gives her **betel-nut** to chew. She is then given in marriage to Molana Usalam, but when he also asks the ruler to adopt Islam the latter refuses. Molana Usalam therefore departs from Balambangan, leaving behind the princess who is already pregnant. When she bears a son, he is thrown into the sea in a **chest**, as in the story of Moses (which is found in *sura* XX of the *Qur'an* as well as in the Bible). The chest is fished out of the sea at Grìsik, where the boy is raised as a Muslim and later becomes the first Sunan of Giri. It is worth noting that, so far as is known at present, Malay legends are **devoid** of stories such as that of Balambangan, where the supernatural powers of a foreign holy man are insufficient to cause conversion.

foster - not his/her own, adapted
gambling - playing a game for money
accosted - approached
hibiscus - tropical trees, having coloured flowers with numerous stamens united
ascetic - a person who has a simple and strict way of living
betel-nut - the seed of the betel palm tree
chest - large strong box, usually made of wood
devoid - completely lacking

MOSQUE OF WAPAUVE, HILA, AMBON, LOCALLY SAID TO HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED IN 1414

These kinds of legends cannot tell much about the actual events surrounding the coming of Islam, but they do at least reflect how later generations of Indonesian Muslims looked back upon Islamisation. There is a clear and significant difference between the Malay and Javanese legends, with Islamisation being a major turning point defined by clear outward signs of conversion in the former, but a much less clearly marked transition in the latter. There are also important consistencies between the two sets of traditions. Both reflect memories of the foreign origins of some of the early teachers, of magical events which attended Islamisation, and of the conversion process as something which began with the ruling elite of the area.

From the north coast of Java came two further documents which help to add substance to the story of Islamisation. These two manuscripts in Javanese contain Islamic teachings as they were being given in Java in the sixteenth century. Although neither manuscript is dated, both were brought back to the Netherlands by the first Dutch expedition to Java (1595-7) and therefore clearly pre-date 1597. Neither is a connected work of theology. One is a *primbon* (handbook) containing notes made by one or more students of some teacher. The other is attributed by G. W. J. Drewes to a teacher named Seh Bari, and contains considerations upon a series of disputed points. Both texts are orthodox, and both are mystical. That is to say, they do not reflect the **austere** legal interests associated with the four Orthodox schools of Islam, but rather the metaphysical considerations and ascetic ethos associated with the mystics of Islam, the Sufis, who by this time were accepted as part of the orthodox Islamic world.

The orthodoxy of these two manuscripts is significant. The Islam of Indonesia has been full of heterodoxy and **heresy**, a fact which later encouraged major reformist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These texts are therefore important for showing that entirely orthodox Islam was being taught, at least in some areas, from an early time. These texts do reveal some adaptation to Javanese surroundings. For instance, God is referred to with the Javanese term *pangeran*, and asceticism is described with the Javanese word *tapa*. Both texts use the Javanese script, which had originally developed from an Indian script, although in later centuries religious works in Javanese sometimes employed the Arabic script. These adjustments to the Javanese environment are, however, of little significance; the teachings of these texts could have been found in any orthodox mystical community in the Islamic world. The book ascribed to Seh Bari suggests that this orthodox viewpoint may not have been dominant throughout Java, for it has long passages attacking **heretical** doctrines. In particular, it denounces any identification of God and humankind, which is one of the worst heresies in Islam, although it is excellent Hinduism and a doctrine that has persisted in some Javanese Muslim circles into the present century.

G. W. J. Drewes proposes that a third Javanese manuscript, a 'code of Muslim ethics', is also to be dated to the early stages of Islamisation in Java. The antiquity of this text is, however, less certain than is true of the sixteenth century *primbon* and Seh Bari works. The 'code' could be as late as the final wave of conversions in East Java in the eighteenth century. It is none the less valuable for depicting the **strains** in a society in the midst of Islamisation. Its author repeatedly denounces the practices of those who still cling to the traditional religion (called *agama Jawa*, 'Javanese religion'). This text, too, belongs within a generally mystical understanding of Islam, but there also survives an anonymous Malay-language manuscript dating from before 1620 which demonstrates that non-mystical Qur'anic **exegesis** was practised as well in the Indonesian region.

austere -
severely simple; strict

heresy -
a teaching which is different from the original, orthodox belief

heretical -
characterised by heresy

strains -
worries; tensions

exegesis -
critical explanation or analysis

The evidence concerning the coming of Islam to Indonesia which has been discussed above does not easily lead to firm conclusions. It is for this reason that scholars have differed sharply in their views of Islamisation. One rather lengthy debate has concerned the area from which Islam came. Gujarat in northwest India has been one favoured candidate; Gujarati influence is suggested by the fact that the tombstone of Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419) at Grìsik and several stones at Pasai are believed to have been imported from Cambay in Gujarat. The Malabar coast of southwest India, Coromandel in southeast India, Bengal, South China and of course Arabia, Egypt and Persia have all been suggested as the source of Indonesian Islam. Too often this debate seems to presuppose an unjustifiably simplistic view of events. This was, after all, a process of religious change which occupied several centuries. In this chapter, only evidence for the initial stages has been examined, yet between the time of Sultan Sulaiman bin Abdullah's gravestone and Tomé Pires's account, three centuries elapsed. The area concerned is the largest archipelago on the earth's surface, and at the time in question it was already involved in international trade. It seems highly improbable that the Islamisation of Indonesia can be explained with reference to only one source. Nor is it acceptable to consider only external sources, for it seems clear that Islam was introduced in many areas by Indonesians themselves, especially by Malay and Javanese Muslims travelling in East Indonesia and by Muslim rulers who conquered non-Islamised areas. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that foreign Muslims from many areas and Indonesian Muslims themselves all played important roles in various areas at various times.

But the major question remains: why was Islam adopted by a significant number of Indonesians only in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? There was at one time a widely-accepted stereotype which described Islamisation solely in terms of foreign traders who intermarried locally and formed Islamic communities in this way; these grew as Indonesians were attracted to the new faith, whose egalitarian ethos supposedly provided relief from the Hindu caste system. This idea is now, quite rightly, almost entirely rejected. There is no evidence whatsoever that there was anything egalitarian about Islam in practice; all the evidence in this chapter points to Islamisation from above, and none of the Islamic societies which will be discussed in subsequent chapters was in any sense egalitarian. Nor can the presence of traders alone explain Islamisation, for it seems certain that Muslim traders had been present in Indonesia long before significant Indonesian conversions began. On the other hand, conversion is inconceivable without trade, for it was the international network of commerce that brought Indonesians into contact with Islam.

The evidence of a mystical **bias** in much of Indonesian Islam has suggestion that the Sufis were the primary agents of conversion. A. H. Johns is the main supporter of this argument, and he points out that the Islamisation of Indonesia **coincided** with the period when Sufism came to dominate the Islamic world, after the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258. He sees the Sufis, of all nationalities, as travelling to Indonesia aboard trading ships and there successfully propagating their more eclectic and less austere ver-

bias - prejudice

coincided - happened at the same time

sion of the faith. Although this view has much logical force, it does lack evidence, for no organised Sufi brotherhood is documented in Indonesia from this early period. On the other hand, there is, of course little documentation to support any theory. Moreover, in India, where Islamisation also occurred within previously Hindu communities, some scholars have argued that Sufis were not normally the initial agents of conversion, but rather a second wave of Islam which deepened the orthodox commitment of already Islamised areas. This is similar to the role ascribed to the Indian holy man in the *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* story described above. And the Sufi theory seems irrelevant to those cases such as Tomé Pires described, where foreign Muslims settled and became Javanese, so that the question is more one of Javanisation than Islamisation. Nevertheless, the strong mystical strain in Indonesian Islam is perfectly clear in the two sixteenth-century Javanese religious texts and in later, better known, centuries. Mysticism is therefore clearly a part of Islamisation, but its precise role remains unclear.

Given the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence, great caution is essential in drawing conclusions. It seems clear that trade was an essential element in bringing Islam to Indonesia. It may also have been an incentive to conversion, for Indonesian rulers involved in trade may have thought it **expedient** to adopt the same religion as the majority of the traders. But traders are unlikely to have been intimates of the nobility of the Majapahit court, who would probably have regarded themselves as being far above merchants in social standing; they are more likely to have been influenced by learned Muslim mystics and holy men with claims to supernatural powers. And the problem remains of explaining why conversions only began several centuries after Muslim traders had been known in the region.

Distinctions must probably be drawn between different areas of Indonesia. There were parts of Sumatra and the Javanese coast of which nothing is known before Islamisation; in some cases towns emerged here as a result of foreign Muslims settling, in other cases Indonesians living there may have been little influenced by Hindu-Buddhist ideas and were therefore attracted to Islam for the cultural **paraphernalia** it brought, such as literacy. But in the ancient centres of high culture this was not true: in Majapahit and Bali, Islam met profound cultural barriers. Majapahit's cultural influence was such that even non-Javanese Muslims on the coast emulated its style. It is symptomatic of this difference that in North Sumatra there were sultans since the early thirteenth century, whereas no Javanese monarch is known definitely to have adopted that title until the seventeenth century. It would be wrong, however, to overemphasise the superficiality of Islamisation in Java. Although Islam had a very limited impact on Javanese philosophy, it altered some fundamental social customs: eventually all Javanese converts accepted circumcision and burial, for instance, in place of Hindu-Buddhist rituals such as **cremation**. Entrance into this new religious community was, thus, clearly marked. In Bali, for reasons which are not clear, the cultural barriers were insurmountable and Bali has remained Hindu until the present day. In all areas of Indonesia, Islamisation was the beginning, not the end, of a major process of change. Eight centuries later, this process is still continuing.

One final point needs to be made. The debates about the relative importance of traders and Sufis, and about the foreign sources of Indonesian Islam, have obscured an important aspect of Islamisation. It is often thought of as a peaceful process, since there is no evidence of foreign military expeditions imposing Islam by conquest. But once an Indonesian Islamic state was founded, Islam was sometimes spread from there to other areas by warfare. Examples of this in sixteenth-century Sumatra and Java and in seventeenth-century Sulawesi will be seen in Chapter 4. This does not necessar-

expedient -
an action that is useful for a particular purpose
paraphernalia -
appendages; ornaments; finery; equipments
cremation -
the burning of a dead body

ily mean that such wars were fought primarily in order to spread Islam; the roots of these struggles were perhaps more commonly dynastic, strategic and economic. But Islamisation often followed upon conquest. Islam was spread in Indonesia not only by persuasion and commercial pressures, but by the sword as well.

SOURCE: Ricklefs, M.C. "The Coming of Islam." *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 3rd ed. California: Stanford University Press, 2001, pp. 3-17.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the two generally possible processes of Islamisation that the author suggests in Indonesia?
2. When did the contacts between Arabia and Southeast Asia begin to occur?
3. What kind of evidence does Ricklefs say is useful in determining the origins of Islam on the Indonesian islands?
4. In what language were the tombstone inscriptions written that were examined by the author? What might this suggest about the social history of the community?
5. How credible is the analysis of tombstones to ascribing dates to the beginning of Islamic conversion in Indonesia?
6. Was Islam in East Java first adopted by courtiers or coastal communities? What was the role of Sufis in this case?
7. How does Ricklefs use scattered evidence about the spread of Islam? What does he say about drawing inferences about Islamisation based on the presence or absence of Muslims or such contacts in any given area?
8. Who is Tomé Pires? In what way does Ricklefs suggest that Pires' records may be used to study Islam in Indonesia from the sixteenth century?
9. What might have been the cause of the warfare that Pires described between the coast and the interior of East Java? What is Ricklefs' explanation?
10. What does Ricklefs mean by 'assimiliation' and 'Javanisation'? What evidence can you recall from the text for these two processes?
11. Why does Ricklefs use Islamisation legends? What is he trying to prove?
12. What are the similarities and differences between the Malay and Javanese Islamisation legends?
13. Are scholars certain about the main geographical sources of the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia? What is Ricklefs' standpoint on this issue?
14. Accord to Ricklefs, why did Islam start spreading in Indonesia only after the thirteenth century even though traders had been visiting the islands for centuries before?
15. What are the author's conclusions about the causes, the speed and the extent of Islamisation in Indonesia? Why did Bali remain Hindu?

MADRASA AL-MUSTANSIRYYA
Baghdad, 1242

MUHAMMAD AL-GHAZALI: THE SCIENCE OF *KALÂM*: ITS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENT

Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (1058-1111) was a remarkable Islamic theologian, jurist and philosopher. Born in Tus near Masah, al-Ghazali studied in Nishapur, and became a professor of a Baghdad madrasah in 1091. However, after teaching for several years he returned to Sufism in 1095, lived an ascetic life for over a decade, and returned to teaching only in 1106. Al-Ghazali wrote many religious works such as The Revival of the Religious Sciences – his most significant writing on Sufism, The Niches for Lights – on mystical experience, and The Deliverance from Error – his defence of his life as a mystic. In the field of philosophy, he was noted for The Inconsistency or Incoherence of the Philosophers where he defended Islam against the speculative views of the philosophers, and The Aims of the Philosophers, the book that became known in Europe in the twelfth century. The following selection comes from al-Ghazali's The Deliverance from Error where he formulated his theory that the true religious experience goes beyond intellectual understanding of the religion, and that only a mystic's life would allow for a person to experience this. As you read the text, keep in mind the author's background both in an orthodox theology and later as a Sufi.

1. I began with the science of ***kalâm***, gathering it and considering it. I studied the works of the **adepts** of this science, and composed works on it according to my desire. I found it a science adequate to its own aims, but not adequate to mine.
2. The aim of this science is to defend the **creed** of the orthodox and to guard it from the confusion of the innovators. For God has given to his servants, through the words of his prophet, a creed which is the truth. Upon it depends the welfare of their spiritual and secular life. The Qur'an and ***akhbâr*** articulate knowledge of it. Subsequently the devil introduced, through the **murmurings** of the innovators, matters opposed to orthodoxy (*sunna*). They became **besotted** with these matters and almost corrupted the true creed of those who possessed it. Hence God sent the group known as *mutakallims* (or theologians) and He moved them to defend the *sunna* through systematic theology which revealed the **contrived** obscurities of the innovators that were in opposition to the established *sunna*. Thus the science of *kalâm* and its practitioners grew up.
3. A group of them undertook the task to which they had been appointed by God: they skilfully defended the *sunna*, struggled on behalf of the creed received through acceptance from **prophecy**, and changed what the innovators had introduced. But they relied, in all this, upon principles which they had accepted from their **adversaries**, being compelled to do so by either *taqlîd*, or consensus of the community, or simply acceptance from the Qur'an and *akhbâr*. Most of their activities were concerned with demonstration of the contradictions of their adversaries or with criticism of the conclusions which necessarily followed from their (adversaries') **assumptions**.

kalâm -
literally, 'speech', often the speech of God; Islamic speculative theology
adepts -
experts
creed -
a system of belief, principles, or opinions
akhbâr -
literally, 'narratives'; reference to the Hadith
murmurings -
indistinct, whispered, or confidential complaints
besotted -
obsessed
contrived -
artificial
prophecy -
divine revelation
adversaries -
opponents; enemies
assumptions -

4. This was of little use to one who accepts only necessary truths; and so *kalâm* was of little use to me and constituted no cure for my **malady**.
5. When the skills of *kalâm* developed, and the practice of it increased and time passed, the *mutakallimûn* developed a taste for defending [the *sunna*] through investigating the true nature of things. They **plunged** into discussion of 'essences' and 'accidents' and their **attendant** rules. However, since this was not the aim of their science, their investigations did not achieve their ultimate target. And they did not achieve [an understanding] which could completely remove the darkness of confusion that lies in human dispute.
6. I do not consider it impossible that this was achieved for others, indeed I do not doubt that for a certain group of people it was achieved; but it was an achievement mixed with *taqlîd* in areas other than first principles. My aim at present is to tell of my own state, and not to contradict those who look for a cure in *kalâm*.

suppositions; guesses

malady - a disease, a disorder or an ailment.

plunged - cast deeply into something

attendant -

SOURCE: Al-Ghazali, Muhammad. "The Science of Kalâm: Its Aims and Achievement." *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature*. Edited and translated by Norman Calder, Jawid Mojaddedi and Andrew Pippin. London: Routledge, 2003, p. 151.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does the author define the science of kâlam?
2. What is the problem with kâlam, according to al-Ghazali?
3. Why does al-Ghazali object to innovators in religion?
4. What is the role of the mutakallims in society?
5. In what way do the mutakallims fail to achieve their purpose of defending Islam?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Why do you think al-Ghazali calls kâlam a science?
2. Would you consider Sufism an innovation in Islam?
3. To what extent is al-Ghazali open to innovation? Compare him with bin Fakhreddin.
4. Is bin Fahkreddin similar to al-Ghazali in terms of using 'reason' in understanding religion?

JO-ANN SHELTON: AS THE ROMANS DID

Jo-Ann Shelton is a researcher of Roman social and cultural history. She also studies Greek and Roman tragedy, as well as people's attitudes toward animals in the past and present. Ms. Shelton currently teaches Classics at the University of California in Santa Barbara. She has published extensively on topics of her interest including various articles and books. Articles include "Elephants, Pompey and the Reports of Popular Displeasure in 55 BCE" and "The Contributions of Ancient Greek Philosophy to the Modern Debates about Animal Use" and her books include Seneca's Hercules Furens: Theme, Structure, and Style (1978), Seneca's Hercules Furens: The Madness of Hercules (1991) and As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History (1998). The following selections come from the latter. She discusses Roman beliefs, attitudes towards religion, and the role of religion in society. The social role of religion in ancient Rome significantly differed from contemporary cases. Religious and state functions were closely interwoven, and each supported the function of the other since the well-being of the community depended on the respect of various religious deities. As you read, consider how the Romans borrowed deities from other nations and the reasons for such open-mindedness in terms of beliefs and traditions.

AESCULAPIUS, THE GOD OF MEDICINE

THE SNAKES: THE SYMBOL OF MEDICINE

that which accompanies

Olympian deities - the Greek gods, or deities, were imagined to inhabit mount Olympus

Etruscan overlords - reference to an ancient people of Etruria, in Italy (between the Tiber and Arno rivers west and south of the Apennines), whose urban civilisation reached its height in 600 BCE. Many features of the Etruscan culture were adopted by the Romans, their successors to power in the peninsula

republican period - ancient Rome's history is usually divided into three periods: the monarchy, the republican period, and the imperial period. The republican period lasted from about 508 to about 20 BCE. During the republican period, all males were eligible

IMPORTING GODS

The early Romans had learned about the **Olympian deities** from their **Etruscan overlords** or from their neighbours in the Greek colonies of southern Italy, and the assimilation of Greek elements into the Roman religion had been a gradual process. In the middle **republican period**, however, the Romans imported several deities directly from Greece and Asia Minor and introduced them suddenly into their state religion. The importations occurred at times of crisis, when the Romans felt they needed some extra help in dealing with a grave situation. The passage below describes the importation into Rome in 293 BCE of Aesculapius, the Greek god of medicine.

A BOOK ABOUT FAMOUS MEN *(ANONYMOUS)*

*Because of a **plague**, and on the advice of the **Sibylline books**, the Romans sent ten **envoys** under the command of **Quintus Ogulnius** to bring Aesculapius from Epidaurus.[13] When they had arrived at Epidaurus and were admiring the huge statue of the god, a snake, which inspired respect rather than terror, slithered out of the temple, and to the amazement of all, headed right through the middle of the city to the Roman ship where it coiled up in Ogulnius's cabin.[14] ... When the ship was sailing up the **Tiber**, carrying the snake to Rome, the snake jumped onto an island.[15] A temple was built there, and the plague subsided with remarkable speed.[16]*

ZEUS, GREEK GOD. THE ROMANS ADOPTED HIM AS JUPITER.

to vote

plague - a highly infectious, usually fatal, epidemic disease; a pestilence

Sibylline books - a collection of prophecies

envoys - messengers

Quintus Ogulnius - Roman tribune (officer of ancient Rome elected by the plebeians to protect their rights from arbitrary acts of the patrician magistrates) who ended the patrician monopoly of two priestly colleges - Ogulnian law - by increasing the number of pontiffs from four to eight and the number of augurs from four to nine and by specifying that the new priests were to be plebeian

Tiber - a river of central Italy which flows through Rome to the Tyrrhenian Sea

Second Punic War - also known as the Second Carthaginian War, 218-201 BCE, second in a series of wars between the Roman Republic and the Carthaginian (Punic) Empire that resulted in Roman hegemony over the western Mediterranean

Hannibal - Carthaginian general who crossed the Alps in 218 BCE with about 35,000 men and routed Roman armies at Lake Trasimeno (217) and Cannae (216). He was later defeated at the Battle of Zama (202)

ravishing - seizing and carrying away by force; raping

Livy - Titus Livius, 59 BCE - 17 CE, Roman historian whose history of Rome filled 142 volumes (of which only 35 survive) including the earliest history of the war with Hannibal

Minucius Felix - c. mid-2 to mid-3 century CE, a Christian and perhaps a native of Africa

Eleusinians - reference to the people of the ancient city of Eleusis, eastern

13 *Epidaurus*: a town in Argolis, Greece, which was the centre for the worship of Aesculapius. People travelled long distances to visit the temple and sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus and seek a cure for their illnesses and afflictions. And many astonishing cures have been recorded. Although people believed the god had cured them, the priests of Aesculapius were apparently skilled in medicine, surgery, and pharmacology.

14 Snakes were sacred to Aesculapius because they were a symbol of renewal and reproduction.

15 The island is in the middle of the Tiber. It is called the Tiber Island and is joined to the mainland by two bridges.

16 Romans went to the temple to be healed. Sick slaves were sometimes abandoned there. There is still today a hospital on the island.

TURNING TO OTHER RELIGIONS

As early as the third century BCE, eastern cults were finding eager disciples among the people of Rome. The population of Rome included, of course, many people of non-Roman birth—slaves, freedmen, foreign businessmen—for whom the eastern cults were "native" religions; but Roman citizens, too, were attracted to these cults, especially in times of crisis and despair when the state religion seemed unable to provide hope and comfort. Such a time was the **Second Punic War**, when **Hannibal**'s troops were **ravishing** Italy, and the traditional gods and ancestral rituals had not been able to secure a military victory for the Romans.[17] The passage translated here describes the situation in Rome in 213 BCE.

A HISTORY OF ROME (*LIVY*)

The longer the war dragged on, and the alternation of success and defeat affected both the prosperity and the attitudes of men; an increasing number of religious cults, most of them foreign, invaded the city with the result that either the men or the gods seemed to have changed rather suddenly. No longer did people keep their disaffection with the state religion a secret, voiced only in private homes. In public places, in the Forum, on the Capitoline, was seen a crowd of women who did not pray or sacrifice to the gods in accordance with ancestral ritual. Priestlings and prophets had captured the minds of the men as well as the women.

A ROMAN VIRTUE

One of the most noble aspects of the Roman character was its ability to adopt the customs and beliefs of other cultures and to incorporate them into Roman culture. Many scholars, both ancient and modern, believe that this ability was the source of Rome's greatness. And until the triumph of Christianity, which was fanatically intolerant and whose growth coincided with the sharp decline of Roman power, Roman open-mindedness had been rewarded by success in building and maintaining an empire.

OCTAVIUS (*MINUCIUS FELIX*)

Throughout the whole far-flung empire, in provinces, in towns, we see that

Greece, near Athens

Ceres - in Roman religion, goddess of agriculture

Phrygians - reference to the people of the ancient region of central Asia Minor in modern-day central Turkey; settled c. 1200 BCE and flourished in 800-600 BCE

Great Mother - great nature goddess of ancient Phrygia in Asia Minor; counterpart of Greek Rhea and Roman Ops

Chaldaeans - reference to the people of the ancient region of Mesopotamia lying between the Euphrates delta and the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Desert; settled in 1000 BCE and destroyed by the Persians in 539 BCE

Baal - any of numerous local fertility and nature deities worshipped by ancient Semitic peoples

Taurians - earliest known inhabitants of the mountainous south coast of what is now the Crimea, which itself was known in ancient times as the Tauric Chersonese

Diana - in Roman mythology, the virgin goddess of hunting and childbirth, traditionally associated with the moon and identified with the Greek Artemis

Gauls - reference to the people of the ancient region of western Europe south and west of the Rhine River, west of the Alps, and north of the Pyrenees, corresponding roughly to modern- day France and Belgium

Mercury - in Roman mythology, the god that served as messenger to the other gods and was himself the god of commerce, travel,

17 In the end, of course, the Romans did defeat Hannibal and win the war.

*each local group of people has its own religious rituals and worships local gods. The **Eleusinians**, for example, worship **Ceres**, the **Phrygians** worship **Great Mother**, the Epidaurians Aesculapius, the **Chaldaeans Baal**, the Syrians **Astarte**, the **Taurians Diana** and the **Gauls Mercury**. The Romans, however, worship all the gods in the world. Their power and authority have occupied the farthest limits of the whole world, and extended their empire beyond the paths of the sun and the borders of the very ocean…. And after they have captured a town, when brutality in victory might be expected, the Romans pay honour to the deities of the conquered people. They invite to Rome gods from all over the world, and they make them their own. …And thus, while the Romans were adopting the religious rites of all nations, they also won for themselves an empire.*

SOURCE: Shelton, Jo-Ann. *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 367-368, 392-393, 417.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. When and how did the Romans, according to Shelton, 'import' their gods into their state religion from other nations? How does Quintus Ogulnius bring the god of medicine to Rome?
2. What leads the Romans to turn to eastern religion? Why do you think the "state religion" was insufficient?
3. According to the text many scholars believe that the tolerance of the Roman religion "was the source of Rome's greatness". Why do you think it is so? Do you think that the appearance of a less tolerant religion, Christianity, might have partly caused the fall of the Roman Empire?
4. How does Minucius Felix describe the openness of the Romans to other religions?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. In your opinion, what could be the reasons for the open-mindedness of the Romans to various religions?
2. How do you see the constant change in religious beliefs in the Roman Empire? How did this process take place?
3. Is it possible to draw any parallels between the Indonesian myths about the adoption of Islam and the Roman stories about the gods?
4. Do you think religious innovation could lead to positive outcomes? Cite examples from the texts you have read in Chapter Two.

ZITKALA-ŠA: WHY I AM A PAGAN

Zitkala-Ša or Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (1876-1938) was a writer, musician and Native American rights activist. Born to a Sioux mother and an American father in the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, she grew up with her mother after the father abandoned her family before she was born. Educated in a Quaker school for Indians, she received a musical education in Boston and a college education in Indiana. Zitkala-Ša, which means a "Red Bird" in the Dakota Native American dialect, was a pen-name chosen by Bonnin as she started writing. But it is also believed to express her identity. Personally experiencing the paternalistic attitude towards Native Americans in the United States, she wrote in defence of the Native's culture and traditions, participated in many self-help organisations for the Native Americans, and founded the National Council of American Indians. In an attempt to keep Indian oral traditions from disappearing, Zitkala-Ša recorded them in writing, and produced Old Indian Legends (1901) of the Sioux. In 1921, she authored the American Indian Stories. In the following story, Why I Am a Pagan (1902), Zitkala-Ša describes the interaction between Native American converts to Christianity and those who adhered to Native religion. As you read, consider the author's reasons for deciding to remain a 'pagan'.

When the spirit swells my breast I love to roam leisurely among the green hills; or sometimes, sitting on the brink of the murmuring **Missouri**, I marvel at the great blue overhead. With half-closed eyes I watch the huge cloud shadows in their noiseless play upon the high bluffs opposite me, while into my ear ripple the sweet, soft cadences of the river's song. Folded hands lie in my lap, for the time forgot. My heart and I lie small upon the earth like a grain of throbbing sand. Drifting clouds and tinkling waters, together with the warmth of a **genial** summer day, bespeak with eloquence the loving Mystery round about us. During the idle while I sat upon the sunny river brink, I grew somewhat, though my response be not so clearly **manifest** as in the green grass **fringing** the edge of the high bluff back of me.

At length retracing the uncertain footpath scaling the **precipitous embankment**, I seek the level lands where grow the wild prairie flowers. And they, the lovely little folk, soothe my soul with their perfumed breath.

Their **quaint** round faces of varied hue convince the heart which leaps with glad surprise that they, too, are living symbols of **omnipotent** thought. With a child's eager eye I drink in the myriad star shapes wrought in luxuriant colour upon the green. Beautiful is the spiritual essence they embody.

I leave them nodding in the breeze but take along with me their impress upon my heart. I pause to rest me upon a rock embedded on the side of a foothill facing the low river bottom. Here the **Stone-Boy**, of whom the American **aborigine** tells, **frolics** about, shooting his baby arrows and shouting aloud with glee at the tiny **shafts** of lightning that flash from the flying **arrow-beaks**. What an ideal warrior he became,

and thievery

Missouri -
a river in the US
genial -
friendly; pleasant
manifest -
shown; demonstrated
fringing -
decorating
precipitous -
steep
embankment -
a long artificial mound of stone or earth; built to hold back water or to support a road or as protection
quaint -
charmingly odd; strange
omnipotent -
all-powerful
Stone-Boy -
a figure from the stories of the Sioux, Native American group
aborigine -
a member of the indigenous or earliest known population of a region
frolics -
behaves playfully
shafts -
rays or beams of light
arrow-beaks -
the front edge of arrows, end-

ing in a point

baffling -
impeding the movement; confusing

siege -
blockade

fain -
gladly

magnitude -
greatness in size or extent

allotted -
chosen; selected; given

buoyant -
cheerful

Yellow Breast -
a type of bird, possibly a yellow-breasted chat, an atypical wood warbler that mostly lives in eastern USA

warbles -
sings with trills, runs, or other melodic embellishments

moccasined -
wearing moccasins, a soft leather slipper traditionally worn by certain Native American peoples

flit hither and yon -
move about rapidly and nimbly here and there or to many places

frisking -
playing

mongrel -
a dog of mixed or undetermined breed

Sioux -
the language of a group of Native American peoples, also known as the Dakota, inhabiting the northern Great Plains from Minnesota to eastern Montana and from southern Saskatchewan to Nebraska. Present-day Sioux populations are located mainly in North and South Dakota

dilated -
enlarged

pupils -
the apparently black circular opening in the center of the iris of the eye, through which light passes to the retina

roguish -

baffling the **siege** of the pests of all the land till he triumphed over their united attack. And here he lay, Invan, our great-great-grandfather, older than the hill he rested on, older than the race of men who love to tell of his wonderful career.

Interwoven with the thread of this Indian legend of the rock, I **fain** would trace a subtle knowledge of the native folk which enabled them to recognise a kinship to any and all parts of this vast universe. By the leading of an ancient trail, I move toward the Indian village.

With the strong, happy sense that both great and small are so surely enfolded in His **magnitude** that, without a miss, each has his **allotted** individual ground of opportunities, I am **buoyant** with good nature.

Yellow Breast, swaying upon the slender stem of a wild sunflower, **warbles** a sweet assurance of this as I pass near by. Breaking off the clear crystal song, he turns his wee head from side to side eyeing me wisely as slowly I plod with **moccasined** feet. Then, again he yields himself to his song of joy. Flit, **flit hither and yon**, he fills the summer sky with his swift, sweet melody. And truly does it seem his vigorous freedom lies more in his little spirit than in his wing.

With these thoughts I reach the log cabin whither I am strongly drawn by the tie of a child to an aged mother. Out bounds my four-footed friend to meet me, **frisking** about my path with unmistakable delight. Chan is a black shaggy dog, "a thoroughbred little **mongrel**," of whom I am very fond. Chan seems to understand many words in **Sioux**, and will go to her mat even when I whisper the word, though generally I think she is guided by the tone of the voice. Often she tries to imitate the sliding inflection and long drawn out voice to the amusement of our guests, but her articulation is quite beyond my ear. In both my hands I hold her shaggy head and gaze into her large, brown eyes. At once the **dilated pupils** contract into tiny black dots, as if the **roguish** spirit within would evade my questioning.

Finally resuming the chair at my desk I feel in keen sympathy with my fellow creatures, for I seem to see clearly again that all are akin.

The racial lines, which once were bitterly real, now serve nothing more than marking out a living mosaic of human beings. And even here men of the same colour are like the ivory keys of one instrument where each represents all the rest, yet var-

NATIVE AMERICAN SIOUX INDIANS

ies from them in pitch and quality of voice. And those creatures who are, for a time, mere echoes of another's note are not unlike the fable of the thin, sick man whose **distorted** shadow, dressed like a real creature, came to the old master to make him follow as a shadow. Thus, with a compassion for all echoes in human **guise**, I greet the solemn-faced "native preacher" whom I find awaiting me. I listen with respect for God's creature, though he mouth most strangely the **jangling** phrases of a **bigoted creed**.

As our tribe is one large family, where every person is related to all the others, he addressed me:—

"Cousin, I came from the morning church service to talk with you."

"Yes," I said **interrogatively**, as he paused for some word from me.

Shifting uneasily about in the straight-backed chair he sat upon, he began: "Every holy day (Sunday) I look about our little God's house, and not seeing you there, I am disappointed. This is why I come today. Cousin, as I watch you from afar, I see no **unbecoming** behaviour and hear only good reports of you, which all the more burns me with the wish that you were a church member. Cousin, I was taught long years ago by kind missionaries to read the holy book. These godly men taught me also the folly of our old beliefs.

"There is one God who gives reward or punishment to the race of dead men. In the upper region the Christian dead are gathered in **unceasing** song and prayer. In the deep pit below, the sinful ones dance in torturing flames.

"Think upon these things, my cousin, and choose now to avoid the **after-doom** of hell fire!" Then followed a long silence in which he clasped tighter and unclasped again his interlocked fingers.

Like instantaneous lightning flashes came pictures of my own mother's making, for she, too, is now a follower of the new **superstition**.

"Knocking out the **chinking** of our log cabin, some evil hand thrust in a burning **taper** of **braided** dry grass, but failed of his intent, for the fire died out and the half burned **brand** fell inward to the floor. Directly above it, on a shelf, lay the holy book. This is what we found after our return from a several days' visit. Surely some great power is hid in the sacred book!"

Brushing away from my eyes many like pictures, I offered midday meal to the converted Indian sitting wordless and with downcast face. No sooner had he risen from the table with "Cousin, I have relished it," than the church bell rang.

Thither he hurried forth with his afternoon **sermon**. I watched him as he hastened along, his eyes bent fast upon the dusty road till he disappeared at the end of a quarter of a mile.

The little incident recalled to mind the copy of a missionary paper brought to my notice a few days ago, in which a "Christian" **pugilist** commented upon a recent article of mine, grossly **perverting** the spirit of my pen. Still, I would not forget that the pale-faced missionary and the **hoodooed** aborigine are both God's creatures, though small indeed their own conceptions of Infinite Love. A wee child toddling in a wonder world,

deceitful; unprincipled

distorted - deformed

guise - appearance

jangling - sounding harshly or discordantly

bigoted creed - dogmatic belief or faith

interrogatively - in a questioning manner

unbecoming - improper

unceasing - constant

after-doom - after Judgement Day

superstition - an irrational belief

chinking - a narrow opening, such as a crack

taper - a small or very slender candle

braided - interwoven

brand - a piece of burning or charred wood

thither - there

sermon - a religious speech delivered during a church service

pugilist - someone who fights with his fists for sport; boxer

perverting - interpreting incorrectly; misusing

hoodooed - affected with a charm or curse

Paganism -
having no religion; believing in none of the main religious the

I prefer to their dogma my excursions into the natural gardens where the voice of the Great Spirit is heard in the twittering of birds, the rippling of mighty waters, and the sweet breathing of flowers. If this is **Paganism**, then at present, at least, I am a Pagan.

SOURCE: Zitkala-Ša. "Why I Am a Pagan." *Electronic Text Centre*. University of Virginia Library. URL: http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/ZitPaga.html.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What kind of environment does the protagonist describe in the essay?
2. Does Nature influence the protagonist in any way more than just its picturesque scenery?
3. How does the main character expound the universality of her beliefs?
4. The protagonist calls Christianity a "new superstition". What can you infer from this?
5. Can you describe the encounter of the protagonist with the convert in the story? What is the reaction of the latter to the protagonist's behaviour?
6. How does the main character respond to the convert's remarks?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. How would you define Paganism? Would you call the protagonist in this story Pagan? What about the Romans?
2. Do you see any connection between al-Ghazali's criticism of the theologians and Zitkala-Ša's reaction to the convert's beliefs?
3. The convert, in Zitkala-Ša's story, insists that the "godly men taught [him] the folly of … old beliefs." What kind of value judgments may the convert and the protagonist hold?

FILM:

"Jesus of Montreal," directed by Denys Arcand, Koch Lorber Films, 1990.

HOWARD R. TURNER: SCIENCE IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM

Howard R. Turner was a documentary and educational film and television writer who served as Curator for Science for the major traveling exhibition "The Heritage of Islam, 1982-1983". The following text is taken from his book "Science in Medieval Islam" published in 1995. The text is about Muslim scientific achievements that led to long term progress in the medieval period. Certain Muslim values such as 'knowledge is an attainment of a just and holy life' made Muslims passionate for gaining knowledge. The pursuit for knowledge led Muslims to go beyond the Islamic scope and learn the Hellenistic thought and practice as well as study their own experience. It might have been the kind of attitude towards science that inspired Muslim achievements in cosmology, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, natural science, etc.

While reading the text focus on the evolvement of change in the Muslim world, Muslim's practices in middle ages, and think of the preconditions to Muslims progress. Also consider if science and religion are compatible; do both have the same or different ways to innovation, change and progress?

NATURAL SCIENCE

The pursuit of knowledge in the Islamic world has historically been shaped by a number of interacting, sometimes opposing, factors, religious precept, practical need, and the powerful influence of inherited and adapted cultures among them. In particular, the intellectual treasury of classical Greece and Rome filtered through. **Hellenistic** thought and practice dominated much of the heritage that was appropriated and adapted by most medieval Islamic philosopher-scientists.

On the one hand, as has been noted, the idea of deliberately pursuing any kind of knowledge merely for its own sake, so familiar to the Western world, was considered alien, even impermissible, by virtually all of Islam's orthodox religious leadership and by many of its believers. Gaining knowledge was valid only, or at the very least principally, as a step toward the attainment of the just and holy life prescribed by the Prophet. On the other hand, the worldly, humanistic points of view represented in the works of ancient Greece's great thinkers, beginning with Aristotle and Plato, exercised a profound, often leavening, influence on Muslim intellects. As we have seen, mathematical and astronomical principles largely obtained from the "ancient sciences" of the pre-Islamic world, both West and East, were, once introduced to Muslims, quickly utilized in the procedures required for religious orientation and practice in a specific time and place. Very shortly these exact sciences were applied in solving the everyday physical problems of creating and extending the superstructure of the expanding Muslim empire—its roads and bridges, its forts, palaces, and cities, along with the welfare of its peoples. Perhaps most important, examination of the broad pursuits of

Hellenism – the culture and ideals of the ancient Greeks. The Hellenistic period describes the era which followed the conquests of Alexander the Great. During this time, Greek cultural influence and power was at its zenith in Europe and Asia.

the most eminent Muslim philosophical and scientific thinkers reveals clearly a range and intensity of focus that reflects more than spiritual motivation, more than utilitarian application. In short, from the beginning of Islamic civilization, devotion to knowledge for its own sake, while anathema to the ulema, the orthodox Muslim religious leaders, was a crucial factor in much Muslim intellectual and scientific achievement.

What evolved after the tenth century was a change in the character of the Islamic scientific effort: the boundaries between "ancient" and "religious" sciences, between Hellenistic and orthodox Islamic approaches to investigation and speculation, became less distinct and less contested. Meanwhile, one fundamental precept applied from the start, whether framed in Hellenistic or Islamic mode: Each person's rightful task was to put together the pieces of a universal puzzle, mindful that there was a place for everything and that everything was connected.

Thus, just as much attention had to be paid to earth as to people, whose physical welfare de-pended on what they could gain from the soil and from the waters. Muslims seem to have grasped the importance and the complexity of careful use of the earth's resources long before Europeans did. Perhaps the rapid Muslim expansion across the vast territories between the Atlantic and Indian oceans and the development of these lands made good environmental behavior especially relevant to survival.

As their domain expanded east and west, Muslim naturalists eagerly investigated the rocks and soils as well as the flora and fauna of every region from Spain to Western-India and beyond, compiling a lengthy inventory that was without equal in the medieval West. Detailed reports and analyses were produced in abundance: On the Horse, On the Camel, On Wild Animals, On the Vine and Palm Tree, On the Making of Man. Nothing zoological or botanical escaped notice, analysis, and thorough classification. The character of much of this work was influenced by Aristotelian concepts inherited from ancient Greece, with each class of items hierarchically ordered and fixed. Ibn Sina, al-Biruni, and al-Khazini, a former Greek slave who lived in Persia in the twelfth century, measured and classified precious and semiprecious stones. Ibn Sina also investigated geology and the influence of earthquakes and weather. The tenth-century geographer-encyclopedist al-Mas'udi (celebrated also as a philosopher and natural historian) even provided the beginnings of what might be called a theory of evolution.

Much of the botanical investigation carried out by Muslims directly benefited the pharmacology and pharmacy that developed throughout the Islamic world on an unprecedented scale. This harvest of facts concerning all kinds of animate and inanimate species prompted the production of 8 varieties of encyclopedias. These were often profusely illustrated, and some of the most colorful ones displayed not only what naturalists and other scientists had actually examined but also what they had simply learned second hand, sometimes from sources inspired by fancy. The celebrated thirteenth-century work of Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud Abu Yahya al-Qazwini, Ajaib al-Makhluqat (The Wonders of Creation), reveals some more or less realistic cosmology, botany, and zoology along with splendidly imaginary items, such as trees that sprouted birds rather than leaves. Since this phenomenon was claimed to exist only in the British Isles, virtually none of al-Qazwini's readers could attempt to verify it in person. Of course, most Muslim ornithologists focused on the actual inhabitants of the skies, and there are a number of medieval Arab works on the princely art and sport of falconry.

The Muslim store of knowledge concerning flora and fauna in the lands they controlled, together with experience in cultivating a wide variety of foodstuffs, enabled agriculture to thrive, especially in Western areas such as Spain, which was, in this as in other ways involving the sciences, far in advance of the rest of Europe. In Andalusia and elsewhere the Arabs replaced the ox with the more efficient horse. Moreover, the extensive network of trade routes established throughout Islam promoted the distribution of many items far from their places of origin. Europeans knew only honey as a sweetener until Muslims introduced sugar to the West. Other exports introduced from and via Islamic lands included oranges, rice, and many spices, as well as the large number of medicinal plants previously mentioned.

Although a broad survey of Muslim technology, including Muslim innovation in craft and construction techniques, both civil and military, is beyond the scope of this book, it seems appropriate here to give some attention to ways in which Muslims developed solutions to problems related to the one natural element that concerned them most, especially in connection with agriculture: water.

The never-ending preoccupation with water in the Islamic world is understandable. The earliest Muslim homeland, the Arabian Peninsula, consists mostly of desert and parched highland. Muslim territories in the Near and North Africa are almost as dry. Even the large regions at the far reaches of the Muslim conquest—Spain and Western India—have never been without excessively dry seasons, nor are they unfamiliar with drought.

Providing people with water, Muhammad is believed to have said, is the act of greatest value. Guided by the findings of Archimedes and other hydraulic specialists that preceded them, Arabs made many improvements in the waterwheel, learned to construct wells with fixed water levels, and built elaborate irrigation networks, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In Persia, Muslims also increased the scale and capabilities of the qanat, a type of underground conduit that links together a series of wells and is capable of tapping distant sources of ground water.

Gaining ingenuity in finding water and in utilizing it for survival, Muslims eventually found ways of exploiting it for smaller-scale purposes. Arabs produced sophisticated versions of the water-clock, a device that dates back to antiquity (see Figs. 10.12a, 10.12b, and 10.13). A broad range of mechanical devices designed by the celebrated ninth-century scientists the Banu Musa included apparatuses for providing hot and cold water, well-construction aids, and a self-trimming lamp. Descriptions of such items were precisely spelled out in one of the Banu Musa texts, Kitab al-Iliyal (On Mechanical Devices), which, translated into Latin, helped to transmit Muslim technological expertise along with ancient Archimedean concepts to the West.

In addition, a great deal of attention was paid to improving methods of observation and analysis as well as balance and measurement techniques. The versatile al-Biruni devised a number of advances in methods of determining specific gravities. Al-Khazini produced a long treatise, Kitab Mizan al-Hikma (Balance of Wisdom), that not only

records specific gravities of solids and liquids, but also establishes standards of measurements, discusses balances, and sets forth theories of capillarity and ingenious system of leverage. This text became a standard reference in medieval Europe. Among the many original Muslim mechanical devices known as "auto mata," perhaps the most unusual and ingenious hydraulic examples were designed by Badi al-Zaman al-Jazari, a twelfth- thirteenth-century engineer who appears to have been employed in the service of a series of rulers of the Artuqid dynasty in-southeastern Turkey. Most of his large scale mechanisms were designed to collect and transport water; among them are complex pumps which involved scoops, wheels, gear systems, transport jars, and ox-power. This master craftsman is also celebrated for his exotic small-scale devices which kept time, measured blood, or poured wine and other liquids, and, whether the functions were serious or frivolous, generally astonished and delighted onlookers.

SOURCE : Howard R Turner. "Science in Medieval Islam", University of Texas Press, USA, 1997, p.162-166

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Does the author discuss progress, innovation, change or tradition?

2. Describe the author's approach to explaining Muslim achievements in the Middle Ages. Why did the author start with the pursuit of knowledge and Hellenistic thoughts?

3. What values, according to the text, led Muslims to progress in science, irrigation systems, methods of observation, etc.? What other values do you know that might have been a precondition to Muslim achievements in the medieval period?

4. What historical factors, religious values, and other reasons mentioned in the text caused a change in the Muslim world?

5. Do you see religion and science as being generally compatible? In which domain does conflict between religion and science arise?

6. What kind of modern issues suggest that Islam is an obstacle to modern science?

7. To what extent do you think that the sayings of the Prophet of Islam about gaining knowledge and water provision contributed to science in general, natural science and irrigation systems in particular?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. According to Al Ghazali religious experience is only achieved through mystic's life not intellectual understanding, Howard R Turner see Muslim achievements as a result of an intellectual progress. Do you think the two thinkers are discussing the same thing or two totally unrelated issues?

2. Do you think Al Ghazali's belief in mysticism would have led him to reject the influence of Hellenistic thought on Muslim thinkers as proposed in the text by Howard R Turner?

3. In Jo-Ann Shelton's text 'As the Roman Did' it is claimed that Rome welcomed novelty in religion and adopted several foreign deities which led to longevity of the Roman Empire. To what extent does Howard R Turner suggest that Muslim achievements occurred due to their adoption of Greek philosophical thought?

DR. RAFIQUE KESHAVJEE: FAITH AND CULTURE

Dr. Rafique Keshavjee holds a Doctorate in Anthropology and Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University. He has taught and researched at MIT and Harvard. Over the past 20 years, he has worked for various Aga Khan Development Network institutions, most recently as the Director of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's Humanities Project for Central Asia which he founded. He is currently a Program Officer for Turkey and Central Asia with the Christensen Fund, a private, charitable foundation (www.christensenfund.org). This essay explores the relationship between faith and culture, and the connection between culture and pluralism. Reading this text, please look for links with other texts presented in this chapter. Why do you think it is so important to find the relationship between the faith and culture in contemporary world?

Last summer, as guests of an NGO that was doing remarkable environmental and income generation work with villages in Southern Kyrgyzstan, I went with some colleagues to a place called Manjili, very near the shores of the warm blue Lake Issykul. Manjili is a quiet spot, off the road. As we approached the site on foot, our host, a highly educated Kyrgyz woman, put a scarf over her head and went quiet. A large tree standing by a little spring came to sight. By the tree was a low platform with rugs on which a Kyrgyz family was praying. A mullah walked up to us and welcomed us. He told us the story of this tree, how it has the power to heal people, and how he was healed of an incurable illness by coming here repeatedly, and finally, how he decided to live here because this tree gave him a new life and he wanted to tend and protect it.

We asked him to lead a prayer, which he did. He recited from the Qur'an in Arabic, and his diction was at best uncertain. But in his prayer was a telling devotion to God. As he described his connection with this tree, his eyes gave a glow of gratitude. I asked him, "Have some Muslims said that this place is not Islamic?" He said, "God created this place long before humans came into being, so it does not belong to this or that people, or this or that faith. It belongs to all people." So, as a Muslim, he gave it reverence because he was healed by God's grace.

There is another sacred tree not far from Manjili. This tree had twice restored the art of a famous Kyrgyz epic reciter. Later, I learned that another mullah trained outside Kyrgyzstan at a local mosque had sent a group of young zealots to cut that tree down. The reciter of the epic saw the stump and was heartbroken. The mullah at Manjili must now be nervous because his tree might become history. What do we make of this reverence for trees and the new and violent aversion to it? We need to go into the past.

THE PLURALISTIC SPREAD OF ISLAM

When a faith expands by conversion across different cultures, the believers have to face a question: Is this faith for the tribe or people among whom it first emerged? For example, among many Christian fathers, around a century or so after Christ, they abolished the ban on eating pork and other Jewish restrictions on Christian converts. In so doing, they signaled an expansion of Christ's message beyond the boundaries of the Jewish tradition. Islam similarly crossed the boundary of being the religion of the Arabs in the Abbasid revolution of 750 AD. The person who led this movement called himself Abu Muslim: "the father of the Muslims". It was significant that he gave himself a name that could not be identified with any Arab tribe. His movement ended the many restrictions put on non-Arab Muslims by Arab Muslims. More broadly, Baghdad, and similarly Cairo and Cordoba, were manifestations of a much larger change in Muslim religious life: an Arab lineage, legitimated by descent from the Prophet, began to expand its moral reach to vast numbers of people differing widely in culture but sharing an affinity with histories and values around the mission of Prophet Muhammad.

This tendency of Muslims to absorb different cultures of course varied over different periods in history and different movements but indicates the peculiar strength of diversity among Muslims. As the faith spread, communities established a meaningful existence by developing practices and institutions that meant something locally. They started to write in different languages. They absorbed and adapted local traditions of building, so that the Taj Mahal is both uniquely Indian and uniquely Muslim. Many mosques in China are unmistakably Chinese, and to the Chinese, unmistakably Muslim. As people absorbed the faith, they gave their practices a uniquely Muslim colouration by lending meaning to these skills and practices. In short, as Islam spread among more peoples and rooted locally, the faith became more and more plural, and gave a greater variety of peoples greater choice in access to the divine.

A beautiful example for this is the tradition of Nasir Khusraw, who was born a thousand years ago this year. When Nasir Khusraw gave up power and possession to spread Ismailism, he did not amputate cultural traditions in the name of a singular definition of faith. His understanding of the faith was diverse and complementary: as the Prophet gave us a fresh ways to obey God, so the Imam gives us a way to reach God. As Socrates was the path to the truth through reason, so the Prophet Muhammad was the path to the truth through revelation. As faith sees God's hand behind all of creation, so reason demonstrates to us the might and glory of God's creation. Nasir Khusraw's tradition is not only in his works, but also in the practices of those he converted. A good example is the Cheragh Rawshan ceremony, central to Tajik and other Ismailis. This ceremony gives the newly deceased person's soul a spiritual key to leave a long-loved home, and, among other practices, involves the burning of a long piece of cotton wool steeped in oil. Throughout the ceremony, the khalifah recites Islamic poetry that praises Prophet Muhammad and the Holy Imams. Those who look on the surface call the burning a Zoroastrian practice, but at heart this is an enrichment of Muslim life through a meaningful interaction with local tradition that happens, in this case, to have been Zoroastrian.

The Ismailis are not alone in this. Anthropological research elsewhere has long demonstrated similar reconfigurations by Muslims of pre-Islamic themes in architecture, ritual practice, stories and beliefs. For example, throughout Central Asia,

there are places considered particularly connected with the Divine: springs that were created when an important figure struck the ground; or trees and springs that have a connection to God, and can inspire Manas epic reciters with their art; or tombs of great figures whose example lives so vividly in the lives of millions of ordinary Muslims.

As shown by the attack on the sacred tree in Kyrgyzstan, this comprehension of Islam, unfortunately, is under threat from a small minority, whose voices tend to drown out the many quieter voices of ordinary Muslims. This minority voices the idea that unity requires the end of diversity: to be different is to be disunited. Their voices are quite silent on the politics behind their ideas: they wish to define who differs and who does not, and what counts and what does not. They want to issue passports of Islam to those who obey them, and withdraw this passport from those who don't. Theirs is the voice of exclusion, not inclusion; theirs is the voice of authority, not of respect for a sincere difference of opinion.

THE DECLINE OF BALANCED PLURALISM

In an age where we need to re-invigorate traditions, too much damage has been done not only by those who deny pluralism, but also by the fear and contempt this has inspired in the rest of the world.

It may well be the decline of balanced pluralism that was behind the decline of creativity among the Muslims: a pluralism that marked the great historical periods by allowing the coexistence of three cultural forces:

- rational insight into the natural world
- spiritual insight into the human being
- concern for the ethical foundations of religious practice.

During the great age of creative thought and discovery that followed the rise of the Abbasids, Fatimids, the Samanids, and Spanish Ummayads, all three aspects of Muslim culture thrived in creative interaction. Without such pluralism, how was it possible for Ibn Sina to say about a great Sufi he met: "He sees what I know" and the Sufi to say of Ibn Sina, "He knows what I see"? How was it possible for al-Ghazali, a famous scholar of law, to find a new voice in Sufism, and thus create a new Sunni synthesis? How was it possible for al-Razi to question the possibility of prophethood, and die in his bed rather than lose his head, despite the fervent criticism of scholars and religious figures? How was it possible for the great Central Asian Sufi, Hakim Tirmidhi, a thousand years ago to explain the Satanic Verses by suggesting the deep psychological desire of Prophet Muhammad for peace with the Meccans, and face no condemnation at all?

FEATURES OF A GREAT AGE

A great age, so longed for by Muslim reformers, comes when

- people ask basic questions about what is true and what is good
- there is respect for individuality
- there is creative interaction of plural opinions
- there is freedom to think
- people get prestige from patronizing creativity in art and science
- public policy recognizes, respects and supports the free play of reason
- people do not blindly accept received wisdom, rely on their own eyes, and use their powers of inference.

Let us return to the Kyrgyz mullah praying at the site of the tree: his language is so different from the purists who see such practices as un-Islamic. In seeing in nature a sign of God's mercy, has he strayed far from Qur'anic verses that point to nature as signs "for those who understand"? Not far, I would say. Very far, say some, for whom Islam forbids "worship of trees".

This raises the larger question about what is Islamic. Islam is primarily understood by scholars from texts, the Qur'an, the books of law, and the written traditions. But Islam was born in the orality of revelation[13], nurtured for well over a century by the oral memory of holy incidents[14], and was only later codified in texts, initiating a definition of faith that increasingly came from the top down: it is defined usually by men, usually in centers where access to knowledge is more strictly controlled, and more uniform. Lived Islam, however, starts from life, with all its rich complexity. The local practices and traditions speak a language remote from the purists that see such practices as un-Islamic. They say "Islam forbids such superstitions, or the worship of trees. When someone starts a sentence "In Islam…", I first ask: "In whose Islam?" followed by: "Could you explain how you got the right to determine for others what or who is Islamic?" The problem with a debate of this sort is that the terms used are essentialist: there is an essence called Islam, so anything that differs must diverge. "Superstition" is also by enmity turned into an essence: a bounded entity whose real crime is that it thrives in life, located everywhere, and outside central control. This idea of a faith as a single essence is a dangerous attempt to control the definition of Islam. Unfortunately, in an age of simple solutions, the voice of uniformity seems stronger than the voice of pluralism. Ordinary Muslims have been made to feel that they are not very good Muslims. They have been intimidated into moral diffidence by a more strident Islam, itself inspired by defeat and reaction, obsessed with mobilizing control by opposing essence with essence, shedding complexity, knowing more what to hate than what to love, a politically convenient fetish of antagonism, a flag to burn in a mob.

13 The Qur'an as Prof. Muhammad Arkoun pointed out, is oral. The first command to the Prophet was not to read, but to recite.

14 The sayings of the Prophet Muhammad were inscribed in writing many decades after his death.

Muslims should represent themselves, and not wait for passports from others. It is simply Muslims saying: here I stand. I do not attack you, nor you me. We owe each other respect because we share our reverence for the Prophet and his family; we share our respect for some, perhaps not all, great Muslims who contributed their insight and experience of the faith. And if we differ in how we express our faith, then so be it. In the Qur'an, God praises different peoples vying in devotion to Him in their different ways.

Those who see Islam and culture as intertwined need to develop a vocabulary that is better suited to this reality. I would like to suggest three concepts:

1. The interconnection of faith and culture.
2. The co-existence of difference
3. Empathy for a meaningful relationship with God.

1. The interconnection of faith and culture: How is culture connected to faith? Both a philosophy and a faith share a commitment to a theory of reality, but a living faith differs in that it always requires a community of the faithful. A living community implies not only shared doctrine and shared values, but also a shared ritual and often to an important degree, a shared life. As long as a faith embodies ways of living and ways of understanding, a faith embodies culture. Culture is part of the body of faith, because culture is a particular way of doing and understanding something that is shared. To separate a faith from its connection with life is to lose much.
2. The co-existence of difference: All Muslims face a struggle between the uniqueness of our individual experiences. We differ from previous generations, in some historical periods more than in others. We differ from each other because each of us has a unique experience of life. Biology has demonstrated to us how even identical twins turn out with different brain structures because gravity affects the structuring of their nerve cells differently. In addition, we are hybrid in two ways. Firstly, we are complex individuals made up of many cultures. For example, most educated Central Asians proud to call themselves Muslims would hate to remove the great Russian poet Pushkin from their lives. Pushkin belongs to them, as do great poets and traditions and practices of the region, as do thinkers from the European Renaissance, from India, from so many others. What is wrong with an attempt to understand reality coherently with the assistance of great thinkers from anywhere? Secondly, cultures can be made of different parts. Openness to other cultures enabled Muslims in the tenth century to make such a major contribution to knowledge: as the Prophet Muhammad recommended, seek knowledge even from China. Chinese culture enriched their miniatures and architecture. They were fond of the way

the Chinese used and painted wood in ceremonial buildings. As Muslims, they painted the beams in their mosques with their patterns, more abstract, more geometric. Did they see Aristotle, Socrates and Plato as un-Islamic? No, they simply grappled with the questions and the concepts because their ideas were interesting and valuable to them. Hybridity is a condition not only of modernity, but of any age of creativity. In such an age, unique individuals grapple with traditions uniquely.

3. Empathy for meaningful action: To understand religious practice, we need to look at what it means to people who practice. It is silly to say that the Kyrgyz or Tajiks worship trees because they tie a knot on a branch and say a prayer. It is silly to say that a Muslim who performs a ritual that resembles a Hindu one is therefore a Hindu and not a Muslim. Every action in ritual is symbolic. They refer something beyond themselves, so we have to respect and search for the intent and significance of symbolic action. We must listen to what people say about their rituals, interpret their actions, observe patterns in their ways of life, and then connect all of these. This is one of the foundations of modern anthropology and one of the reasons why it was anthropologists who first began to examine and explain the amazing and bewildering variety of Muslim practices from Morocco to China, a number of which have been a source of embarrassment and condemnation from a number of Muslim intellectuals (mainly urban, mainly male) around the world who wanted to purify, simplify, and thus ended up diminishing the richness of Muslim culture.

Those who understand this richness would not even think of issuing a passport, let alone withdrawing one. Those who desire power in religion come and go, religious identity may broaden and narrow at different times, but any heart that is humble in striving for the Divine deserves respect for their intent and the context in which they express this intent.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Please comment on the point of the Kyrgyz mullah about the sacred place (trees): "God created this place long before humans came into being, so it does not belong to this or that people, or this or that faith. It belongs to all people." Why is this point so important for the contemporary world?
2. What are the questions facing a faith when it expands by conversion across different cultures? What was the role of Abu Muslim in Islamic history? Why is the absorption of a variety of unique cultures over different historical periods and movements is so important for religion, faith, culture and people?
3. Please comment on the author's point: "They want to issue Islamic passports to those who obey them, and withdraw this passport from those who don't. Theirs is the voice of exclusion, not inclusion. Theirs is the voice of authority, not of respect for a sincere difference of opinion." Who are they and is it possible for them to issue Islamic passports?
4. According to the author "during the great age of creative thought and discovery following the rise of the Abbasids, Fatimids, Samanids, and the Spanish Ummayads, all three aspects of Muslim culture thrived in creative interaction". Do you agree with this point? According to the author, why does diversity lead to the rise of culture and civilization?

5. The author argues that point that the terms used are essentialist: there is an essence called Islam, so anything that differs must diverge. Please identify and explain the differences between essentialist and pluralistic approaches to the culture.
6. How does the vocabulary for understanding the real connections between faith (Islam) and culture develop? What do you think about the three concepts suggested by author for this case?

COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. What are the similarities between this text and the case study "The Coming of Islam" by M.C. Ricklefs on the role of Islam in Indonesia? Specifically we are interested in how traditions and cultures change through the interaction of different societies and when the culture becomes "Islamic"?
2. Can the interpretation of religion be different by involving new people, new cultures and new personalities?
3. Why do the authors presented in this chapter suggest a new understanding of the sacred religious text where they say not to follow the tradition of "taqlid" (al-Ghazali) nor approach religious belief as a formal act (Zitkala-Ša) only, but to listen to the voices of every single person and culture (Rafique Keshavjee) in order to understand the richness of faith and culture?
4. What is the relationship between faith and ritual? Why is every action in ritual symbolic and why is understanding the meaning so important?

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS:

1. Based on the readings from this chapter, how is it possible to define 'innovation' in religion?
2. Can you mention any examples of religious innovations in your own communities?
3. Does religious innovation have positive outcomes? Compare Clifford Geertz and Merle C. Ricklefs.
4. What is the reaction of non-religious authorities to changes in the state of religion? Consider McChesney, Babel, and Shelton's writings.
5. From the texts you have read so far, do you think that traditions and religions are static or dynamic (changing)? Give examples.
6. How would you define "religion"?
7. Is it possible to reconcile religion with other beliefs? How do you react to scientific discoveries that may question one's religious faith?

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6. Rowland, Ingrid. *From Heaven to Arcadia: The Sacred and the Profane in the Renaissance*. New York Review Books Collection, 2004.
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"Jesus of Montreal," directed by Denys Arcand, Koch Lorber Films, 1990.

CHAPTER THREE:
NOSTALGIA

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three takes the discussion of 'Tradition and Change' to the topic of nostalgia. Nostalgia is about reminiscencing or longing for old values or principles, and it logically follows the schemes of the previous chapters on creation of traditions and religious innovation. Since both of these concepts are in some way grounded in the past, the feelings towards them recalls positive images of the past, of history, or of disappearing values, which, had they occurred in the present, may not necessarily be as positive as they seem. Yet, such nostalgia may easily emerge at a variety of levels of social interaction.

Bearing in mind that recollections of any past event involve comparison and value judgments, it is hard to discard nostalgic memories outright. On an individual level, a person may feel that following old principles ought to be right, since they have endured the challenge of time. Similarly, a community or social group may recall that the past was more stable and therefore promised a better future. Nostalgic feelings are also not a novelty at the higher levels of social organization, such as types of government or the political orientation of the country.

Related to political nostalgia, Chapter Three starts with Wolfgang Becker's film about the change of the Socialist Regime in East Germany and people's nostalgia for their socialist past. The end of the regime came with the abrupt fall of the Berlin Wall. Certainly, on a national basis, nostalgic feelings may be particularistic, and not all groups may share the same sentiment. In this regard, the film offers a grand possibility to begin a discussion on people's allegiance to traditions and history, and how one should reconcile contradictory values within the social sphere. Furthermore, connected to the topic of social transformations, the reader will be offered more examples of nostalgia in post-Soviet states.

In this Chapter, the process of revisiting the past will also be analysed through historical texts pertaining to religion, social policies, people's habits, and personal memories. Nostalgia often assumes psychological feelings, and includes a human being's past experience. Depending on whether it was favourable or unfavourable, good or bad, useful or useless, may also affect the way one thinks of the days gone by. So, reading the wide array of texts, including fiction, you will be able to discuss the question of nostalgia from different perspectives. As you go on to the next page, consider what you read or watch in a critical light.

GOOD BYE LENIN!

WOLFGANG BECKER: GOOD BYE LENIN!

Wolfgang Becker (1954 -) is a German filmmaker. Born in Hemer, Wesphalia, Becker first studied German, History, and American politics in Berlin before enrolling in the German Film and Television Academy. He graduated from the Academy in 1986 with the film Butterflies (Schmetterlinge) that won him several awards in Germany. Becker also produced Children's Games (Kinderspiele, 1992) and Life Is All You Get (Das Leben ist eine Baustelle, 1997). Good Bye Lenin! (2003) is the film that brought international recognition to the director. He received the Blue Angel Award for Best European Film in Berlin, Premi Internazionali Flaiano for Best Foreign Language Film and Best New Talent in Pescara, Best Non-American Film from the Danish Critics' Society and many others. Set in East Germany during the fall of the Berlin Wall, the film is a satire on the East German past and future. Good Bye Lenin! Stars Daniel Bruhl (Alexander), Katrin Sass (Christiane), Maria Simon (Ariane), Chulpan Khamatova (Laura) and Florian Lukas (Daniel). From a humorous perspective, the film provides an intimate description of people's experience in East Germany as they went through a radical social change. As you watch, consider the nostalgic feelings of the main actors for their life in East Germany before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

SOURCE: Becker, Wolfgang. *Good Bye Lenin!* Germany: X Filme Creative Pool GmbH, 2003.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are your first impressions about the film? Does it produce a positive image about East Germany's past?
2. What kind of social setting does the director reproduce in the film?
3. Why "Good Bye Lenin!"? Do you think the title has political connotations?
4. What can you say about the roles of the main actors, Alexander Kerner, his mother Christiane, sister Ariane, and girlfriend Laura? What do their roles represent?
5. What does Alex's mother think about the Communist Party? What is her reaction to the people being beaten up at a political protest?
6. How do the authorities deal with demonstrators? What does this say about the political regime?
7. What does the fall of the Berlin Wall represent for the people? For the elderly? The young? The Party supporters?
8. Why does Alex decide to hide the fact of German unification from his mother?
9. How does the director show the process of unification in a positive light? Is there any irony involved in this portrayal?
10. What kinds of symbols signify the unification of the political systems in the film?
11. What can one say about the lives of the people in the East based on the movie? How does this change after the fall of the Wall?

12. Was everyone better off in East Germany after the demise of the communist state?
13. What kind of private lives did people have in East Germany? Consider the examples from the film.
14. How does the unification of Germany affect the lives of the main actors?
15. Is the message of the film applicable outside the East German context? Can you bring any examples of rapid social change or nostalgia in your countries after the dissolution of the USSR?

SAULESH YESSENOVA: KAZAKH SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Saulesh Yessenova is a researcher at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. She teaches at the Department of Anthropology and Sociology. Yessenova received her doctoral degree in Anthropology from McGill University in 2003. In her research Yessenova focuses on Central Asia, in particular Kazakhstan, and on the ways modernization influences traditional life both in rural and urban areas. She wrote her dissertation on "The Poetics and Politics of Nation: Urban Narratives of Kazakh Identity". She has also published articles related to the influence of Soviet policies on people's identity in Kazakhstan. The following selection comes from her recent anthropological paper "The Space Between Two Journeys: Kazakh Social Organization and Rural to Urban Migration" (2004). Starting off with the hypothesis that social organization in Kazakhstan was based on lineage times, Yessenova analyses the effects of the Soviet policies of sedentarisation and collectivization, their pressure on communities towards internal migration, and the way it influenced people's identity. Specifically, the excerpt here discusses the family ties in the Kazakh village of Karagay. As you read, consider the beliefs, values and feelings of nostalgia that the author describes.

ANCESTRY AND THE VILLAGE

Galiya, a woman in her mid-thirties, is Immangali's oldest child. She was the first among other members of their family whom I met in Almaty in 1999. In one of our first days spent together, she invited me for a trip to the village of Karagay, the place that they all call their home. On our way to the village, we stopped at the village cemetery where Galiya's father, grandparents and other ancestors rest. When we were approaching the place, she pulled two scarves from her bag, the ones that women use to cover their hair, and passed one to me. Galiya pointed out that the cemetery is divided into two parts, each hosting *Kul Boldy* or *Shaha,* i.e., the people deriving from one or the other ancestor. They all descend from *Kul Boldy,* a man whose grave is elsewhere. She showed me the **mausoleums** of her great grandfather, *Kopbay,* who she said was a founder of this village, and her grandparents. Her father's mausoleum was directly behind those of the grandparents. The largest of all, it was built soon after Immangali died in 1992, through the **auspices** of his family. Galiya opened a cast-iron **grating** and disappeared inside the mausoleum. It was on that trip to the village that I had the good fortune to start learning about their family and ancestors, their feelings, concerns, and expectations.

Immangali's children share their pride in their ancestors.[1] They are descended from *Ak Arys,* the founding ancestor of the *Uly zhuz,*[2] which, they say, generated a great suc-

mausoleums - buildings made specially to hold dead bodies

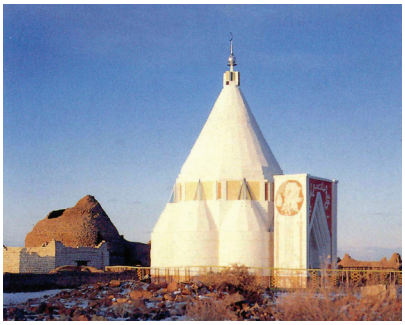
auspices - with the help

grating - a partition, covering, or frame of parallel or cross bars

1 Immangali had three children, a daughter and two sons of which I interviewed two, his daughter Galiya and Gami, an older son.

2 As noted earlier, following the incorporation of Kazakh nomadic tribes into the Mongol Empire in the 13th century, the territory of the Kazakh khanate was divided into three regions or zhuzes (*Uly zhuz, Orta zhuz, and Kishy zhuh*). The legacy of the Mongols outlived their conquest as the concept of *zhuz* was tightly integrated into Kazakhs' understanding of their social and political universe.

cession of Kazakh politicians in the 20th century. Then they note the name of *Dulat,* a founder of a strong and numerous Kazakh *taypa* (tribe) within the *Uly zhuz*. The *zhuz* and the *taypa* are important to them because both indicate that they are "native" to the Almaty region, as opposed to other Kazakh residents of this city whose ancestors belong to other regions. Unsatisfied with the idea of the *zhuz* and the "tribe" as the one inspiring competition among Kazakhs, Immangali's children could not tell why these divisions and the association with the native place are important to them. For them they just symbolise their attachment to the region.



KAZAKH MAUSOLEUM

Conceived in a descending display, their genealogy proceeds in two more levels to Botpay. He had two sons, Kul Boldy and Shaha, whose descendants mainly reside in Karagay, but can also be found in some other places around the Almaty region. The structure of Karagay's cemetery shows that each of these two **lineages** *(ru)* forms the "same root" community, standing for a minimal lineage. Their family comes from *Kul Boldy. Kopbay,* their great grandfather and a founder of the village, follows *Kul Boldy.* They claim *Kopbay* is a direct ancestor of their family. He had five sons, but three of them died at a young age in the battles of the Second World War. Two other sons, Berkymbay and Dauletpak, had children, and one of them was Immangali, their father. After Berkymbay died prematurely in 1949, Dauletpak assumed parental responsibility for his young children, who were invited to stay in the same house with his family and children. After his first wife died in 1955, Dauletpak remarried and had a baby (Rosa) with his new wife who already had a child of her own (Murat). At that time Immangali, the oldest son of Dauletpak, was 14 years old and his little brother, Serik, was a baby.

Despite financial constraints, parents shared love and care among all the children, who treated each other as brothers and sisters. As adults, they would always emphasise the strength of family ties among them. They all remember a story, which became their family legend and a symbol of unity. According to this story, when he was 14, Immangali mobilised his younger brother to find their baby brother, Serik, who, after their mother died, was adopted by their mother's sister and moved to another village. Serik was playing soccer with other boys, when he saw two older boys approaching the field. When they came closer Serik thought that he had never seen them in the village before. At the same time, he got a sharp feeling that these must be his older brothers (he had been one year old when he was taken away). Serik ran to them and they embraced. Galiya, Immangali's daughter, comments that despite the fact they have all heard this story many times it still invokes deep sentiments. Serik, she says, has tears every time he tells this story to somebody. In a broad sense, they refer to this story to demonstrate that shared blood is a powerful force shaping a person's intuition and desire to be close to his or her family. Specifically, this story depicts for them that Immangali, from a very young age, was concerned about his family and siblings, people of the "same root."

The concept of the "same root," designating blood affinity, is an **overarching** and relational category. It can apply to a minimal lineage, such as *Kul Boldy,* including, perhaps, hundreds of people. It is also used to define relationships and circles of concern within the lineage, and, in this case, corresponds to a fundamental structure of Kazakh social organisation, popularly called "one father's children" (*byr atanyn balalary*). The "father's children" designates a joint family, normally involving siblings, their children and parents.[3] In the past, the joint family shared *kystau* or winter pastures, the most

lineages -
the series of families that somebody is descended from

overarching -
extending over or throughout

3 Here I drop on the terminology employed by Cynthia Ann Warner with reference to a Kazakh household.

valuable asset among Kazakh **pastoralists**, and characterised by the most intense cooperation and solidarity (Tolybekov 1971, Masanov 1995). By the end of Socialism, a joint family, including siblings and their **offspring**, represented a major social unit beyond the **nuclear family**, based on cooperation and concern in Kazakh society. The structure of a joint family, frequently stretching across the rural/urban divide, reproduced as generations of siblings come and go, and only marginally expanded to include more distant relatives. Thus Immangali's father's family included his wife, himself, and two sets of siblings (his children and those of his **deceased** brother), whom he treated as his own children. For Immangali, his brothers, sisters, and their children were of a higher concern than his cousins. And Immangali's children are concerned about their own children and their siblings' children.

Immangali was born in 1941 in the village of Karagay situated 40km from Almaty, which belongs to the *Uly zhuz* following Kazakh traditional knowledge. Karagay was founded at the beginning of the 20th century, when Immangali's grandfather *(Kopbay)* and several other families of Kazakh herders moved to this place on their escape from an avalanche that hit their old settlement. In the course of the century-long history, Karagay experienced a series of transformations from a single herding settlement to an extended Socialist farm, and then a residential unit surrounded by a few dispersed farms with an unclear future. Each transformation followed a shift in investment patterns, economic development, and involved considerable population movement, coming or going from the village.

The village spreads out at the foot of the mountain in the area with rich pastures that are usable in all seasons, allowing herders to reside in the village year-round. This factor helped villagers to adjust to the in-farm **livestock** maintenance when it was introduced in the course of involuntary sedentarisation of Kazakh pastoralists in the 1930s. At about the same time, Karagay was transformed into a *kolhoz* (collective farm), as a part of Soviet efforts towards the integration of Kazakh herders into the all-Union economy. Most *kolhozes* were established on the basis of existing herding settlements, and prescribed the collective ownership of land, livestock, and facilities. While the inhabitants of each settlement were organised in a well-defined community based on the sharing of pastures and labour cooperation prior to the Soviet intrusion, the idea of collective ownership of livestock was generally met with hostility, as it had always been owned by nuclear families (Masanov 1995). Herders slaughtered animals in order to escape the **expropriation** of livestock, which provoked a series of severe famines, especially in central and northern areas of Kazakhstan where the intentional loss of animals was **exacerbated** by the loss

pastoralists - social organisation based on livestock raising as the primary economic activity

offspring - descendants of a person

nuclear family - a family consisting of a mother, father and their children

deceased - no longer living; dead

livestock - domestic animals, such as cattle or horses

expropriation - the act of depriving of ownership or proprietary rights

exacerbated - increased the severity; aggravated

She noted: "I use the term extended family household to refer to households where more than one conjugal pair of different generations (i.e., parents and their unmarried children) live together and the term joint family household to refer to households where more than one conjugal pair of the same generation (i.e., two married brothers, their wives and children) live together" (1998: 611). I use the term more inclusively, to indicate the attachment and cooperation among siblings, who may compose more than one household.

of access to winter or summer **pastures** due to the immigration of Slavic peoples. (It was reported that in some areas of Kazakhstan, including those in western and central parts of the republic, the number of livestock declined by 70-80% as the result of mass slaughter and loss of pastures [Olcott 1995].) This period, the early and mid-1930s, was marked by a massive migration of Kazakh herders from the north to the south of Kazakhstan.[4] Located in southern Kazakhstan, Karagay received several families of Kazakh herders from northern regions of the republic who have remained in this village since their arrival in the early 1930s.

The Alash-Orda government, which was in power until the mid-1930s, appealed to the central government to abolish forced collectivisation of livestock in Kazakhstan. After the Supreme Soviet of the USSR partially renounced this policy in 1935, Kazakh herders were allowed to keep animals in private possession in addition to collectively-owned livestock, and were entitled as well to small land plots (0.15—0.20 hectares each) leased to them by the farm/state (Meffert 1987:78, Werner 1998: 610, ft.4).[5]However, the reorganisation of herding communities into *kolhozes* continued as a way of **fostering** control over agricultural production and by 1940 the *kolhoz* became a major form of agricultural business in Kazakhstan. More than half of the total herd was reported collectively owned by their members, over which they had little control: the state assumed the power of dictating production targets to *kolhozes,* which often resulted in removal of large numbers of livestock and other agricultural outputs (Meffert 1987: 236, Olcott 1995: 237).[6]

pastures - grass or other vegetation eaten as food by grazing animals

fostering - encouraging, increasing

SOURCE: Yessenova, Saulesh. "The Space Between Two Journeys: Kazakh Social Organisation and Rural to Urban Migration." *Cultural Interaction and Conflict in Central Asia*. Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia, 6 (2004), pp. 104-109.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the origin of Kazakh zhuz? Why does Galiya's family take pride in it?
2. How doe the concepts of zhuz and taypa play out in people's lives? Consider the examples from the text.
3. In what way was the notion of being from the "same room" important to Immangali's family?
4. How is the village, according to Yessenova, organized in Kazakhstan? How did the Soviet policies influence people's lives?
5. You might think the nomadic Kazakhs felt that their traditions were threatened by the Soviet policies. Do you think this was necessary or positive? Think of other examples of this kind of disregard for local traditions by a central government.

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4 Escaping Soviet policies, some communities moved as far as from Karaganda region in central Kazakhstan to Almaty and even Jambul region in southern Kazakhstan.

5 A similar policy towards *kolhoz* members was introduced elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. As Stephan Hedlund comments, "rights to small household plots and minimal holding of domestic animals were granted as a retreat from 'full collectivisation,' simply in order to provide peasantry with a chance for survival" (1989:15). Note that the privilege of private property concerned only the *kolhoz* sector and did not include Russian settlers, who for the most part were assigned to settle in newly established large state-farms, *sovhozes* (Meffert 1987: 447-448)

6 At the same time, as Meffert comments on the social policy in *kolkhoz*, "no salaries, pensions, or other compensation or benefits would automatically accrue to *kolhoz* residents since the *kolkhozes* were operated collectively (i.e., not by the government directly)" *(ibid)*.

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. If we consider Yessenova's Kazakh study to show a yearning for the Kazakh past, how is it comparable to Becker's film?
2. Is the question of identity crucial to village life? Is it crucial in Berlin? Was this identity affected by the social revolution?
3. How did the communities react to the expropriation of property and alternation of regular lifestyles by the Soviet government? What kind of hardships or benefits did it casue of the rural / urban population?
4. In the film Good Bye Lenin!, Alex creates the illusion of the past to save his mother. The memorial of the Kazakh ancestors plays a similar role for the village stability. What does this tell you about the nature of nostalgia and traditions in general?
5. Can you think of examples of government actions, either positive or negative, that may have significantly affected your or your family's life in your community? How was it resolved?

"PEOPLE OF THE STEPPE"

THE CULTURE OF VODKA

VITALI VITALIEV: THE LAST EIGHTEEN DROPS

Vitali Vitaliev (1984 -) is an investigative journalist and a popular writer. Born in Kharkov, Ukraine, he was educated in English and French languages at the Kharkov University. Starting his career as a translator, Vitaliev turned to journalism in 1981. Under pressure from the authorities in the USSR, he and his family fled to Britain and settled there. In the Soviet Union, he worked for the Krakodil magazine, and wrote many stories and essays for Ogonyak, Literaturnaya Gazeta and Nedelya. Now in Europe, Vitaliev continues writing for newspapers and journals, including The Guardian, The Spectator and The Daily Telegraph. He is also a regular guest speaker on a variety of radio and TV shows. He is the author of numerous books: Dateline Freedom – Revelations of an Unwilling Exile (1991), Vitali's Australia (1991), The Third Trinity (1993), Little is the Light (1995), Dreams on Hitler's Couch (1997), and Borders Up – Eastern Europe through the Bottom of a Glass (1997). The following essay was written by Vitaliev for Granta magazine's special issue on Russia in 1998. The author speaks about the role of vodka in the USSR, and also touches upon many social and political matters. As you read, consider the author's feelings towards this drink.

MINE'S A LARGE TOOTH-POWDER

Later, I drank more routinely, in Moscow drinking sessions with my friends: a bottle of vodka in the centre of the table, and the telephone covered with a cushion—the KGB's bugs were everywhere to give us a naive illusion of privacy.

Drinking under Communism was not **hedonistic**. It provided us with an outlet, a **coveted**, even if short-term, escape from political dogma and social **gloom**. A bottle of vodka was therefore a sort of liquid hard currency, much more reliable (and much more stable) than money. Anything, from a trip abroad to difficult-to-obtain roof tiles, could be bought and sold for alcohol, and had its inflation-proof vodka equivalent.

But at the end of the 1980s Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to curb his country's near-**endemic** alcoholism. Countless **sobriety** societies, which every worker was forced to join (fees were simply deducted from salaries), sprang up like mushrooms after a good July rain. These societies were staffed for the most part by carefully **vetted** bureaucrats from the uneven ranks of heavy drinkers and chronic alcoholics. They did nothing apart from organising politically correct 'sober' birthday parties and wedding ceremonies, during which vodka was covertly poured from samovars and kettles. Alcohol was hard to find in the shops. The effect was predictable: vodka-deprived drunks took to shampoo, glue, perfume, insect **repellent** and window cleaner. In a Moscow park, I once saw three drunks boiling tooth powder in an empty can on top of a **bonfire**. They boiled it for five hours (or so they said), then carefully removed the alcohol from the top with tablespoons, drank it—and immediately started vomiting. Vodka came back in a flood after Gorbachev went. Westerners assumed that with the collapse of Communism, people in the former Soviet Union would drink less—a democratic society would provide alternative forms of escape: books, a free media, foreign travel,

hedonistic - related to the doctrine that pleasure or happiness is the sole or chief good in life
coveted - greatly desired
gloom - an atmosphere of melancholy or depression
endemic - widespread
sobriety - moderation in or abstinence from consumption of alcohol
vetted - checked, inspected
repellent - a substance used to keep away insects
bonfire - a large fire built in the open air

the **cornucopia** of consumer goods. The reality has been different. Drinking in the post-Communist world has increased dramatically since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

HOW TO DRINK IT

Few Russian phenomena are quite so distorted and misunderstood in the West as vodka. In a recent James Bond movie I was appalled to see **Robbie Coltrane**, in the role of a Russian Mafioso, holding vodka in his mouth before swallowing it. And the Russian General was taking little swigs of vodka from a pocket flask.

Such **solecisms** suggest a complete lack of understanding of vodka's qualities as a drink and of its social significance. A little history: vodka first appeared in Poland (and then in Russia) as a medicine. It was noticed that the water in wine or beer left outside in winter would freeze, leaving a higher-strength alcohol **residue**. People started using this residue externally, to treat cuts, and, in **ointment** form, to soothe aching joints. When the mass production of vodka began in Poland in the fifteenth century, it started to be taken through the mouth, in spoonfuls, for bad colds and **dodgy** stomachs.

Only in the eighteenth century did vodka begin to be drunk for pleasure. But, though the motive for drinking it had changed, the method of drinking it did not. Medicine isn't drunk to be **savoured**, after all; you swallow it down in one gulp, wash it down with water, and wait for the healing effects to begin.

This medicinal approach has remained largely unchanged since the fifteenth century, even if the range of **ailments** has broadened to include psychological conditions such as the inability to cope with an oppressive reality, the desire for escape from the hardships of life, the failure to relax in a social situation, and so on.

As a thoroughly filtered product of distillation, good vodka is designed to be the purest alcoholic drink on earth. Any additives, even ice cubes, immediately ruin its character. Flavoured vodkas, which are increasingly popular in the West, are a corruption of the drink's very nature. My heart aches whenever I see London pub-goers cheerfully mixing vodka with lime, orange juice or Coca-Cola. It also aches whenever I watch a film in which a Russian smashes his vodka glass against a wall after emptying it. The truth is that glass is too precious a commodity to be disposed of in such a barbaric way. A glass is more than important—it is indispensable. This too is partly because of vodka's medicinal roots. Would you swig cough mixture from a bottle? Would you sip your anti-**indigestion** (or anti-constipation) medicine from a flask? No. You need a proper glass, which makes it easier, faster and less unpleasant. A Russian vodka-drinker will give anything for a glass. Only the most degraded of alcoholics would drink vodka straight from the bottle. It would be like **severing** the last remaining connection with civilised humanity. Here is an illustration.

cornucopia - an inexhaustible store, abundance
Robbie Coltrane - a Scottish actor
solecisms - something deviating from the proper, normal, or accepted order
residue - the remainder of something after removal of a part or parts
ointment - a cream or balm
dodgy - unsound
savoured - enjoyed
ailment - sickness, illness
indigestion - inability to digest or difficulty in digesting something
severing - cutting off, separating
procuring - obtaining, getting

THE MINISTER GOES THIRSTY

In the late Eighties, I was sent to Belarus by *Krokodil* magazine to write a 'rosy' piece glorifying the republic's achievements in **procuring** food for its population when the rest of the country was starving.

There was indeed food in Belarus's shops (I remember being particularly impressed by the availability of two different sorts of cheese, when the shops in Moscow remained totally cheese-less). Throughout my trip I was accompanied by the republic's Minister of Agriculture. We travelled in his chauffeured black Volga limo.

On the last day, the Minister became restless and agitated. He was looking around himself like a troubled bird, and kept winking at me conspiratorially from the front seat of the Volga (Yevgeny Bulavin used to call this condition 'the state of pre-drinking exaltation'). At last, after a visit to a collective farm, he leaned towards me and whispered: 'Vitali Vladimirovich, do you feel like having some rest?'

I knew that this was a **euphemism** for having a drink. On my journalistic missions I had to be careful not to fall into the trap of drinking with the potential subjects of my satirical pieces, who were only waiting for a chance to compromise me and ruin my **credibility**. I remember one bureaucrat in the Zaporozhie region following me around with a string bag full of **booze**, whining 'Let's have a drink, Vitali Vladimirovich.' I refused to be provoked: a written **denunciation**, substantiated with photos of me drinking, would have reached Moscow before I did.

But this case was different: the article was a positive one. There was no immediate danger in drinking with the Minister, except for the *hazard* of being caught doing so in a public place (like a restaurant), in which case even he would have lost his ministerial job. (A popular joke of those times concerned a director preparing to make love to his secretary in his office. 'Have you closed the door?' she asks. 'What for?' he replies. 'We're not drinking, are we?')

So I agreed to have a drink with the hospitable Minister, and suggested that we should do so in the privacy of my hotel room. 'Are you mad?' the Minister objected. He told me that **stooges** hung around the hotel night and day. When they spotted a group of men with carefully wrapped parcels entering the building, they would wait for half an hour, and then burst into their room without knocking. If they saw the men drinking, they would blackmail them. Normally people would pay up rather than risk exposure: a hotel room was also classified as a public place.

Having stuffed the Volga boot with booze, we headed for a nearby forest, where the minister thought we would be safe. It was late November. For a good hour we drove along a narrow forest path in complete darkness. The forests are thick in Belarus. During the Second World War they gave excellent shelter to the partisans, and the Nazis were scared of entering them. But we were neither Nazis nor partisans. We simply wanted a drink.

'Can't we stop here? It looks perfectly safe,' I kept saying, like a tired child in the back of a car. 'No, it's not safe enough,' the Minister would reply. We spoke in whispers.

Finally, we reached the end of the forest path. The car could go no further. We could hear wolves howling behind the bushes.

'It's OK,' the Minister said to his driver. We climbed out of the car. The driver switched on the headlights and started laying out the food and vodka on the boot. When everything was ready and we were about to have some 'rest', it turned out that we had no glasses. On the way back, none of us uttered a word. We could hear the vodka bottles clinking in the boot, as if they were giggling at us.

euphemism -
a mild, indirect, or vague substitute for a word considered harsh, blunt, or offensive

credibility -
trustworthiness, reliability

booze -
an alcoholic beverage

denunciation -
public condemnation

stooges -
persons who allow themselves to be used for another's profit or advantage

AVOID...

Another Western misconception about vodka concerns the names given to some popular brands. In any London off-licence you can find cheap locally-made vodkas with names like *Vladivar, Imperial Commissar,* or even *Tolstoy.* Now, *Vladivar* would be a fine name for a beer *(var* comes from the verb *varit* — to brew), but for a vodka, which is distilled rather than brewed, it is ridiculous. *Imperial Commissar* is a plain contradiction in itself like a four-angled triangle, or a 'royal proletarian'. As for poor Leo Tolstoy, a confirmed **teetotaller**, vegetarian and a tireless propagandist of abstention, to name a vodka after him is like naming a beefburger after Gandhi.

teetotaller -
one who abstains completely from alcoholic beverages

I would not touch them. I would rather go for the obscure Luxembourg-made brand *Black Death,* or for the Danish liqueur *North Sea Oil.* Then at least you know what you are in for.

SOURCE: Vitaliev, Vitali. "The Last Eighteen Drops." *Granta 64*, Winter 1998, pp. 187-191.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What does the author say about drinking in the 'Communist' USSR?
2. How did the anti-drinking policies of Gorbachev work in Russia? Why?
3. How does Vitaliev explain Russian drinking manners?
4. What does the example of the drinking with the Minister in the story say about the Soviet economy? Would you say that this is an example of nostalgia?
5. Why does the author complain about the perception of vodka in the West?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Is it possible to interpret "The Last Eighteen Drops" as a satire? Justify your answer.
2. Would you differentiate between nostalgia in a materialistic sense, such as in the writing of Vitaliev, and in a spiritual sense, as in the text of Yessenova and in the film of Becker?
3. Vitaliev suggests that vodka was a means of social escape in the USSR. Can you think of any other 'means' that people employ to flee from social reality?
4. The previous two texts present traditions which bind society together and support stability and social communication. Do you think vodka has the same role in Russian society? Why or why not?

SHARMILA SEN:
OUR FLAVOUR IS GREATER

Dr. Sharmila Sen is General Editor for the Humanities at Harvard University Press, USA. Born in Calcutta, Sharmila Sen moved to Cambridge, Mass. at the age of 12, where she attended public and alternative schools before becoming an undergraduate English concentrator at Harvard. After college, she taught in a small international school in the foothills of the Himalayas, an experience that helped her realize her passion for teaching, and eventually motivated her to return to the United States to get her Ph.D. Sharmila is interested in cross-cultural transactions in the ancient world, new geographic and linguistic orientations, and influences of the classical world on more recent eras.
In the short essay below, using the form of the critical travelogue the author asks how the Indian diaspora remembers, forgets, and reconstructs tastes, culture, identities and affiliations in the twenty-first century. Sharmila tries to connect the two "Indias" through dhallpourris the taste of which is significantly different for her in these two parts of the world. As you read, think about how one comes to appreciate the present in the light of the remote past being evoked by nostalgic feelings.

DARWANJI'S DAL PURIS

Our British West Indian Airways flight had barely landed in Port of Spain's newly renovated Piarco airport when I started looking for doubles. How can the Indian visitor in Trinidad look for anything else? Our secret shiners are everywhere. The faces, the names, the twenty-four carat gold jewelry all brought to mind the arrival of other Indians in another century. Sailing from Hooghly harbor in Calcutta, the Fath Al Razak (popularly known as the Fatel Rozack) arrived at Nelson Island on May 30, 1845 with 225 Indians on board. Account books kept by the British colonial administrators note that most of these **indentured** laborers began their journeys from villages deep in the Indo-Gangetic plains of northern India. In Port of Spain, the National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago are situated a few blocks away from the Savannah. The room where scholars can read manuscripts is a long narrow cell separated from the stacks of yellowing ledgers and documents by an iron grill. Elegant cursive writing in unevenly fading ink preserve for **posterity** the name, age, gender, caste, and village of each of the **coolies** who were brought to fill the post-Emancipation labor shortage in Caribbean sugar plantations.

One place name caught my eye on the very first day I had walked into the National Archives. Basti. My great-grandfather was a schoolteacher in Basti. My grandmother had lived there until she married my grandfather in 1943. Basti, for me, is a place of my past, my grandmother's childhood home. It seems **hermetically** sealed from anything in my present life. I cannot imagine my grandmother or anyone in her family making a voyage from that small town in Uttar Pradesh to an unknown New World island, a

Indenture – contract, sealed agreement
Posterity – future generation
Coolie – an offensive word for a worker in Eastern countries with no special skills or training
Hermetically – closed and difficult to become a part of

tiny piece of the South American continent **adrift** in the Caribbean Sea. Yet, here was evidence that my grandmother's hometown was already linked to this Caribbean island.

Under what circumstances did the girl from Basti cross the kala pani and head for faraway Trinidad? What did fate have in store for her in the New World? Did her descendants settle somewhere in the Caroni plains? Perhaps, I fantasized for a minute, they live in Chaguanas, a vast family like the Tulsis in A House for Mr. Biswas. Staring at the page of that colonial logbook, I was faced not with the **enigma** of arrival, but with the enigma of departure. How does one ever leave a place fully? Did the girl from Basti have any family left in Basti? And if she did, what if their paths crossed with members of my own family even as I wrote this? As importantly, I wondered if it is ever possible for the migrant to arrive with a sense of uncompromised newness?

Trinidad refuses newness to the twenty-first-century Indian arrivant. The land holds deceptive similarities to the country left behind. Glimpses of half-remembered faces, fragments of partially comprehensible Bhojpuri, and **whiffs** of familiar spices lull us into a false sense of familiarity. The New World and the Old World have mutually transformed each other's ecologies enough to present an **uncanny** sense of continuity. And, of course, there are doubles everywhere in the southern Caribbean. A type of snack consisting of two pieces of fried bread with a spicy chickpea filling, "doubles" is the name of the working-class, "coolie" food, whose popularity is not diminished by the arrival of Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald's in the Caribbean. According to an article that ran in the Express on July 4, 2001, the average cost of a doubles is between $1.00 and $1.50. The cost of raw materials—flour, channa, spices, mango, pepper, shadon beni, chives, and salt—was estimated to be around 85 cents. Dee Balo's, a four-star doubles joint in Port of Spain, was about to become a franchise. As

Adrift –
no longer attached or fixed in the right position

Enigma –
mysterious, puzzling, or ambiguous

Whiff –
a passing odour

Uncanny –
strange and difficult to explain

the newspaper article reported, there was good money to be made in doubles in Trinidad.

We drove to a **roti** shop in St. Augustine on our second day in Trinidad. Roberto, our driver, had chosen this place himself as the perfect introduction to everyday delicacies such as channa, curry goat, sada roti, buss-upshot, **dhallpourris**, and doubles. All to be washed down with bottles of the **ubiquitous** Carib beer. Already a sense of disorientation was overtaking me. Everything was made slightly foreign—the pronunciation of words, the conventions of transliterating Indian words into the Roman alphabet. The extra n in a channa was only to be repeated in the extra r in the Bharrat of the Guyanese president Bharrat Jagdeo. Could these be the precursors of other excesses of East Indian culture in the West Indies?

The dhallpourri that Roberto promised—**redolent**, in my eyes, with its excessive h, l, o and r—was a magical dish to me, doubly **evocative** of my Calcutta childhood and my early acquaintance with Indo-Caribbean writing. Some years earlier, I had concluded an essay on Indo-Caribbean literature with what seemed then to be a particularly clever allusion to Sam Selvon's discovery of a roti shop in London. Selvon once wrote, "In all my years in England, I never came across the kind of curry we ate in Trinidad, and I searched all over London for a dhall pourri, and never saw one until one enterprising Trinidadian started up a little cookshop." In my essay on new Indo-Caribbean writing I went on to offer up the unsuspecting dhallpourri seller as a symbolic model for the kind of work doubly displaced Indo-Caribbean authors in metropolitan centers have to do in the twenty-first century. For those of us trained in American graduate programs in the past decade, it is easy to go on about diasporic cultures and metropolitan centers—all **buzzwords** of late-twentieth-century academia. Yet, like many literary critics, the gap between the words flickering on my computer screen and the ideas embedded deep in my brain, and even in my taste buds, is wide. Dhallpourris, or dal puris, I want to believe do not change across the distance of oceans, under the rigors of indentureship, through the inventiveness of courageous pioneers. And the best dal puris, I want to tell myself, are always made by Darwanji, our doorman at 18/10 Dover Lane in Calcutta.

Darwanji's real name was Hriday Singh. For as far back as I can remember, he rose at 4 A.M. every morning to wash our neighbors' cars in order to earn some extra money. He sent a money order to his village in eastern Uttar Pradesh every month. Once a year, Darwanji traveled to his village in order to visit his family. And in the time-honored Indian tradition of preparing a special meal for a long train journey, he made dal puris to take with him on the train. If we were inordinately lucky, he would share some of his dal puris with us once a year. Darwanji cooked the chana dal filling with great care in his makeshift kitchen over a kerosene stove. In an aluminium bowl

Roti –
type of unleavened bread (in India and the Caribbean)

Ubiquitous –
omnipresent, very common

Dhallpourri –
a very popular East Indian dish in Trinidad and Tobago

Redolent –
having a pleasant smell

Evocative –
making you think of or remember a strong image or feeling, in a pleasant way

Buzzwords –
a word, often originating in a particular jargon, that becomes a vogue word in the community as a whole or among a particular group

marked with scratches and **dents** from years of use, he **kneaded** the whole wheat dough with the vigor of a man about to commence a long-awaited journey home. The final products were dark golden brown discs of fried dough filled with a spicy **lentil** mixture. Scented with **cumin** and **asafetida**, Darwanji's dal puris held the promise of a long journey, the romance of the railways, and the pleasure of returning home. And, years later, even as I was celebrating Selvon's discovery of Indo-Trinidadian food in London, I imagined the Trinidadian immigrant reversing the flow of time and history and biting into one of Darwanji's dal puris.

Years before I was born, Darwanji had left his village, Unnao, to find work in Calcutta. Unnao is located in the heart of the region from which nineteenth-century recruiters lured villagers to sign up for five-year indentureship periods in places like Trinidad and Guyana. Darwanji's village, I imagine, is not unlike Naipaul's own village of the Dubes, that repository of all that is anticlimactic and disappointing for the descendant of coolies looking for his roots. In the small university town of St. Augustine, under the sign of Turban brand curry powder, another disappointment lay in store for me. Roberto's choice for lunch was a modest roti shop filled with young university students and local residents. In the **greasy** smoke-filled canteen buzzing with animated chatter, the sada rotis and buss-up-shots were disappearing at a furious rate. We ordered more than we should have. I ate less than I hoped to eat. From our table, past the **whirring** pedestal fans, I could see the **canary yellow** billboard with a crude drawing of a head, presumably Indian because of the **eponymous** red turban. Sprawled across the bottom of the billboard in a much less elegant cursive than the British administrator's faded writing was a proclamation that could also stand in for the new East Indian political and cultural resurgence to be witnessed in the southern Caribbean: "Our Flavour is Greater."

But the flavor of the St. Augustine dhallpourri was certainly not greater than Darwanji's railway specials. The lentils were vaguely spiced, the dough **soggy**. Instead of perfect little golden brown discs crisped at the edges, the Trinidadian dhallpourri was large, floppy, and pale in color. Not far from Roberto's roti shop, in the air conditioned comfort of the West Indian Special Collections of the University of West Indies, I decided to forego the rare manuscripts and colonial accounts of journeys to the New World and instead chose to settle down with a paperback account of a journey to the Old World, Naipaul's An Area of Darkness.

To me as a child the India that had produced so many of the persons and things around me was featureless, and I thought of the time when the transference was made as a period of darkness, darkness that also extended to the land, as darkness surrounds a hut at evening, though for a little way around the hut there is still light. The light was the area of my experience, in time and place. And even now, though time has widened, though space has contracted and I have traveled lucidly over that area which was to me the area of darkness, something of the darkness remains, in those attitudes, those ways of thinking and seeing, which are no longer mine.

Naipaul begins his first Indian travelogue with a Shakespearean formula. His darkness, the reader quickly realizes, is decidedly not Conradian. Rather, it is the darkness evoked by the exiled Prospero when he asks his daughter, "What seest thou else in the dark backward and **abysm** of time?" The Naipaul of An Area of Darkness is, of course, both Prospero and Miranda. He is both teacher and student, the one who has forgotten and the one who remembers, the one whose attention to the past wavers and the one who disciplines such wavering attention. And India is that area of darkness, the dark backward. India, in short, is the past. Simultaneously, India exists in the

Dent –
a hollow place in a hard surface, usually caused by something hitting it

Knead –
to press and stretch dough, wet clay, etc. with hands to make it ready to use

Lentil –
a small green, orange or brown seed that is usually dried and used in cooking

Cumin –
the dried seeds of the cumin plant used in cooking as a spice

Asafetida –
a bitter resin with an unpleasant onion-like smell, obtained from the roots of some umbelliferous plants of the genus Ferula assafoetida

Greasy –
with too much oil

Whirring –
a continuous low sound

Canary yellow –
a moderate yellow colour, sometimes with a greenish tinge

Eponymous –
relating to the main character of a film, book or play etc. after which something is named

Soggy –
moist and heavy

Abysm –
anything that appears to be endless or immeasurably deep, such as time, despair, or shame

future. It exists in unrecognizable modernity, a sweeping betrayal of the more authentic diaspora by the **debased** homeland. In an uncanny moment in a taxi in Georgetown a few weeks later, I was to hear a 1950s Hindi filmsong that would reshape my understanding of the relationship between India and its multiple overlapping diasporas.

Waqt ne kiya
Kya haseen sitam
Turn rahe na turn
Hum rahe na hum

It is hard to translate the pathos of Geeta Dutt's voice. But, the song goes something like this: "Time has committed such **exquisite** cruelty. You did not remain yourself. I did not remain myself." Looking for doubles, searching for the Caribbean secret sharer, was to suddenly take on the shades of a tragic-Guru Dutt film. We were long lost lovers, familiar enough with each other to feel nostalgic for the mutual loss one represented to the other.

If according to Naipaul's scheme of things there remained in the dhallpourri a touch of the ancestor from darkness, then, for me, Darwanji's dal puris came to represent the index by which to measure diasporic difference. Yet, not being fooled into looking for doubles, grasping the **rupture** in history, is the burden of the South Asian scholar studying Indo-Caribbean culture. Somewhere along the way, my distaste of Trinidadian doubles had turned into a fascination for the regularization of diasporic amnesia—a form of forgetting that works in all directions, past/future, home/elsewhere. It is a type of amnesia that deletes and creates memories, it binds and splits Unnao from Chaguanas, Basti from San Fernando, dal puris from dhallpourris.

Debase –
to make somebody/something less valuable or respected
Exquisite –
outstanding, strong, delicate
Rupture –
break, breach

SOURCE: Sen, Sharmila. "Our Flavour is Greator". Asian Diasporas: New Formations, New Conceptions. ed. Rachel S. Parrenas. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2007, pp. 161-175.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does the author consider the arrival of Indian indentured labourers in Trinidad in the mid-19th century? What were the circumstances under which the Indian coolies were brought to fill the labour gap in Caribbean sugar plantations?
2. What significance does the author attach to doubles and how do they represent India for a migrant community?
3. How does India remain in the past and yet also in the future for its Diaspora in the New World?
4. How does the author remember the taste of dhallpourris back in India and what are the similarities and differences in dhallpourris prepared in the New World?

5. In what way is the sensation of nostalgia related to diasporic amnesia about the Indian subcontinent?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. What does the author mean by saying: "Trinidad refuses newness to the twenty-first-century Indian arrivant"? Where and how do these two countries cross the same line as described by the author? How does Sen draw the link between her grandparents hometown in India with a Caribbean island?
2. To what extent do you think Sen's discourse on dhallpourris is relevant to the issues raised by Vitali Vitaliev about vodka and its role in social communication in Soviet Union?
3. At the end of "Our Flavour is Greater" the author says: "Somewhere along the way, my distaste of Trinidadian doubles had turned into a fascination for the regularization of diasporic amnesia – a form of forgetting that works in all directions, past/future, and home/elsewhere. It is a type of amnesia that deletes and creates memories, it binds and it splits……" How is this form of nostalgia and remembrance and forgetting similar to or different from the way Alex creates the Soviet past for his mother in Good Bye Lenin?

DR. ALICE C. HUNSBERGER: THE SPLENDOR OF FATIMID CAIRO

Dr. Alice C. Hunsberger, author of the text, received her doctorate in Middle East Languages and Cultures from Columbia University in 1992, specialising in Persian and Arabic literature. She has taught courses dealing with aspects of Islam as well as on the history of science at various universities in Iran and the USA, including Arya Mehr University of Technology in Isfahan, Iran and Hunter College, The City University of New York. Dr Hunsberger is the author of Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakshan: A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveler, and Scholar (London, 2000), and has contributed numerous papers to academic conferences and journals. Dr Hunsberger was a Visiting Research Fellow at The Institute of Ismaili Studies from 1999-2001.

This text is devoted to the traditions of the city of Cairo during the rule of the Fatimid dynasty (969-1171 A.D.) particularly in the eleventh century. The text is about the organization of the state, the role of intellectuals in society and its administration, the state's care for its citizens, common people, warriors, civil servants, and the conservation of religion and the sacred towns of Mecca and Medina. It touches upon issues describing the rituals and traditions of the Egyptians established by the caliph, measures for the elimination of corruption in public administration, provision of citizens' security, etc. All these are based on Khusraw's[7] works[8], the great traveler, poet, and philosopher from Khorasan (Central Asia), 11th century.

In Dr. Alice Hunsberger's "The Ruby of Badakhshan", from which we have taken the following extract, she analyzes some worldview aspects of Nasir Khusraw based on his works – kasyds from his poetry in "Divan" and philosophy in his famous travel travelogue "Safarnama". Using Cairo as an example, this text is essentially a retrospective view of Nasir Khusraw's reflections on Khorasan's development models. There is a gentle reference in the text to Central Asia, which is Khusraw's native land. However his analysis allows us to conclude that while he writes about Cairo he is thinking of Central Asia and ways for its development. Sources confirm the truth of Nasir Khusraw's reports on conditions in Cairo during the eleventh century (for example, he does not forget to mention negative sides such as the slave trade). One may get the impression that Khusraw made his notes immediately after returning from his travel because he recalls Cairo with a great feeling of nostalgia, and it seems that Cairo's past can serve as a sound example or become a calming influence for his native land which was unstable at that time. In essence, Khusraw had prepared indirect instructions for court "jurists of Bukhara Balkha". By reading and analyzing Dr. Hunsberger's thoughts on Cairo in the 11th century and Nasir Khusraw's notes, we would like to discuss the role of renaissance – revival (based on intellectual traditions of the past), and modernization (adoption) in the development of modern Central Asia, and determine the positive and negative aspects of nostalgia's role in the development of society.

> *The people are so secure under the [caliph's] reign that no one fears his agents, and they rely on him neither to inflict injustice nor to have designs on anyone's property.*
> *Safarnama, 55*

7 Abu'l-Mu'in Nasir ibn Khusraw al-Qubadiyani al-Marwazi (1004- ca. 1077), better known as Nasir Khusraw, is a beloved figure in Persian literature. Zabih Allah Safa (1911-1999) ranked him as one of the greatest and most talented poets and writers of the Persian language.

8 Please see the attached Bibliography.

Nasir Khusraw can hardly praise Cairo enough. Whether he is there in the city itself, participating in the daily pulse of this imperial capital, or whether he is far away, exiled in the Pamir mountains of Badakhshan, he extols the glories of the Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir and the good government which gives people the freedom to prosper and flourish. The Fatimid rule reaches far into many lands, and the abundant signs of its worldly power testify, in his mind, to its profound attachment to the realm of spiritual values and divine power.

He lived in Cairo for three years, studying and training with other Fatimid intellectuals…

THE FATIMID CALIPHS

The Fatimid caliphs claimed both genealogical and spiritual descent from the Prophet Muhammad. Ruling over the twin realms of faith and politics, just as the Prophet had, these Ismaili caliphs represented for their followers the earthly summit of all temporal and spiritual matters. The caliph was therefore also the supreme Imam, the highest prince of the faithful. Nasir Khusraw devotes many pages of his Divan to praise of the Ismaili imams, especially al-Mustansir, the eighth Fatimid caliph.

The Prophet's descendant has taken up the seat of his ancestor in majestic glory, the tip of his crown stretching all the way to Saturn.
The Chosen One is the one whom God has chosen; what foolishness do you keep babbling on about?
There, where the Prophet sat by God's command, his descendant sits today by the same command.
(Divan, 232:70-2)

These lines express not just praise for a prince, but a core tenet of Ismaili theology. For according to Shi'i Islam, the rightful successor (khalifa) to the Prophet Muhammad, 'Ali, was appointed by divine mandate from God; it was God who commanded Muhammad to appoint 'Ali, the first Shi'i imam. Nasir Khusraw thus professes that the Fatimid caliph, a blood descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima and her husband 'Ali, to be the legitimate spiritual descendant of 'Ali in his role as rightful interpreter of the Holy Qur'an. According to Shi'i doctrine, the mission of the Prophet was to deliver to people the divine revelation (tanzil) given in the words of the Qur'an; after the Prophet, only 'Ali was entrusted by God with the function of conveying the true interpretation (ta'wil) of the book. Referring to the well-known saying of the Prophet, 'I am the City of Knowledge and 'Ali is its Gate,' Nasir exhorts his readers to seek out this city of wisdom that can only be entered through allegiance to 'Ali:

If my words should please you,
Take leave of the desert and hasten to the City,
The City of Knowledge whose door is 'Ali,
Abode of the poor, home of the rewarded.
All that exists outside the city is wasteland —
No water, no fruit, wretched desert.
(Divan, 63:41-3)

For Nasir Khusraw, the inheritors and guardians of that City of Knowledge are the Prophet's family (ahl al-bayt), specifically his descendants from 'Ali and Fatima, the Ismaili imams who, for a while, ruled as the Fatimid caliphs:

A tree of wisdom was our Prophet, and from him
each member of his family is a tree with the same fruit.
Today, the worthy sons of 'Ali
have sons, just as the Prophet's daughter had sons.
The sons of 'Ali are those who are the Imams of truth,
as famed as their father for their greatness.
Their father spread justice throughout the land;
why be surprised that his sons follow their father's wisdom?
(Divan, 31:25-7; 32)

Besides employing the metaphor of trees bearing fruit, Nasir also likens the Prophet's religion (shari'at) to a complete garden itself, with fruits for the wise and thorns for the ignorant. Every aspect of the garden image shimmers with layers of other meanings for the poet. The gateway to enter signifies 'Ali, as we have seen, but there is more. For example, Mount Sinai stands for the Prophet (natiq), who has brought the message (WD, 99). Like all mountains, this one appears hard and rough on the surface, and only by mining one's way into its depths are the riches discovered, such as rubies, emeralds, gold, silver and copper:

In the garden of the way of the Prophet,
There is no one but his family to act as the Guardians.
To the wild and the lost, the Guardian never gave away
But sticks and bark from this garden,
For they are asses, and asses cannot differentiate
The scent of ambergris and aloe from that of dung.
Hasten to find the pathway to this garden,
Even unto China and Ma-chin.[9]
See the figs and olives of this garden,
That city of safety and Mount of Sinai.[10]
O soul! Adorn yourself with knowledge and action
From the garden of the Guardian!
Enter into the garden and pluck up the berries
And fruits and fragrant herbs.
Set the thorns and bark and sticks before the asses,
Keep the box-tree, jasmine and wild roses for yourself.
(Divan, 24: 27-34)…

9 Following the Prophet command that all should seek knowledge even unto China, and a symbolic place called Ma-chin (the place beyond of the China, means the search for esoteric meanings).

10 Based on the Qur'an 95:1-3; By the fig and the olive/ and Mount Sinai/ and this land secure'- the esoteric meaning of these: figs- the Universal Intellect, olive for Universal Soul, Mount Sinai for Natiq (the prophet) and the city of refuge for the asas (imam).

'SO THAT THE PEOPLE NEED NOT FEAR

Nasir Khusraw finds evidence of the rightness of the Caliph al-Mustansir's rule in his broad state policies and individual legal decisions. For example, a basic policy of paying people fairly and liberally for their work marks him as a wise ruler, according to the traveller from Khurasan, for they then work more willingly, which leads to them working more productively. Nasir's familiarity with the administrative policies and practices of the Ghaznavid and Saljuq courts in eastern Iranian lands influences what he notices and comments on. His experience in the Saljuq revenue office comes out clearly in his particularly keen appreciation of Fatimid fiscal practices. He notes that, except for houses, practically all buildings are owned by the caliph, who then leases them out as people need them. Nasir emphasises that there is no sort of coercion used by the state in this arrangement.

But for Nasir, even more critical than such fair decisions on personal property issues is the Fatimid ruler's regular payment of the military in order to ensure the security of the larger population and the general peace of the realm. If an army depends on looting for its pay, citizens in the countryside and the city cannot be safe and will resent the government for its failure to protect them. Nasir illustrates the links that exist between the Fatimid tax collection system, the satisfaction of the military and social calm. Once a year, he writes, the tax collectors in each province send their assigned taxes to the central treasury and the army's pay is then distributed at a predetermined schedule from this common fund. Soldiers are paid from the caliph's treasury and each one receives a fixed salary depending on his rank. Nasir observes that, due to the well-managed tax collection and payment system under the caliph, 'no governmental agent or peasant is ever troubled by demands from the army, because he knows it stands in stark contrast to systems elsewhere. He is concerned explicitly with the security of the individual 'agent or peasant,' and nowhere even hints that a satisfied military is essential for the continued rule of the sovereign, but rather that they should be fairly compensated so that the populace can live in peace. He sees al-Mustansir's rule as just and for the sake of the greater good of society, rather than merely efficient to ensure its own survival.

Besides the tax collection system and the army, the legal system also must be free from employees who expect to receive extra income from the normal administration of their duties, such as judges. That is, one's guilt or innocence before the law should not be determined by how much payment a judge receives. Nasir Khusraw explicitly states that a hierarchical pay scale was established by the Fatimids, 'so that people need not fear venality from the bench.' He describes how the chief justice receives a monthly stipend of 2,000 dinars, and a proportionate amount is paid to every judge down the ranks. This former court clerk has certainly seen different systems, ones where justice could be bought and sold. He admires the Fatimids for regulating their judiciary system and purposely giving generous salaries to forestall such abuse of law, so that the people need not fear corruption or injustice.

Many other types of people are paid by the caliph for the stability and splendour of the state. The Fatimid court supported an extensive array of intellectuals and writers, including Nasir himself. Besides soldiers, there are also many contingents of princes and their families and retinues from far away, as well as people of other ranks and stations, such as scholars, literati, poets and jurisprudents, all of whom have fixed stipends. Even with his extensive court experience, Nasir opens his eyes wide at the sums the caliph gives out for seemingly minor responsibilities in the court:

> *No aristocrat receives less than five hundred dinars, some drawing stipends of up to two thousand dinars. The only function they have to perform is to make a salaam to the grand vizier when he sits in state, and then withdraw to their places (S, 50).*

All states need an audience, a populace to acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler. The practice of paying princes 'from far away' to publicly make obeisance during official ceremonies allowed the Fatimids to exercise control over them and demonstrate at home the far-flung political reach of their empire.

Fatimid central authority not only asserted its authority in the provinces by having local aristocrats brought to the capital, but exerted its ultimate suzerainty, in matters of religion, deep into every town and village directly under its control. This was accomplished by the government itself paying for all expenses incurred by mosques (at least from Syria to Tunisia, an area under direct Fatimid control and the extent of Nasir's record of this issue). The royal treasury paid for all the carpets and rugs, all the salaries for those tending the mosques such as watchmen, cleaners and muezzins, and all the oil used to light the considerable number of lamps. As an example of state authority over religious affairs, Nasir relates that one year the governor of Syria wrote to ask if he could substitute a less expensive type of oil than the one officially approved for use in the mosque. 'He was told that he was to obey orders, that he was not a vizier, and that furthermore it was not licit to institute change in things pertaining to the House of God.' Beyond the confines of the court, our traveller noticed how state benevolence can actually strengthen the financial and civil foundations of the state itself.

Fabrics were an important commodity in Egypt and their production highly regulated by the state then in control, whether Greek, Roman, Byzantine, or Arab. Just as today academic degrees and other honours are symbolised with the placement of a ribbon, stole, or other fabric on the honoured person, it was even more so in Fatimid times. Ceremonial 'robes of honour' (khil'a) were one of the most common official presents with which to show esteem to guests and employees of the state. One source records that nearly seventy-five years after Nasir Khusraw's visit, in the year 516/1122, a total of 14,305 pieces of clothing were distributed, the most desirable being something that came directly off the back of the caliph. Since these articles were worn publicly, both the honoured person and the bestower earned public credit and acknowledgement for excellence, a more effective tribute in this regard, perhaps, than today's practice of giving a 'key to the city,' for example. The Fatimids also excelled in producing fabrics with ornate embroideries (tiraz), often using gold or silver thread to embroider verses from the Qur'an and prayers into clothing for individual wear, as well as draperies and banners for decorating entire buildings at state occasions. Also woven into the bands of tiraz would be the name of the caliph, that of the prince who ordered its manufacture, and sometimes the name of the administrative officer, the official in charge of tiraz, the city of production, the date and the name of the artist.

Nasir paid attention to fabrics wherever he went. In Asyut, in southern Egypt, for instance, he commented that he saw a shawl made from sheep's wool finer than anything from Lahore or Multan (in today's Pakistan), 'so fine you would think it was silk.'

Along the way to Cairo, he stopped at Tinnis, a factory island in the Nile Delta region, 'where they weave multicoloured linen for turbans, bandages, and women's

clothing. The coloured linen of Tinnis is unequalled anywhere except by the white linen woven in Damietta.' Tinnis was famous throughout the Mediterranean region for its production of fine fabrics with intricate patterns, supple weaving, finely-stitched embroidery and creative colour combinations. So exquisite was its workmanship that Tinnis had the honour and the responsibility to produce the great veil of the Ka'ba in Mecca, delivered twice a year. The colour of the veil changed over time: when the Sunni Abbasids controlled Tinnis the veil was black (as it is today); under the Fatimids it became their official colour, white. Nasir Khusraw gives several examples to illustrate how coveted Tinnis fabrics were, such as the following anecdote about a king from the southern province of Iran:

> *I heard that the king of Pars once sent twenty thousand dinars to Tinnis to buy one suit of clothing of their special material. [His agents] stayed there for several years but were unsuccessful in obtaining any (S, 39)*

The island of Tinnis housed the official Fatimid looms for many types of linens and damasks (whose name comes from the nearby city of Damascus), as well as an iridescent fabric known as buqalamun[11], meaning 'chameleon,' due to its shimmering, changeable colour. Made of purple, red and green interwoven threads, buqalamun's main hue would change dramatically as it moved. This exquisite fabric struck Nasir's fancy, not only as an object of beauty made by human skill and design; he saw it as a brilliant metaphor for the changeable, fickle, physical world:

> *Like buqalamun, the world does not show just one face.*
> *Now your friend, now your enemy, just like a shining Indian sword.*
> *(Divan, 164:8)*

Tinnis was such an important source of income and international commercial status for the Fatimids that the king of Byzantium, Nasir Khusraw relates, once offered to exchange a hundred cities of his for Tinnis alone. He was turned down by the Fatimid caliph who knew, of course, 'that what he wanted with this city was its linen and buqalamun.' But probably the most remarkable thing about Tinnis, according to Nasir Khusraw, who had seen plenty of state-run industries, was that 'nothing is taken from anyone by force.' Moreover,

> *The full price is paid for all the linen and buqalamun woven for the [caliph], so that the people work willingly - not as in some other countries, where the artisans are forced to labour for the vizier and caliph! (S, 40)*

Again, we see his acknowledgement that compulsion generally works against creativity and civil satisfaction. He repeats his point that people should be paid fairly for their work. Nasir thus holds up the Fatimid administration as an exemplar of wise governance. Paying artisans for their labour leads to a willing work force and one that demonstrably produces better quality items. Paying soldiers regularly makes them less likely to molest the peasants. Paying judges a good salary helps to keep jurisprudence fair and saves the citizens from unjust judgements.

Further proof, according to Nasir, that the Fatimids exercised wise administrative decisions lies in the safety with which the people conduct their daily living. He remarks that the security and welfare of the people of Egypt are such that the shopkeepers do

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11 Buqalamun- chameleon, a specific extension of its reference to shimmering iridescence , like that of feathers.

not need to lock their shops. This includes even the money changers, jewellers and drapers. When they wish to leave they only lower a net across the front of the shop, 'and no one tampers with anything.' Nasir notes that while generally the merchants of Cairo are honest, if one is in fact caught cheating a customer, he is mounted on a camel with a bell in his hand and paraded about the city, ringing the bell and crying out,

'I have committed a misdemeanour and am suffering reproach.
Whosoever tells a lie is rewarded with public disgrace.' (S, 55).

During his time in Cairo, Nasir witnessed two crises in which all the players recognised a threat to the Fatimid throne and its authority. The first involved a local altercation between some government soldiers and the Jewish businessman in charge of buying all the jewels for the caliph. In this capacity, the businessman had become very rich himself. Without supplying any further background information of the crisis, Nasir writes that one day some soldiers rose up and killed this businessman. Since he had been so close to the Caliph al-Mustansir, the whole army realised its loyalty was now in question. They gathered 'twenty thousand' soldiers on horseback and stationed them in the main square. 'When the army appeared thus in the field, the populace was in great fear.' The army's intentions were at this point unclear: would it stage a coup, commit another assassination, or run rampant? The horsemen remained mounted in the square all morning, with those inside the palace wondering, along with the people of the city, what their next step would be.

In the middle of the day, after hours of this standstill, a servant was sent out from the palace to determine the soldiers' plans.

'The caliph asks whether you are in obeisance or not.'
The soldiers all cried out at once, '
We are his slaves and obedient, but we have committed a crime.'
The servant answered, 'Then the caliph commands you to disperse immediately.'

The military demonstration had, in fact, been a show of allegiance to the throne. With this immediate crisis dissipated, the caliph's sovereignty was thus assured. But the jeweller's family still remained concerned for their own safety from reprisals or further attacks from the army. The jeweller's brother wrote a note to the caliph asking for protection and saying that he was willing to pay for the protection himself, some 200,000 dinars on the spot. (The proportions of the crisis are now apparent, remembering that the annual salary of the chief judge of the city was 2,000 dinars.)

Nasir records how justly the caliph resoled this conflict. He ordered the brother's note to be torn up in public and assured him, 'You rest secure and return to your home. No one will harm you.' The caliph also refused the offer of payment from the family, saying, 'We have no need of anyone's money.' On the contrary, the Jewish family was compensated for the killing of the businessman.

The second crisis reached into international concerns. In the year 442/1050, 'while I was in Egypt,' Nasir writes, the news arrived that the king of Aleppo (in today's northern Syria) had rebelled against the Fatimid caliph. To put down this rebellion, the caliph dispatched a tremendous force, outfitted 'with all the trappings of kings, such as canopies, pavilions, and so on.' At the head of this force, he placed a very wealthy and propertied man by the name of 'Umdat al-Dawla. Here Nasir interrupts his narrative to explain that this 'Umdat al-Dawla had grown wealthy as the head of the Matalibis, 'what they call the people who dig for buried treasure in the graves of Egypt.' Nasir reports that people would come from throughout the empire to search for the treasure of the pharaohs. 'Often much outlay is made without anything being found,' but when treasure was found, the finder would give one-fifth to the caliph and keep the rest. Obviously the head of the Matalibis also took a share. 'At any rate,' Nasir continues his story, when 'Umdat al-Dawla reached Aleppo, he led the war against the rebel and was killed. Two problems now arose: what to do about the rebel king, still alive, and what to do about 'Umdat al-Dawla's property?

Nasir Khusraw relates that 'Umdat al-Dawla's wealth was so considerable that it took two months to have it transferred to the caliph's treasury. The traveller does not consider it odd or unfair that the state should appropriate this man's wealth. He does, however, comment on the hundreds of slave girls who made up part of the dead man's wealth. He writes that of his properties, for instance, 'he had three hundred slave girls, most of them beauties, a few of whom were of the type taken to concubinage.' The caliph did not simply leave their fate to be decided by his treasury, but declared that they should each be given a choice. Either they could take a husband, or 'if such was not their choice,' they could share in the remainder of the man's estate 'so that they might remain in their own house, no command or force being exerted upon any of them.' Nasir provides no hint of what choices the slave girls made. One can only wonder which they would have preferred. From his tone the reader gathers that Nasir sees the caliph's decision as unusually generous, yet strangely just.

Meanwhile, the rebel king realised he was in serious trouble and, fearing an even greater show of force by the caliph, sent messages of great apology and contrition. He also despatched camel loads of presents and gifts, including 'his seven-year-old son along with his wife. Of course, the son and not the wife was the main gesture of peace, as an absolute show of the king's servitude. But when the caravan with the son, his wife and gifts arrived at Cairo's gates, they were kept outside waiting for nearly two months. As the crisis wore on, the Fatimid caliph and his vizier within the palace had to listen to many arguments interceding for those outside the gates. By extension, of course, the interceders were also begging forgiveness for the king of Aleppo himself, and as long as the caliph did not open the gates he showed his power over his subject states. Only after intense lobbying by 'all the judges of the city' were the gifts accepted and the son and his wife allowed into the city; indeed, they were admitted with great honours.

Nasir's affection for the Caliph-Imam al-Mustansir and his reign becomes apparent in one of his poetic celebrations of springtime, composed during his exile in Yumgan. In this qasida, here translated in full, he uses the metaphor of seasonal change and renewal to describe the triumph of the Fatimids over the Abbasids. The black banners of the Sunni Abbasids in Baghdad are likened to the crow and the raven, while the Fatimids are shown by their royal colour with emblems of whiteness and light, including 'Ali's white steed and shining sword, Zulfiqar. The brilliant sun transforms the mud of earth into fiery flower jewels of ruby and ambergris. The arrival of spring marks the victory of the sun over darkness and becomes a metaphor for the triumph of knowledge over ignorance, which the poet turns into a challenge to engage in reasoned debate, directed especially at the religious judges of Balkh and Bukhara:

Spring arrived and the season of ice has fled.
Once again, this ancient world turns young.
Ice-blue water now turns dark like wine,
Silvery fields turn a verdant green.
January's harsh wind, whipping like flags,
Has turned soft like mildest mist of incense.
The poor willow, stripped naked all winter,
Now drips heavy with earrings of silk.
The faces of all the fields and plains are dewy fresh
And the eyes of all the blossoms, open wide, can see.
All the land is now alive and open-eyed.
Surely the east wind brings the magic of the Messiah.
Bursting with blossoms, the orchard becomes
Like the starry sky, the flower garden like the Pleiades.
If these clouds are not the miracle of Joseph,
Then why does the desert become like Zulaykha?[12]
The tulips have blossomed, like blushing lovers' cheeks
And like love-struck eyes, the narcissus opened wide.
If, from the snow, the little violet is now secure,
Why does it turn purple like the Christian's cloak?
Dark became the water and light the air;
Mute the raven, yet the nightingale sang.
The garden became like heaven and tulips began
To shine like the faces of houris.
Like a darksome slave, the jet-black raven
Is turned to the lowest minion before the rose and nightingale.
And those flowers shaped like a silvery orb
Became arrayed like the dome of the sky.
Like 'Amr 'As before 'Ali, January before Spring
Is reduced to weakness and shame.
When it became the enemy of the drums of Fatima Zahra,
The raven too became disgraced;
Like the Abbasids, its treachery and enmity
Clearly apparent from its cloak of black.
The sun became Fatimid and returned in full strength,
Ascending from the depths to on high,
'Til its light shone bright like the sword of 'Ali
And the rosebush turned grey like Duldul[13]*, the mount of 'Ali.*
When the sun reached the house of Libra

12 Reference to Qur'anic story of Joseph and Zulaykha in Sura 12; Central motifs of mystical love.

13 Duldul - The name of Imam Ali's horse. Anushervan Khusraw (531-539). The great king of the Sasanid dynasty and assumed author of "Instructions of Khusraw, Kawad's Son".

It turned against the autumnal season.
Daylight blossomed like religion and
Night became crippled like blasphemy, black as sin.
Night became one of the enemies
And shining day one of the things of wonder.
The world became like a beautiful memory
Full of light, bounty and wealth because of this.
When was there ever such darkness as an ignorant heart
And now why did it become like a brilliant mind?
Because the sayyid of all the planets
In the attack became powerful through Libra's justice.
Justice is the core of good things, that's why
Anushirvan became famous, through justice.
See how from justice, since it showed itself,
How many others became revealed along with it?
See how this old rotten mud
Has become like red rubies and yellow amber.
Virtue is aught but knowledge and justice;
Saved are they conversant in these two tongues.
Give the rights to your mind for this world of being
Was prepared for intellect and justice.
Become beautiful from learning, for one is not beautiful
Who has become beautiful to the world
Follow not the world, but seek after learning because
So many people has the world deceived.
Do not become impressed when you hear that
So-and-so has become a judge in Balkh or Bukhara.
For the true knowledge of religion will be obscured
When the works of religion and learning become muddled.
Do not accept the promise of the ignorant imitators
Although they have gained a famous name in the world.
Seek the answers to 'how' and 'why,' because for the ignorant
The world has become a constricting ring.
Speak knowledge to your opponent, for without a foe
Knowledge is neither sharpened nor polished…
(Divan, 161)

THE INTELLECTUAL DEBATE

In the 4th-5th AH (10th-11th AD) centuries, the Fatimid court at Cairo engendered some of the liveliest theological and intellectual debates in the Muslim world. Astronomers, poets, grammarians, physicians, legal experts, theologians and other members of the intelligentsia were brought to the capital and given generous stipends and materials for their creative work.

In the century before Nasir arrived in Cairo, the famous jurist, al-Qadi al-Nu'man (d. 363/974), was consolidating the scope and structure of Ismaili law in many books, especially his two major works, the Da 'a 'im al-Islam (The Pillars of Islam) which detailed the zahir or externals of the religious law, and the Ta'wil da'a'im al-Islam (Interpretation of the Pillars of Islam) which explained the esoteric, basic meaning of the exoteric doctrine contained in the Da'a'im. By the year 378/988, or perhaps

earlier, public lectures on Ismaili law were held in al-Azhar Mosque's. In 396/1005, the sixth Fatimid caliph, al-Hakim (386-411 /996-1021), founded the Dar al-'Ilm (House of Knowledge), an academy where a variety of subjects were taught; this academy was also equipped with a major library. A text survives which describes the marvellous opening of this institution:

> *Into this house they brought all the books that the Commander of the Faithful al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah ordered to bring there, that is, the manuscripts in all the domains of science and culture, to an extent to which they had never been brought together for a prince. He allowed access to all this to people of all walks of life, whether they wanted to read books or dip into them. One of the already mentioned blessings, the likes of which had been unheard of, was also that he granted substantial salaries to all those who were appointed by him there to do service - jurists and others. People from all walks of life visited the House; some came to read books, others to copy them, and yet others to study. He also donated what people needed: ink, writing reeds, paper, and inkstands.(Al-Maqrizi, al-Khitat, vol. 1,pp. 458)*

In light of this tradition of active state support of education and learning, al-Mustansir's generosity toward the intellectual elite of his day, as Nasir described it, is less surprising, though no less grand an achievement. The state would surely benefit if the finest minds of the day were occupied in advancing their specialities, even 'people from all walks of life…'

CELEBRATING THE RHYTHM OF LIFE

Besides the government policies of Fatimid Egypt, our traveller takes careful notice of many local customs of daily life, including shopping, the slave trade and the celebration of major holidays. Probably one of the most charming shopping details we have from the 5th AH (11th AD) century occurs in Nasir's travelogue where he records the wonders of Cairo's bazaars. He observes that the merchants, including grocers, druggists and peddlers, 'all furnish sacks for the items they sell, whether glass, pottery, or paper; so there is no need for shoppers to take their own bags with them.' His outsider's eye is constantly delighted at social innovations that solve problems and make life easier for the people to be both efficient and enjoy the things of life. In the following anecdote on urban gardening, he notices that the Egyptians have devised an ingenious system of moving fresh trees into someone's home, and then removing them when desired:

> *Among other things, if anyone wants to make a garden in Egypt it can be done during any season at all, since any tree, fruit-bearing or other, can be obtained and planted. There are special people, called dallah, who can obtain immediately any kind of fruit you desire, because they have trees planted in tubs on rooftops. Many roofs are gardens and most of what is grown is fruit-producing, such as oranges, pomegranates, apples, quince, roses, herbs, and vegetables. When a customer wishes, porters will go and tie the tubs to*

poles and carry the trees wherever desired. They will also make a hole in the ground and sink the tubs if wished. Then, when someone so desires, they will dig the tubs up and carry their fragments away, and the trees will not know the difference. I have never seen or heard of such a thing anywhere else in the world, and it is truly clever! (S, 62-3)

Another marvellous product one can purchase in Fatimid Egypt is a porcelain so fine you can see the shadow of your hand when you hold it up to the light, a porcelain which is often painted to resemble the iridescent fabric buqalamun, 'so that different colours show depending on how the article is held.' They also make clear glass, 'so pure and flawless that it resembles chrysolite, and it is sold by weight.'

The price of thread also draws the traveller's thoughtful attention. In conversation with 'a reputable draper,' Nasir was able to compare the prices of thread in Cairo and Nishapur. In Nishapur, he writes, 'I priced the very best thread available there and was told that one-dirham weight of the finest was sold for five [silver] dirhams.' In Cairo the same weight was selling for the equivalent of three-and-a-half gold dinars, that is, at a considerably higher price.

Even water had to be purchased, although with the buildings situated as they were, it was possible for people to draw their own water from the Nile. All drinking water was sold by water carriers, some selling from pitchers on camels and some with the pitchers on their backs. He says the brass pitchers were kept so well, meaning not tarnished, that they looked like gold. Water selling was big business: 'I was told that there is a woman who leases out no less than five thousand of these pitchers' at the cost of one dirham a month and with the stipulation that they be returned in perfect condition, a comment that also reveals the role of women in Cairo's commercial life and tells us that business was more than just the sale of water.

Cairo was such a major commercial centre for ships coming from all the ports in the Mediterranean as well as along the Nile River and its many canals and tributaries in the Delta, that 'there are more ships and boats in Old Cairo than in Baghdad and Basra combined'.

Nasir has a few things to say about slavery. Although the Qur'an prohibits slavery among Muslims, the trade in slaves became an important aspect of medieval Muslim societies as it was in many parts of Europe and Asia at the time. Coming from Khurasan, our author was certainly accustomed to the raids which regularly brought new supplies of slaves from Central Asia, who were then kept for local use or passed along the caravan routes through Iran, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, or further on to Byzantium or North Africa. He was also familiar with the strength of slave armies; indeed the founders of both the Ghaznavid and Saljuq empires had been Central Asian military slaves who had risen in rank and then succeeded in wresting power for themselves and their dynasties. So the enslavement of individuals and sometimes of whole villages and regions was part of his understanding of contemporary society. In his travels he notices the differences. In Egypt, he sees that the slaves come either from Greece, meaning Byzantium (including today's Turkey) or Nubia (in present-day Sudan):

Farther upriver to the south is the province of Nubia, which is ruled by another king. The people there are black and their religion is Christianity. Traders go there taking beads, combs, and trinkets and bring back slaves to Egypt, where the slaves are either Nubian or Greek (S,41)

In another passage, he remarks that the king of Nubia 'continually sends gifts to

the [caliph] of Egypt and makes treaties so that Egyptian soldiers will not enter his land and molest the populace.'

When Nasir made his three pilgrimages from Cairo to Mecca, the journeys, of course, took him south, toward Nubia. On one journey, he waited for twenty-one days in Aswan, just four parasangs from Nubia, for the caravan to arrive to take him across the desert to the Red Sea. After inspecting and hiring a camel, he joined the caravan and made the fifteen-day journey across the desert. When he finally arrived at the port town of 'Aydhab on the Red Sea (with a population of 500, he notes), he had to spend more time, three months actually, waiting for a ship to sail to Arabia. 'Aydhab belonged to Egypt and was an official trade and customs port for ships coming from Abyssinia, Zanzibar and the Yemen. Some of the goods were, of course, slaves.

While in the port, he noticed a local community known as the Bajawis, who performed a critical function in the economy of this transit city. Since there was no water from wells or springs, but only the infrequent rainwater, keeping a steady supply of drinking water for the traders and pilgrims passing through was essential. This task fell to the Bajawis who, as residents, collected the rainwater and sold it. Nasir records that he and his travelling companions bought water at the rate of one or two dirhams a jug. He was impressed by the Bajawis, who were neither Muslim nor Christian. In fact, he says, they have 'no religion and [have] had no prophet or spiritual leader because they are so far from civilisation.' Their territory covered a broad expanse of desert, 1,000 parasangs long and 300 wide he reckons, running from the Nubian River to the Red Sea, but contained only two small villages. In buying water from them over three months, Nasir would have come into personal contact with a good number of Bajawis. They are not a bad people, he says, they do not steal or make raids on other tribes, and they keep to themselves, tending their flocks. And with the frankness with which we have seen him point out his own failings, he adds 'Muslims and others, however, kidnap their children and take them to sell in the cities of Islam.' His sympathy is evident for these people 'so far from civilisation,' who want to live out their lives simply and gainfully. The traveller who saw that textile workers in Tinnis worked far more productively and happily when paid fairly sensed also that it was wrong to kidnap children and sell them, whatever their background.

During his three years in Cairo, Nasir personally witnessed some of the grandest state ceremonies and processions of the time. We have already seen how the traveller from Khurasan arranged to view the banquet hall the day before one of the two annual feasts. He also tells us of another annual ritual he took part in, 'one of the biggest festivals of the year,' which was centred around the annual flood of the Nile River, the lifeblood of Egypt (5, 48-51). In order to regulate the annual flood season, the practice had been developed to close all the canals during the months when the Nile was rising, and to measure the water level each day. When the backed-up water level was high enough, they would announce the Festival of the Opening of the Canal, when the caliph would ceremoniously throw a spear at the main dam to release the flow of water for the whole

nation. Helped along by men with shovels, the dam was opened and the water rushed dramatically to fill all the canals and water channels throughout the countryside.

Preparations for the festival began with the setting up of an enormous pavilion, 'large enough for a hundred horsemen to stand in its shade,' made of Byzantine brocade spun with gold and studded with jewels. (Here we see again Nasir's habit of observing fabrics.) One essential preparation was to accustom thousands of horses for what would certainly be overwhelming noise and commotion; so for three days before the celebration the musicians would beat drums and blast trumpets in the royal stables. For the parade, 10,000 horses (he repeats this number two pages later) were lavishly decorated, not for riding but to be led by special servants whose job it was to hold their bridles. (True to his style, Nasir tells us their pay, which was three dirhams each.) These 10,000 horses had to be ready for tremendous noise, for they walked - by the hundreds, he says - right behind the bugles, drums and clarions. Behind these horses came the camels, many with howdahs and litters (most likely to transport the royal women, since these public festivals were attended not only by men), as well as other horses and mules. The parade of animals was followed by the army battalions. He tells us that each of the 10,000 horses wore a gold saddle and bridle, with the reins studded with jewels. Under the saddles were placed specially-designed saddle cloths of Byzantine brocade and buqalamun woven seamlessly, with beautiful inscriptions containing the name of the caliph woven into the corner of each saddle cloth. Each horse was also outfitted with some piece of weapon or armour, such as a spear or a helmet hanging from the pommel. Ten thousand riderless horses, ready for battle, thus proclaimed the power and authority of the Fatimid throne.

The parade of the caliph from his palace to the dam presented a major show of his rule over many lands (contingents from each region would march together) and his power over the very sustenance of their lives. In the parade, rank and honour were displayed through elaborate protocol regulating clothing, position in the procession, and whether one walked or rode. Nasir Khusraw himself was probably included in the contingent of 'people of other ranks and stations, such as scholars, literati, poets, and jurisprudents.' The figures he records for the numbers of soldiers are staggering: 20,000 Kutami Berber horsemen, 15,000 Batilis from the Maghreb region of North Africa, 20,000 black Masmudis, 10,000 'powerfully built men' of Turkish and Persian descent, 30,000 slaves who had been purchased, 50,000 spear-carrying bedouins from the Hijaz, 30,000 Ustazi horsemen purchased for military service and 30,000 black Zanj footsoldiers carrying swords. These are some of the soldiers, Nasir Khusraw had noted earlier, who received a fixed salary from the caliph according to rank so that they would not have to steal or raid villages to support themselves. Even though the traveller has proven himself a fastidious chronicler of details, it is difficult to imagine how nearly 200,000 soldiers and animals of war could march down the streets. Could the text be saying that these numbers represent the total number of these contingents present in Cairo in service to the caliph, or are these the numbers who actually marched in the parade?

'But let us return to our account of the opening of the canal. Following behind the horses, howdahs and the military groups, walk 300 Daylamites (Persians from just south of the Caspian Sea) 'wearing Byzantine goldspun cloth with cummerbunds and wide sleeves, as is the fashion in Egypt.' Right behind the Daylamites rides the caliph himself, mounted on a camel and dressed in pristine white. The caliph's camel, however, is unadorned: it has a plain saddle and a bridle and reins with no gold, silver, or studded jewels. The caliph does wear a wide cummerbund with matching turban, the cummerbund so fabulous that it alone is valued at 10,000 dinars. Only one other rider

accompanies the caliph, bearing the royal parasol over the caliph's head. The parasol-bearer wears a gold turban with jewels and suit of clothing worth 10,000 dinars. The parasol itself 'is extremely ornate and studded with jewels and pearls.' To the right and left of the caliph march thurifers, wafting incense of ambergris and aloe. As the caliph passes, 'it is the custom here,' the Persian writes, 'for the people to prostrate themselves and say a prayer.' Behind the caliph follow the grand vizier and the chief justice, accompanied by 'a large contingent of religious and government officials.'

When the caliph arrives at the top of the canal, he remains seated on his camel for some time (one can only imagine how long it takes to settle a crowd like this). When all is ready and the moment decided,

> *He is then handed a spear, which he throws at the dam. Men quickly set to work with picks and shovels to demolish the dam, and the water, which has built up on the other side, breaks through and floods the canal (S, 50).*

The day of the Festival of the Opening of the Canal brings the entire city, 'the whole population of Old and New Cairo,' together. The first ship that sails into the canal is filled with deaf-mutes, a custom even he finds unusual; he suggests that the Egyptians must consider the deaf-mutes a lucky token for, besides riding on the first ship into the canal; they also receive alms directly from the caliph on this day.

SOURCE: Alice Humsberger, Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakhshan, London, New York, in Association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2000, pp. 140-156; 163-169

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Explain how the legitimacy of Fatimid's power is proven as religious power in Egypt by Nasir Khusraw.
   a. Explain the meaning of such notions as "tanzil" and "ta'vil" given in the text.
   b. Why are the fourth Muslim caliph and ensuing caliph-imams allotted particular roles in the text?
   c. What kinds of power legitimization do you know from the history of Islam?
   d. What is the author's attitude towards this issue?
2. Can stagnation in one's native country become a source of nostalgia for life in another society that is more developed? How were issues of the organization of the state considered in Egypt during the Fatimid's time? What is the role of a "just and liberal remuneration of labor policy" in securing the stability and welfare of society? According to the author, to what extent were the Fatimids successful in adjusting their legal system (taxation, remuneration, etc.) and how did they manage to exclude infringements of law, corruption, and other kinds of injustice from social life?
3. Why did Nasir pay so much attention to fabric (i.e. tiraz) production in Egypt?

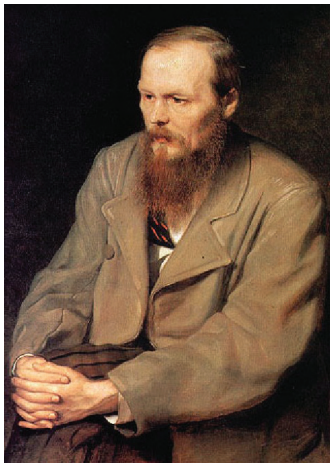
What was the economic, political, and symbolic meaning of fabric production for the Fatimid court?

4. How does Nasir evaluate the role of coercion in administration, and why does he insist on the necessity of fair remuneration for labor practiced by the Fatimids? Describe two crisis situations and how they were overcome by the Egyptian caliph.
5. How is Nasir's nostalgic mood towards the Fatimid's rule in Egypt expressed in his poems? What was the difference between Nasir's poetry idealizing public and state organization in Egypt and the panegyric poetry of the court poets in Central Asia and Iran (Unsuri and others)?
6. Can the pleasures of knowledge (science) cause nostalgia? What is the role of intellectuals (universities, libraries, academies of science, etc.) in the revival of society? Why is the author confident that "the hottest theological and intellectual disputes that have ever taken place in the whole Muslim world" were held in Egypt at that time?
7. What small worries (or joys) of life are able to cause nostalgia? Why does Nasir Khusraw take so seriously all the small worries of life: gardening, glass manufacture, water delivery to towns, the role of women in this craft, and so on? Why must a traveller try to be so precise? Why did Nasir not conceal the slave-trade, an activity prohibited in Islam, but practiced in Egypt? What was Nasir's attitude towards describing and assessing the role of the non-Muslim population – "badjavi", and why was he tolerant of them unlike the majority of others?
8. What is the connection between nostalgia and repetitive holidays and rituals taking place in society? What was the meaning of the annual canal-opening celebration and how did the author of "Safarnama" appraise this event? According to the author, what was the symbolic meaning of the caliph's ceremonial parade from his palace up to the dam? In Nasir's and Hansberger's opinion, why did an Egyptian caliph of the 11th century deserve to be used as an example for imitation by other contemporaries of his time? Can a nostalgic mood be transferred from the source of research to the researcher?

COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. Could we call Khusraw a predecessor of the modernists (the project of the Jadids and communists) in Central Asia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? What is the difference between the modernism of these two groups and the one suggested by Nosir Khursaw? Why do philosophers as well as ordinary people often turn to their past or the experience of their neighbours for the purpose of their country's development?
2. Yessenova's opinion is that modernization (urbanization) negatively influences Kazakh social organization. How would Nasir Khusraw respond to her based on Cairo's experience? On the other hand, why is there no such inspiring description of the Bedouin from North Africa in Nasir's works?
3. Can modern Central Asia borrow anything from Cairo's city-planning and municipal service experience of the 11th century or is this knowledge needed only to satisfy curiosity?
4. Turning back or going back to all the texts on nostalgia once again, in your opinion what would be the benefits of a nostalgic mood at the present time?

FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY: THE GRAND INQUISITOR



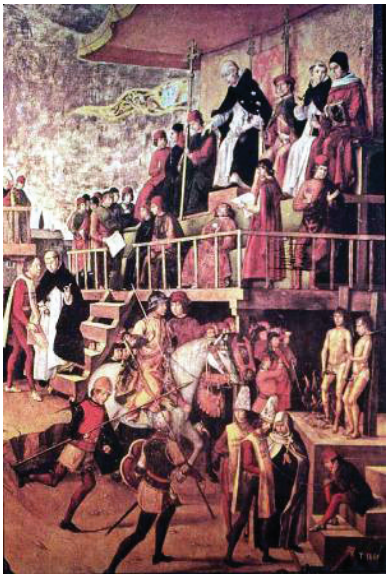
Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821-1881) was one of the greatest writers of the nineteenth century; his works gained him timeless acclaim. Born in Moscow, Dostoevsky was initially educated at home, then in a boarding school, and later continued his education at the Academy of Military Engineering in St. Petersburg. As a dissident to the imperial regime, he was sent to Siberia, and shortly afterwards he was lined up for a mock execution, an experience which he may have used as inspiration in his writing. The grandest novels that Dostoevsky is known for are Poor Folk (1846), Notes from the Underground (1864), Crime and Punishment (1866), The Idiot (1868-69), The Possessed (1872) and The Brothers Karamazov (1879-80). In his works, Dostoevsky combined psychological analysis with political insight. He was against determinism, and valued individuality and human freedom, but at the same time, spoke profoundly for the positive role of religion in people's lives. The following excerpt, taken from The Brothers Karamazov, evolved around a story told by Ivan to Alyosha. Set in Spain in the sixteenth century, during one of the most bloody inquisitions, Christ appears on Earth. The Inquisition was an institution established by the Catholic Church to root out heresy, thousand of people were burnt at the stake. During these perilous times Christ is promptly seized and imprisoned by the Grand Inquisitor, who claims that there is no place for God's religion on Earth. Alyosha is naturally confused with this unchristian behaviour and Ivan proceeds to explain the Inquisitor's reasoning. As you read, consider Dostoevsky's bitterly ironic message in the light of the discussion of nostalgia.

My story is set in Spain, in Seville, in the most terrible time of the Inquisition, when fires were lighted every day to the glory of God, and 'in the splendid ***auto da fé*** the wicked heretics were burnt.' Oh, of course, this was not the coming in which He will appear, according to His promise, at the end of time in all His heavenly glory, and which will be sudden 'as lightning flashing from east to west.' No, He visited His children only for a moment, and there where the flames were crackling round the heretics. In His infinite mercy He came once more among men in that human shape in which He walked among men for thirty-three years fifteen centuries ago. He came down to the 'hot pavements' of the southern town in which on the day before almost a hundred heretics had, ***ad majorem gloriam Dei***, been burnt by the cardinal, the Grand Inquisitor, in a magnificent *auto da fé*, in the presence of the king, the court, the knights, the cardinals, the most charming ladies of the court, and the whole population of Seville.

"He came softly, unobserved, and yet, strange to say, everyone recognised Him. That might be one of the best passages in the poem. I mean, why they recognised Him. The people are irresistibly drawn to Him, they surround Him, they flock about Him, follow Him. He moves silently in their midst with a gentle smile of infinite compassion. The sun of love burns in His heart, and power shine from His eyes, and their radiance, shed on the people, stirs their hearts with responsive love. He holds out His hands to them, blesses them, and a healing virtue comes

auto de fé - the reading of sentences upon individuals sanctioned by the Spanish Inquisition, after which punishment was executed as a spectacle for public consumption

ad majorem gloriam Dei - Latin: to the greater glory of God



THE SPANISH INQUISITION
By Pedro Berruquete, 1475.
Saint Dominic presiding over an *auto da fé*

from contact with Him, even with His garments. An old man in the crowd, blind from childhood, cries out, 'O Lord, heal me and I shall see Thee!' and, as it were, scales fall from his eyes and the blind man sees Him. The crowd weeps and kisses the earth under His feet. Children throw flowers before Him, sing, and cry **hosannah**. 'It is He—it is He!' they repeat. 'It must be He, it can be no one but Him!' He stops at the steps of the Seville cathedral at the moment when the weeping mourners are bringing in a little open white coffin. In it lies a child of seven, the only daughter of a prominent citizen. The dead child lies hidden in flowers. 'He will raise your child,' the crowd shouts to the weeping mother. The priest, coming to meet the coffin, looks perplexed, and frowns, but the mother of the dead child throws herself at His feet with a wail. 'If it is Thou, raise my child!' she cries, holding out her hands to Him. The procession halts, the coffin is laid on the steps at His feet. He looks with compassion, and His lips once more softly pronounce, 'Maiden, arise!' and the maiden arises. The little girl sits up in the coffin and looks round, smiling with wide-open wondering eyes, holding a bunch of white roses they had put in her hand.

"There are cries, sobs, confusion among the people, and at that moment the cardinal himself, the Grand Inquisitor, passes by the cathedral. He is an old man, almost ninety, tall and erect, with a withered face and sunken eyes, in which there is still a gleam of light. He is not dressed in his gorgeous cardinal's robes as he was the day before when he was burning the enemies of the Roman Church—at this moment he is wearing his coarse, old, monk's cassock. At a distance behind him come his gloomy assistants and slaves and the 'holy guard.' He stops at the sight of the crowd and watches it from a distance. He sees everything; he sees them set the coffin down at His feet, sees the child rise up, and his face darkens. He knits his thick, grey brows and his eyes gleam with a **sinister** fire. He holds out his finger and bids the guards take Him. And such is his power, so completely are the people cowed into submission and trembling obedience to him, that the crowd immediately makes way for the guards, and in the midst of deathlike silence they lay hands on Him and lead him away. The crowd instantly bows down to the earth, like one man, before the old Inquisitor. He blesses the people in silence and passes on. The guards lead their prisoner to the close, gloomy, vaulted prison—in the ancient palace of the Holy inquisition and shut him in it. The day passes and is followed by the dark, burning, 'breathless' night of Seville. The air is 'fragrant with laurel and lemon.' In the pitch darkness the iron door of the prison is suddenly opened and the Grand Inquisitor himself comes in with a light in his hand. He is alone; the door is closed at once behind him. He stands in the doorway and for a minute or two gazes into His face. At last he goes up slowly, sets the light on the table and speaks.

"'Is it Thou? Thou?' but receiving no answer, he adds at once. 'Don't answer, be silent. What canst Thou say, indeed? I know too well what Thou wouldst say. And Thou hast no right to add anything to what Thou hadst said of old. Why, then, art Thou come to hinder us? For Thou hast come to hinder us, and Thou knowest that. But dost Thou know what will be to-morrow? I know not who Thou art and care not to know whether it is Thou or only a semblance of Him, but tomorrow I shall condemn Thee and burn Thee at the stake as the worst of heretics. And the very people who have today kissed Thy feet, tomorrow at the faintest sign from me will rush to heap up the embers of Thy fire. Knowest Thou that? Yes, maybe Thou knowest it,' he added with thoughtful penetration, never for a moment taking his eyes off the Prisoner."

hosannah -
a shout of fervent and worshipful praise

sinister -
threatening

"I don't quite understand, Ivan. What does it mean?" Alyosha, who had been listening in silence, said with a smile. "Is it simply a wild fantasy, or a mistake on the part of the old man—some impossible ***quid pro quo***?"

"Take it as the last," said Ivan, laughing, "if you are so corrupted by modern realism and can't stand anything fantastic. If you like it to be a case of mistaken identity, let it be so. It is true," he went on, laughing, "the old man was ninety, and he might well be crazy over his set idea. He might have been struck by the appearance of the Prisoner. It might, in fact, be simply his ravings, the delusion of an old man of ninety, over-excited by the *auto da fé* of a hundred heretics the day before. But does it matter to us after all whether it was a mistake of identity or a wild fantasy? All that matters is that the old man should speak out, that he should speak openly of what he has thought in silence for ninety years."

"And the Prisoner, too, is silent? Does He look at him and not say a word?"

"That's inevitable in any case," Ivan laughed again. "The old man has told Him He hasn't the right to add anything to what He has said of old. One may say it is the most fundamental feature of Roman Catholicism, in my opinion at least. 'All has been given by Thee to the Pope,' they say, 'and all, therefore, is still in the Pope's hands, and there is no need for Thee to come now at all. Thou must not meddle for the time, at least.' That's how they speak and write too—the **Jesuits**, at any rate. I have read it myself in the works of their theologians. 'Hast Thou the right to reveal to us one of the mysteries of that world from which Thou hast come?' my old man asks Him, and answers the question for Him. 'No, Thou hast not; that Thou mayest not add to what has been said of old, and mayest not take from men the freedom which Thou didst exalt when Thou wast on earth. Whatsoever Thou revealest anew will encroach on men's freedom of faith; for it will be manifest as a miracle, and the freedom of their faith was dearer to Thee than anything in those days fifteen hundred years ago. Didst Thou not often say then, "I will make you free"? But now Thou hast seen these "free" men,' the old man adds suddenly, with a **pensive** smile. 'Yes, we've paid dearly for it,' he goes on, looking sternly at Him, 'but at last we have completed that work in Thy name. For fifteen centuries we have been wrestling with Thy freedom, but now it is ended and over for good. Dost Thou not believe that it's over for good? Thou lookest meekly at me and deignest not even to be wroth with me. But let me tell Thee that now, today, people are more persuaded than ever that they have perfect freedom, yet they have brought their freedom to us and laid it humbly at our feet. But that has been our doing. Was this what Thou didst? Was this Thy freedom?'"

"I don't understand again." Alyosha broke in. "Is he ironical, is he jesting?"

"Not a bit of it! He claims it as a merit for himself and his Church that at last they have vanquished freedom and have done so to make men happy. 'For now' (he is speaking of the Inquisition, of course) 'for the first time it has become possible to think of the happiness of men. Man was created a rebel; and how can rebels be happy? Thou

quid pro quo -
Latin: an exchange of this for that, of one thing for another

Jesuits -
Roman Catholic order, known for its emphasis on education and charitable work as focal points of Christian mission

pensive -
musingly or dreamily thoughtful

wast warned,' he says to Him. 'Thou hast had no lack of **admonitions** and warnings, but Thou didst not listen to those warnings; Thou didst reject the only way by which men might be made happy. But, fortunately, in departing Thou didst hand on the work to us. Thou hast promised, Thou hast established by Thy word, Thou hast given to us the right to bind and to unbind, and now, of course, Thou canst not think of taking it away. Why, then, hast Thou come to hinder us?'"

"And what's the meaning of 'no lack of admonitions and warnings'?" asked Alyosha.

"Why, that's the chief part of what the old man must say.

"'The wise and dread spirit, the spirit of self-destruction and non-existence,' the old man goes on, the great spirit talked with Thee in the wilderness, and we are told in the books that he "tempted" Thee.[14] Is that so? And could anything truer be said than what he revealed to Thee in three questions and what Thou didst reject, and what in the books is called "the temptation"? And yet if there has ever been on earth a real **stupendous** miracle, it took place on that day, on the day of the three temptations. The statement of those three questions was itself the miracle. If it were possible to imagine simply for the sake of argument that those three questions of the dread spirit had perished utterly from the books, and that we had to restore them and to invent them anew, and to do so had gathered together all the wise men of the earth—rulers, chief priests, learned men, philosophers, poets—and had set them the task to invent three questions, such as would not only fit the occasion, but express in three words, three human phrases, the whole future history of the world and of humanity—dost Thou believe that all the wisdom of the earth united could have invented anything in depth and force equal to the three questions which were actually put to Thee then by the wise and mighty spirit in the wilderness? From those questions alone, from the miracle of their statement, we can see that we have here to do not with the fleeting human intelligence, but with the absolute and eternal. For in those three questions the whole subsequent history of mankind is, as it were, brought together into one whole, and foretold, and in them are united all the unsolved historical contradictions of human nature. At the time it could not be so clear, since the future was unknown, but now that fifteen hundred years have passed, we see that everything in those three questions was so justly divined and foretold, and has been so truly fulfilled, that nothing can be added to them or taken from them.

"Judge Thyself who was right—Thou or he who questioned Thee then? Remember the first question; its meaning, in other words, was this: "Thou wouldst go into the world, and art going with empty hands, with some promise of freedom which men in their simplicity and their natural unruliness cannot even understand, which they fear and dread—for nothing has ever been more insupportable for a man and a human society than freedom. But seest Thou these stones in this **parched** and barren wilderness? Turn them into bread, and mankind will run after Thee like a flock of sheep, grateful and obedient, though for ever trembling, lest Thou withdraw Thy hand and deny them Thy bread." But Thou wouldst not deprive man of freedom and didst reject the offer, thinking, what is that freedom worth if obedience is bought with bread? Thou didst reply that man lives not by bread alone. But dost Thou know that for the sake of that earthly bread the spirit of the earth will rise up against Thee and will strive with Thee and overcome Thee, and all will follow him, crying, "Who can compare with this beast? He has given us fire from heaven!" Dost Thou know that

admonitions - cautions, warnings

stupendous - of astounding force, volume, degree, or excellence

parched - very dry

14 See Matthew 4:1-11, Luke 4:1-13.

the ages will pass, and humanity will proclaim by the lips of their sages that there is no crime, and therefore no sin; there is only hunger? "Feed men, and then ask of them virtue!" that's what they'll write on the banner, which they will raise against Thee, and with which they will destroy Thy temple. Where Thy temple stood will rise a new building; the terrible tower of Babel will be built again, and though, like the one of old, it will not be finished, yet Thou mightest have prevented that new tower and have cut short the sufferings of men for a thousand years; for they will come back to us after a thousand years of agony with their tower. They will seek us again, hidden underground in the catacombs, for we shall be again persecuted and tortured. They will find us and cry to us, "Feed us, for those who have promised us fire from heaven haven't given it!" And then we shall finish building their tower, for he finishes the building who feeds them. And we alone shall feed them in Thy name, declaring falsely that it is in Thy name. Oh, never, never can they feed themselves without us! No science will give them bread so long as they remain free. In the end they will lay their freedom at our feet, and say to us, "Make us your slaves, but feed us." They will understand themselves, at last, that freedom and bread enough for all are inconceivable together, for never, never will they be able to share between them! They will be convinced, too, that they can never be free, for they are weak, vicious, worthless, and rebellious. Thou didst promise them the bread of Heaven, but, I repeat again, can it compare with earthly bread in the eyes of the weak, ever sinful and **ignoble** race of man? And if for the sake of the bread of Heaven thousands shall follow Thee, what is to become of the millions and tens of thousands of millions of creatures who will not have the strength to forego the earthly bread for the sake of the heavenly? Or dost Thou care only for the tens of thousands of the great and strong, while the millions, numerous as the sands of the sea, who are weak but love Thee, must exist only for the sake of the great and strong? No, we care for the weak too. They are sinful and rebellious, but in the end they too will become obedient. They will marvel at us and look on us as gods, because we are ready to endure the freedom which they have found so dreadful and to rule over them—so awful it will seem to them to be free. But we shall tell them that we are Thy servants and rule them in Thy name. We shall deceive them again, for we will not let Thee come to us again. That deception will be our suffering, for we shall be forced to lie.

THE BURNING OF BOOKS

ignoble -
of low birth or common origin

SOURCE: Dostoevsky, Fyodor. "The Grand Inquisitor." *The Brothers Karamazov.* Translated by Constance Garnett. Online version. URL: http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pol116/grand.htm.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Who are the main characters in the story? In what kind of social setting does it take place?
2. How is the appearance of 'Him' perceived by the people? What do they demand of 'Him'?
3. Why does the Inquisitor detain 'Him'? How does he justify his actions?
4. How does the Inquisitor depict people and their behaviour?
5. In what way does the Inquisitor rule out the role for 'Him' among people?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Based on the plot – the monologue of the Inquisitor in the presence of 'Him' – what is Dostoevsky trying to tell us about religious values?
2. Consider the Inquisitor's remark that "nothing has ever been more insupportable for a man and a human society than freedom." What do you think about this assertion in light of the readings in Chapter Three?
3. Does the tradition, i.e. the Catholic Church, of Christianity reflect its origins in Dostoevsky's view? What do the other texts have to say about this?
4. Would you say this story reflects nostalgia? How would you describe nostalgia in this context?

EDMUND BURKE: REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was a well-known British public figure. Born in Dublin, Burke was educated in a Catholic school, then attended training in a boarding school. He received his university degree from Trinity College in Dublin, majoring in History, Philosophy and Literature. He is known for his writing on aesthetics, A Vindication of National Society (1756) and the better known Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (1757). In 1765, Burke started his political career as a secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, and became a member of the House of Commons in 1766. During his parliamentary career, Burke formulated his idea of justifying the existence of political parties, and of the parliamentary member as free representatives of the people, rather than as delegates who only have to seek the interests of their constituents. Burke is also remembered for his public stand against the British colonial policies in the Americas, and his strong opposition to the French Revolution. The following excerpt is taken from Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790). Burke criticised the Revolution for disregarding the past and introducing unjustified political and social novelties. As you read, consider the text in relation to the theme of the Chapter and the previous readings.

You will observe that from the **Magna Charta** to the **Declaration of Right**, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves a unity in so great a diversity of its parts. We have an inheritable crown; an inheritable **peerage**; and a **House of Commons** and a people inheriting privileges, **franchises**, and liberties, from a long line of ancestors.

This policy appears to me to be the result of profound reflection; or rather the happy effect of following nature, which is wisdom without reflection, and above it. A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper, and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England well know, that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquisition free; but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a state proceeding on these maxims, are locked fast as in a sort of family settlement; grasped as in a kind of ***mortmain*** for ever. By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property and our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of providence, are handed down to us, and from us, in the same course and order. Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed

Magna Charta -
the charter of English political and civil liberties granted by King John in June 1215

Declaration of Right -
declared on 13 February, 1689 by the Convention Parliament, stated that James abdicated the government of England and therefore his claim to the crown

peerage -
the rank, title, or jurisdiction of a peer or peeress: a duchy, marquisate, county, or barony

House of Commons -
the lower chamber of the British parliament

franchises -
a privilege or right officially granted a person or a group by a government

mortmain -
land owned by an organisation which will thus never be inherited

to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but, in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve, we are never wholly new; in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearts, our sepulchres, and our altars.

Through the same plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial institutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful instincts to fortify the fallible and feeble **contrivances** of our reason, we have derived several others, and those no small benefits, from considering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the presence of canonized **forefathers**, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upstart **insolence** almost inevitably adhering to and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. It has its bearings and its ensigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inscriptions; its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age, and on account of those from whom they are descended. All your sophisters cannot produce anything better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature, rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges.

contrivances - artificial arrangements or developments
forefathers - ancestors
insolence - impudence, disrespect

SOURCE: Burke, Edmund. "Reflections on the Revolution in France." *Modern History Sourcebook*. URL: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1791burke.html.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the basis of the British Constitution according to Burke?
2. How is the right of 'inheritance' played out in British politics and society?
3. Why does Burke link his conservative attitude to politics to the 'laws of nature'?
4. In your opinion, what is the author's main objection to the French Revolution?
5. Do you agree with Burke's assertion that "people will not look to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors"?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. What kind of government does Burke long for? Support your answer with examples from the text.
2. Do you think Yessenova would agree with Burke's vision of society? Justify your response.
3. Would you agree with Burke that the past is crucial for the progressive future? Is he simply nostalgic or is his vision viable?
4. Can you think of examples of social order which defy Burke's approach to politics?

THE GUILLOTINE
Adapted as a more humane way of inflicting capital punishment. It was put to work against enemies of the Revolution

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. Having read Chapter Three, how can you define the concept of 'nostalgia'?
2. To what extent do writers like Isaac Babel and Zitkala-Ša refer to the past while justifying the present? What is the importance of this to the theme of nostalgia?
3. From your own life experience, can you recall moments of nostalgia? What kind of circumstances bring about melancholy memories?
4. What is your reaction to the statement "there is no future without a past"? To what extent is individual behaviour determined by the historical, social, economic or political contexts?

ADDITIONAL READING:

1. Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. Basic Books, 2002.
2. Steiner, George. *Nostalgia for the Absolute*. House of Anansi Press Limited, 1997.
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6. Richter, David H. (ed.). *The Critical Tradition: Classical Texts and Contemporary Trends*. St. Martin's Press, 1997.
7. Lury, Ceila. *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity*. Routledge, 1998.
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9. Strathern, Andrew and Pamela J. Stewart (eds.). *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Pluto Press, 2003.

FILM

"Lost in Translation," directed by Sofia Coppola. Universal Studios, 2004.

CHAPTER FOUR:
URBAN TRADITIONS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four introduces the topic of urban traditions. At first sight urban lifestyles may not exhibit any kind of 'tradition'. However, there are many traditions that are particularly connected to city life. Urbanisation is not a modern-time phenomenon but it has accelerated in the last century as people from rural areas move to big cities in hope of finding higher living standards and a better future. As more people have been moving to cities worldwide, bringing their old, rural traditions with them, these traditions might eventually change and be shaped according to urban circumstances. Cities produce a special socio-cultural environment where there are a lot of possibilities for new traditions to develop, but also for old traditions to disappear.

Cities have existed from the ancient times, bringing social, economic and political institutions into existence. Close interaction of people in small spaces has arguably altered human behaviour and values at large. Cities have laid the foundations of policies, formed economic and political centres, which, in return, attract rural areas to themselves, thereby influencing social structures outside their proximate reach. One may even contentiously assert that had cities never existed, life would be significantly different from what it is today.

An urban way of life, which is able to sustain itself due to the existence of rural areas, has brought not only novel forms of institutions into the city, but also gradually changed rural traditions. Considering this tug-of-war factor, Chapter Four offers the readers a case study based on the Indonesian kampong, a type of semi-urban dwelling, which was created due to economic factors in the interrelationship of 'urban' with the 'rural'.

In addition, Chapter Four also offers readings on urban traditions from various points of view. You will see a film about a Kyrgyz tradition, read about the rural people tackling and mastering urban challenges, analyse how religion becomes a part of urban traditions, and also see how a city may both create and destroy, as if it were an entity in its own right. As you go to the next page, be critically aware of the authors' arguments on different urban traditions, and link the discussion to the theme of the course, 'Tradition and Change'.

KAMPONG KALI CHO-DE

ABBAD AL-RADI: TECHNICAL REVIEW OF KAMPONG KALI CHO-DE

The review of Kampong Kali Cho-de, prepared by Abbad al-Radi, is one of the many examples of Kampong Improvement Programs ongoing in Indonesia since the 1950s. Following Indonesia's industrial development, people from the rural areas were drawn into the cities, seeking employment and better living conditions. However, due to very high costs of housing and low income earned by the internal migrants, many people were forced to inhabit the outskirts of the cities and other public spaces where they could construct cheap and affordable housing. Gradually, these areas have turned into poverty-stricken neighbourhoods which had no proper drainage or sewage system, clean water, or other basic infrastructure. As a result, these neglected outskirts, called kampongs, become socially excluded and dismissed areas, having little prospect for development. Yet, sometimes as a result of local initiatives, outside help or government support, it has been possible to develop some of the kampongs into socially acceptable areas and create better conditions for their inhabitants. The following text talks about one such case on the island of Java. The inhabitants of Kampong Kali Cho-de, after being under the constant threat of resettlement, managed to turn their poor and ill-reputed neighbourhood into a respectable community as a result of group efforts. As you read, consider the traditions of the kampong and how they have been incorporated into the architectural design of the area.

INTRODUCTION

Kampong Kali Cho-de cannot be described in qualitative or quantitative terms. This is due to its humanitarian and socio-economic development aspect as well as to the essentially ***ad-hoc*** architectural dimension. Perhaps this project requires a more global philosophical approach. Kampong Kali Cho-de represents a community which, with the help and assistance of two key individuals, has managed to lift itself from seemingly sub-human circumstances to become a neighbourhood of honest, normal—albeit very poor—people who are proud of their achievements. Kampong Kali Cho-de is the story of good men and women helping people to help themselves.

CONTEXT

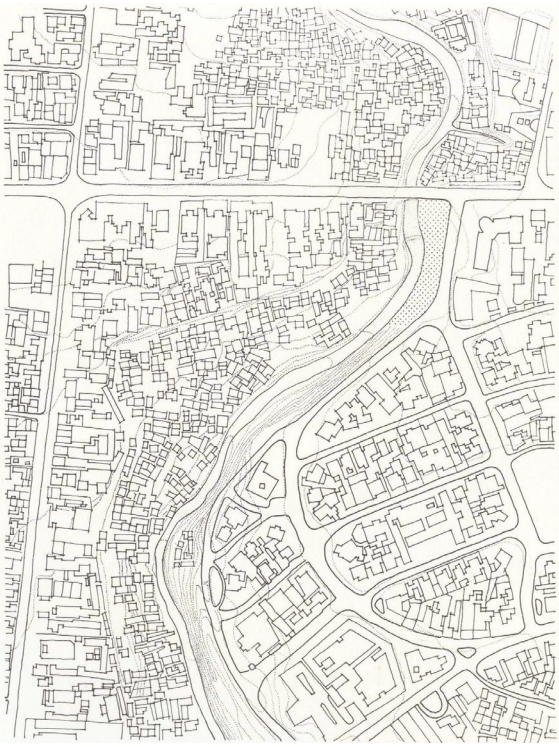
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

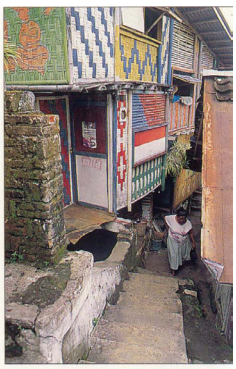
Indonesia is a very extensive archipelago that contains some 180 million people scattered over hundreds of islands with a wide variety of cultures and sub-cultures. The most important of these islands is Java with a population of some 75 million. Although easily the most populous of the Indonesian islands, it is by no means the largest. As such, it is very densely populated. Yogyakarta is an old city in central Java with a population of about one million people. The architect, Yousef Mangunwijaya, argues that rivers within Javanese cities and particularly the small rivers tend to become the "back-end" of the city. They are often akin to open **sewers** and **refuse dumps**, and in cities which are

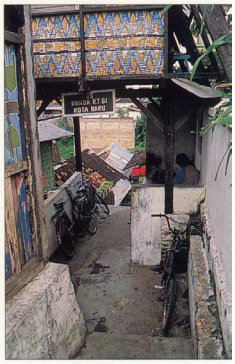
ad-hoc -
For the specific purpose, case, or situation at hand and for no other, improvised

sewers -
an artificial, usually underground, conduit for carrying off sewage or rainwater

refuse dumps -
areas where waste is discarded







KAMPONG STREET

overcrowded with the homeless poor, their banks often contain **squatter** settlements. There may be as many as 20,000 people in squatter settlements along the three rivers of Yogyakarta. These may well be in open conflict with city planning ideals of green river belts; however, the extreme poverty of the squatter settlements and the inability of the government to finance alternatives call for a different approach, at least in the immediate future.

Kampong Kali Cho-de is such a squatter-type village settlement, illegal but tolerated by the government, built literally on a refuse dump on the banks of the river Cho-de south of the **Gondolayu** Bridge. Although physically divided from the better settlements north of the bridge, the south side represents a form of continuity of development. Some of the less desirable elements forced out of the northern settlements moved south of the bridge. Prior to 1983, the village (around thirty five families, widows and youths) had the repute of a poor, unhealthy, badly notorious slum inhabited by undesirable elements of society. Many were "criminals and prostitutes" in the words of the architect and social worker Yousef B. Mangunwijaya and the government sector chief Willi Prasetya, though this tendency was due to **abject** poverty.

LOCAL ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER

Although Indonesia has an extensive surface area, the islands stretch from east to west rather than from north to south. As such, the climate is consistent throughout the islands. Heavy monsoon rainfall with a wet and a dry season are the main characteristics of the tropical climate. Throughout the islands, post and beam construction with heavily pitched roofs, often with raised floors, is typical. Rural architecture is inevitably single storey, with timber structure and clay roof tiles. Infill material is a mixture of clay, brick, concrete block, timber and bamboo. The architecture of Kampong Kali Cho-de is rural in origin; however, it consists predominantly of two storey dwellings. This innovation allows the structures to adapt to the limited availability of land in an unusual urban situation and results in a high density.

LOCAL CLIMATE

The local climate is humid and warm, equatorial, and with a temperature range of 24-32°C. Average rainfall offers 2,000 - 3,000 mm per annum. Monsoons tend to be grouped in the wet winter season which normally ends in April.

SITE CONTEXT

The site is limited by the River Cho-de, the Gondolayu Bridge and Faridan Noto Street, which overlooks the site and aligns with the highest roofs of Kampong Kali Cho-de. The river bank rises very steeply on both sides. The opposite river bank contains the lower-middle class neighbourhood of Kampong Gemblakan. East of the site across Faridan Noto Street, ties the high class neighbourhood of Kota Baru to which Kampong Kali Cho-de is now linked for administrative purposes. The proposed new 4-star hotel

squatter -
a person living in a place illegally

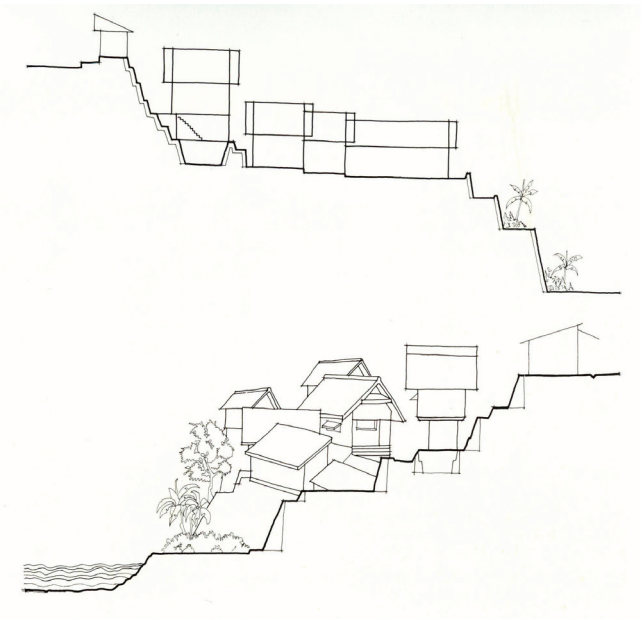
Gondolayu -
literally means "smell of cadaver", named as such because it had been used as a suicide bridge

abject -
hopeless, miserable

which will be located opposite the site across Faridan Noto Street can be considered the most critical new development that is likely to affect the site. Construction of this hotel is scheduled to commence within a year.

SITE TOPOGRAPHY

The site is extremely steep. From the high retaining walls that contain the garage repair workshops, the land drops steeply down to the River Cho-de. The site is oriented toward the east. Maximum advantage has been taken of this slope to obtain terraced development with good, open sight-lines from many of the dwellings. This has also given the Kampong its picturesque quality. The slope and retaining walls also allow stormwater drainage to be channelled toward the river. It should be noted that in most areas the ground comprises "refuse" compacted over many years to render it sufficient as a base for light-weight construction.



SCHEMATIC ARRANGEMENT OF THE DWELLINGS

DESCRIPTION

Conditions Giving Rise to the Programme and General Objectives

Since the turbulent, post-revolution years of the 1950s, Kampong Kali Cho-de has been inhabited by what were called Sampah Sasyarakat (literally, the dregs or outcasts of society). Both Yousef Mangunwijaya and Willi Prasetya are of the opinion that the majority of the people were not bad or evil per-se, but simply very poor, cast out of society and forced to work outside the law. The residents, some 35-40 families were homeless people from the surrounding countryside who worked as **becak** drivers, re-cycle garbage collectors and small-stall food sellers.

The improvement and re-development of Kampong Kali Cho-de was begun by Willi Prasetya who since 1981 is the government appointed chief of the sector of Yogyakarta which encompasses Kampong Kali Cho-de. Prior to that, he was the "social chief of the area, elected to this post by the same people, in 1967, on the death of his father who had served as the previous chief, or torah."

In 1973, Willi Prasetya began his effort to improve the living conditions of these communities. To do so he adopted a three-tier development programme:

- Humanisation of what were de-humanised segments of society;
- Physical and environment improvement;
- Family welfare and economic progress.

becak -
a three-wheeled bicycle rickshaw

He started the first tier of the programme with the help of Priests, Hajjis, and other volunteers. In parallel, he asked Y.B. Mangunwijaya to act on a voluntary basis as consultant to concentrate on physical and environmental matters. In 1980, Mr. Mangunwijaya moved to live and work in the north side of the River Cho-de. Mr. Mangunwijaya describes his work on the north side as inconclusive; he could not persuade the community to work on a co-operative basis. Willi Prasetya advised Mr. Mangunwijaya of more complicated problems south of the Gandolaya Bridge, and in 1983 Mr. Mangunwijaya moved to Kampong Kali Cho-de to begin work.

PLAYGROUND IN THE KAMPONG

Acceptance and recognition of the project by the government was clearly one of the main objectives. In this respect Mr. Mangunwijaya feared that his efforts might be regarded as communist inspired. He took the precaution to visit the regional commander-in-chief of the army to convince him that the aim of the project was solely to help the poor to better themselves. He wished to form a co-operative to enhance the possibility of success. This approach, he argued, corresponds with the *Pancasila* philosophy, the five foundations of the nation as **espoused** by the late President **Soekarno**; belief in one god, humanity, unity of the islands, democracy and social justice. Mr. Mangunwijaya emphasises that his sympathy is with the poor and that, unfortunately, people who help the poor are often equated with communism. He obtained written consent for the project from the military commander as well as support from the Minister for the Environment.

Despite this, in 1985 the governor of Yogyakarta decreed that the local government should demolish Kampong Kali Cho-de. The mayor passed the order on to Willi Prasetya, who courageously argued the case for the kampong. He informed the mayor that no alternative accommodation was available and persuaded him to allow more time in which to improve the kampong. The re-development had not been completed at the time and in his words, "one way of fighting back was to improve it further". The mayor was sympathetic and eventually aligned with Willi Prasetya's argument. When questioned as to how a middle-ranking government official managed to refuse an order from above, he said that, "not every order should be blindly obeyed, and that at the time there was only the governor's letter with no physical effort being made to remove the people".

When informed about the letter by a journalist friend, Mr. Mangunwijaya advised him that he would "fast to beg the authorities to **rescind** the order". This point was amplified and blown out of all proportion in a nation-wide newspaper article which depicted Mr. Mangunwijaya threatening to go on a hunger strike. The result of this publicity was that the governor's decree was halted, though not rescinded.

FUNCTIONAL REQUIREMENTS

There was no architect's brief or specific plan. Dwellings were built according to the topography of the site and the needs of the inhabitants. Only the centrally-located House of the Brotherhood of Neighbours, which forms the focus of the community, was thoroughly planned. This unit is to a very large extent focused around children's activities, teaching and community meetings, both formal and informal.

EVOLUTION OF THE DESIGN CONCEPT

In 1983, Yousef B. Mangunwijaya moved south of the Gondolayu Bridge to Kampong Kali Cho-de to live and work as a volunteer.

He describes the evolution of the design as based on the strategy and principles of social and **habitat** improvement derived from three years experience in areas north of the Gondolayu Bridge in Terban:

espoused -
to give one's loyalty or support to (a cause, for example); adopt

Soekarno, Ahmed -
1901-1970, the first president of independent Indonesia between 1949-66

rescind -
cancel, withdraw

habitat -
the environment in which a group or an organism lives

- As an illegal settlement of ill-repute, Kampong Kali Cho-de ought to be improved and not displaced to another remote part of town, where it will revert to similar form.
- Legalisation of individual tenureship or ownership of property on an individual basis was dismissed as inappropriate by Mr. Mangunwijaya. Instead he pursued a co-operative arrangement where individuals gain strength from communal action; people must work as a group. Residents should be encouraged to live in accordance with the old Javanese principle of *ajrih-asih* or fear and love. Love and care are combined and complemented with force and strength. He feels that in the long term—in a generation or so—the Kampong may well cease to exist because the land is government owned and because of commercial pressures. The development may well represent an interim solution for the residents of Kampong Kali Cho-de.
- The first phase of development was to tackle the most needy members of the community, namely the children. The parents, and in particular the women, would follow. Thus strategically **paramount** would be the development of the community house in which teaching the children and "Susyawarah" or community dialogue would be possible. This unit, called the Balai Rukun Tetangga—House of the Brotherhood of Neighbours—was erected on the stone-edged upstand walls of an existing 2.5m wide open stormwater sewer. This area was unoccupied and the erection of the structure caused no inconvenience.
- The next important step was to build the stone retaining walls to secure the weak, compacted refuse soil from erosion and allow for lightweight construction. In conjunction, discussions and deliberations took place to arrive at some house models. The most critical criterion was that the available strip of land was narrow. It was determined that buildings with two levels should prevail. The dwelling units are an urban version of traditional tribal houses. Extensive use was made of additional, previously unused land above the stormwater drains for stepped dwellings.
- Individual families had their own private apartments and earned their own livelihood, but nearly all other aspects of life were enacted on a co-operative basis. Many of the people do not have children, partly as a consequence of their past, and live in one—room units, while those with children occupy two- or three-room apartments. For each room, 50 **Rupiahs** per day is paid to the common treasury. These funds are used for maintenance of the houses and general community requirements.
- Previously, the (naive) strategy of these people had been to remain dirty and unattractive to discourage the surrounding upper class area from the attraction of the site. Volunteers convinced the residents that if they became an orderly, healthy neighbourhood then, perhaps, the government would tolerate the existence of the Kampong. Further, the Kampong may even become of value as a successful example of self-help rehabilitation of a neighbourhood. With the help of a group of art students, the residents were inspired to paint their houses with colourful decoration. To begin with, this dismayed the authorities; however, when they remarked that tourists were often attracted by the colourful paintings, they be-

paramount -
vital, very important
Rupiah -
the currency in Indonesia

came more tolerant. Mr. Mangunwijaya suggests that the motivation behind the colourful paintings was a strategy to gain acceptance from the authorities rather than romantic decoration.

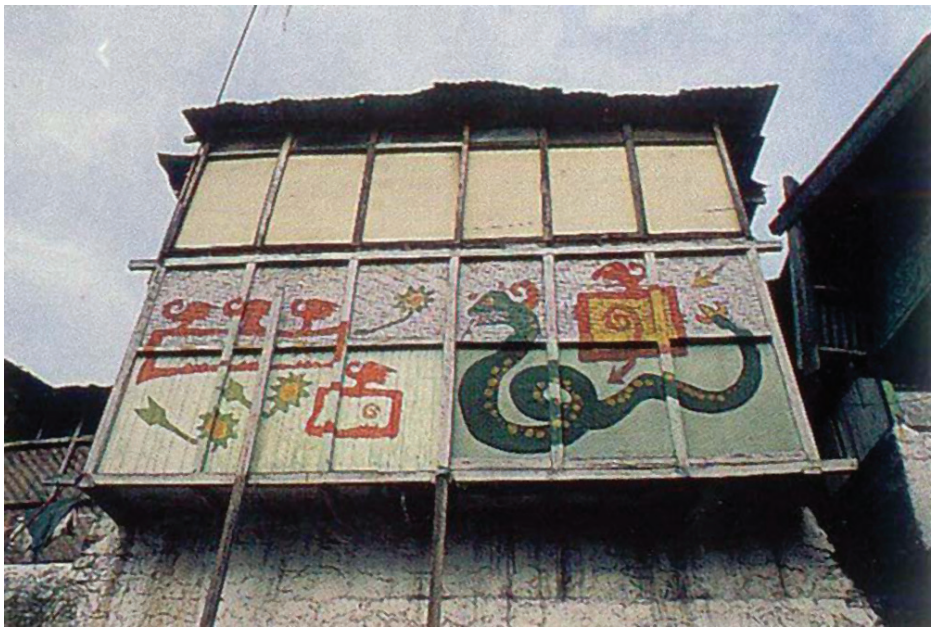
USERS

The users are all from a very low income level. It would seem that many of the men and women had a more notorious background prior to the development. In total there are 35-40 families with as many children. The overwhelming emphasis of the users is toward the education and **amelioration** of their children. The day-to-day activities of Kampong Kali Cho-de are very much on a co-operative or community basis. My impression was that of a happy community - friendly, polite and hospitable people living in harmony.

As can be seen from interviews with nine of the inhabitants, the overall reaction to Kampong Kali Cho-de and the redevelopment can be summarised as follows:

- Prior to re-development, Kampong Kali Cho-de was a place of ill-repute. It was not a stable community. The opposite is now the case. The population is very stable. In fact there may even be a "waiting list" as implied by one of the younger inhabitants.
- Kampong Kali Cho-de previously consisted of carton- and plastic-covered dwellings which did not endure and often collapsed.
- The community is now a simple, honest, poor community living very much on a co-operative basis and very proud of their achievements.
- Most wish to remain in the Kampong, though almost without exception in the hope of better accommodation for their children. In fact, the concentration of the inhabitants' energy is the amelioration of the children.
- The low numbers of children and the limited size of most families is testament to the earlier, unsettled and unbalanced nature of the community. This is now changing—in fact I saw a five day old child.
- The community seems to be very much at peace with itself and the residents live in harmony.

amelioration -
to make better or more tolerable



KALI CHO-DE IN COLOURS

SOURCE: Abbad al-Radi. "Technical review of Kampong Kali Cho-de." ArchNet. URL: http://archnet.org/library/files/one-file.tcl?file_id=1058.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Why does al-Radi insist that the kampong "cannot be described in qualitative or quantitative terms"?
2. What is the reason behind the persistence of 'squatter settlements' in Java?
3. What were the initial socio-economic circumstances in Kampong Kali Cho-de?
4. How did the climatic conditions influence architecture in Indonesia?
5. What were the peculiarities of the geographical location of the Kampong Kali Cho-de?
6. How were Kali Cho-de inhabitants labeled? How did they manage to survive?
7. Who is Willi Prasetya? What kind of development programme did he undertake in the Kampong?
8. What kind of people implemented the development programme? What does this say about the nature of the problem?
9. What political barrier did the organisers of the development programme encounter?
10. How were the dwellings in Kali Cho-de constructed?
11. What was the purpose of House of the Brotherhood of Neighbours? Why did the planners pay special attention to its improvement?
12. Why was private property ownership rejected as a part of the development strategies?
13. Do you agree with the Javanese concept of ajrih-asih? Was it properly applied as a part of the development efforts?
14. Why was the visual improvement of the Kampong initially disapproved by the inhabitants? How did the volunteers overcome this obstacle?
15. What were the results of the Kampong Improvement Programme? Do you think the end justified the means?

NAJEEB MIRZA: HERDERS' CALLING

Najeeb Mirza is the director of the short documentary, Herders' Calling, filmed in the Kyrgyz mountain jailoo (pastures). It depicts life and tradition in a small community situated far from the city, but where people have social networks connecting them to the city. Their traditional lifestyle is centred around herding cattle, which implies that familes follow their grazing animals from season to season, from low-mountains to high-mountains in search of food. Thus, the jailoo, which is a source of income, created a type of community with its own nomadic traditions and rituals. This lifestyle might seem very romantic and idyllic, however, as you will see in the film, people of this jailoo are not eager to live in such harsh conditions any more since the city offers a much more comfortable life. The documentary follows the life of one family as the family elder Akim Aliev Dakta returns to the jailoo, abandoning his city life, while his daughter-in-law Nazgul – who only moved to the pasture because she got married – wants to go back to the city. Although quite short – only 24 minutes – Herders' Calling has already been screened outside Central Asia: in Norway and in several parts of Canada. It was nominated for awards in numerous film festivals, including Calgary International, Big Sky Documentary, and Global Visions International, and it won the Joe Viszmeg Memorial Documentary Award in 2004. As you watch the film, consider the choices that people make in terms of living spaces and how they justify them.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What kind of environment do the herders live in? What would attract them to the city?
2. How does Datka justify his return to the jailoo? Why does he give up his city life for the sake of traditions?
3. Are Nazgul and her family happy living in the pasture? Why does she believe the city would be better for them?
4. What kind of communal traditions does jailoo have?
5. What do you think is the director's main message in the documentary?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Having watched the film, would you be willing to go and live in a jailoo? How much would you give up for saving a tradition?
2. Do you agree with Datka's reasoning for his departure from the city? Would he make such an argument had he never lived there?
3. In your opinion, is the jailoo tradition withering away due to the attractions of the city or as a result of economic hardship faced by the inhabitants of the pastures?
4. Considering the case study of the kampong in Yogyakarta, how would the city 'host' people from rural areas, who move in search of jobs and without starting capital?

SOURCE: Mirza, Najeeb. *Herders' Calling: A Tradition Dying in the Kyrgyz Republic*. Oxus Apertura Films, 2004.

"NETHERLANDISH PROVERBS"
By Bruegel, 1559

JACQUES ROSSIAUD: THE CITY-DWELLER AND LIFE IN CITIES AND TOWNS

Jacques Rossiaud is a French historian, well-known for his studies of Medieval Europe. Currently, he is a professor emeritus at the Université Lumière Lyon II. Rossiaud's acclaimed work is the Dictionary of Medieval Rhine. He is the author of Medieval Prostitution (1988), and co-author (with Marcel Pacaut) of L'age roman (1969) and (with Andre Chedeville and Jacque Le Goff) of La Ville en France au Moyen age: des Carolingiens a la Renaissance (1998). The following excerpt comes from Rossiaud's "The City-Dweller and Life in Cities and Towns", published under the editorship of Jacques Le Goff in The Medieval World (1990). In the text, the author scrutinises the formation of the character of the city-dweller. Rossiaud analyses questions like how did a rural person move to the newly-created city, how did this person interact with the new environment, and why was the city able to transform the individual? As you read, consider how different spaces, urban as opposed to rural, influence human behaviour.

"Honesty" in **mores**, a fundamental value of urban living, was immediately revealed by one's attitudes and acts, and all the authors of songs or praises of the city insist on the "civility" of their fellow city-dwellers. In ***Guillaume de Dole*** the *citains* of **Mainz** are of a perfect courtesy; according to **Bonvesin**, the women of **Milan** had a **regal** bearing; for Opicinus, all the citizens of **Pavia** "show themselves to be affable and familiar in their relations with one another; sociable, polite, they rise when someone enters into a room." Beggars and **paupers**, always portrayed as disorderly, defined the inverse of urban codes of "honesty."

The city was an extraordinary school of behaviour in this regard. We must not exaggerate, however: in manners as in other domains, everyone spoke two languages. Each socio-professional group had its own code (formalism existed in all milieus) as well as adopting the common language. As the exemplary civility of the great filtered down the social scale it either became diluted, mixing with the standards of behaviour proper to each group, or was **juxtaposed** to those standards. Family upbringing was of course fundamental in this process, as all contemporary authors of personal journals insist. Still, **confrères**, preachers, actors in mystery plays, image-makers, and municipalities had a role to play in the disciplining of the body. Control did not come only from festive games or from **patricians** dancing the *carole*, but also from constraints in the workplace, from the police, from the market hall, and from the town square.

"Civility" was not simple imitation. The acquisition of a code of behaviour was nowhere more valuable than in the city. One's honour and, on occasion, one's life could be at stake. It was dangerous to indulge in unacceptable behaviour on **consecrated** ground, to express one's sorrow too noisily in plague times, or to attack the good name of one's confrères in a procession. Moreover, sincerity did not exist without formalism, nor religion without "civility." ***Savoir-vivre*** did not only concern the living,

mores -
the accepted traditional customs and usages of a particular social group

Guillaume de Dole -
the title of Jean Renart's Roman de la Rose, also known as the Roman de Guillaume de Dole

Mainz -
a city in Germany on the Rhine

Bonvesin, Da La Riva -
c. 1240-1315, Italian poet, moralist

Milan -
a city in Italy

regal -
royal, majestic

Pavia -
a city in Italy

paupers -
one who is extremely poor

juxtaposed -
to place side by side, especially for comparison or contrast

confrères -
colleagues, comrades

patricians -
a member of the hereditary ruling class in the medieval free cities of Italy and Germany

consecrated -
dedicated to a sacred purpose; sanctified.

Savoir-vivre -
French: way of living

but determined one's attitude toward the saints and toward God. Thus God was at the mercy of the behaviour of the faithful, of their manners (Francesco da Barberino compares people who fail to display good manners to their fellow dinner guests with people who bother others during Communion), and of their ways of honouring the powerful (Richard C. Trexler).

The city-dweller thus learned to eat with moderation and without excessive noise, to share his dishes, to enter a church and approach the altar **circumspectly**, to address an unknown person according to his rank, to **modulate** his voice when he prayed, to control expressions of pain and sorrow, and to behave appropriately before a holy image, in a market hall, or on the town square. Above all, he learned how to express friendship, to express his sentiments or his love, to show courtesy. Urban standards of courtesy were different from those of the courts, however. Patricians preferred refinement, but the elite of **Metz** knew how to **lace** their **jousts** with **burlesque** episodes or dance to the **bagpipe** with an earthiness that came right from the city streets. Elsewhere in society, there was a form of courtesy that was even more necessary, for marriage, as has been pointed out, often involved individual ambitions and personal choice. **Preconjugal** acquaintance permitted the husband-to-be to **gauge** the moral or physical qualities of a possible bride, and visits, serenades, and dances enabled the couple to get to know one another better.

"Joyous brotherhoods" and other associations contributed to the ritualisation of social relations, purging them of violence and dramatising manners and speech. They succeeded only partially, and the "courtesy" of the city workingmen was a mixture of brutality and consideration. On occasion it resulted in shared pleasures, but love, at the end of the fifteenth century, came to be considered a disease worse than smallpox; it was an urban malady propagated by "honest courtesans."…

Let us leave the medieval city-dweller with this festive image. Somewhere in urban Europe in the 1500s a man, a craftsman perhaps, contemplates men marching with the other citizens in the thick of the procession, behind the royal officials or the prince's men—men whose thoughts and ambitions were nevertheless far from the city. Some of these men lived in their **manor** houses rather than within the city walls; other had built **sumptuous** city houses that turned their backs to the street, isolating themselves in their magnificence and no longer treating their peers with the same familiarity as their forebears.

But this same observer mocks the countrymen's crosses when they converge on the cathedral. He plays the shepherd in his country house, but he is **intransigent** toward his herdsmen or toward **rustics** recently arrived in the city. He acts just as "honourable men" had acted toward him thirty years before. Now he is well established, even though modestly. He eats his fill, no longer fears poverty, thanks to his circle of friends and confrères, stands in **awe** of God but no longer dreads death (his dues are fully paid), and he lives in peace behind the city walls. He may be the most prominent man in his urban village, and he cares little if the great raise their voices or if paupers are chased out of the city one fine morning because an epidemic threatens. Thirty years of urban life and of constraints well handled have left him with a clear conscience, and he believes in the city. He has his share of the common good, the result of four centuries of successes. This is his strength and that of his merchant neighbours. It launched their sons on the highways of the world.

circumspectly - carefully
modulate - to change or vary the pitch, intensity, or tone of
Metz - a city of northeast France on the Moselle River north of Nancy
lace - to draw together the edges of by or as if by a lace passed through eyelets
jousts - a personal competition or combat
burlesque - theatrical entertainment of a broadly humorous often earthy character consisting of short turns, comic skits, and sometimes striptease acts
bagpipe - a musical wind instrument, now used mainly in the Highlands of Scotland
preconjugal - before marriage
gauge - to measure, weigh or judge something
manor - lands outside of the towns, rural area
sumptuous - rich and superior in quality; luxurious
intransigent - inflexible, uncompromising
rustics - persons from rural areas
awe - fear, fright

SOURCE: Rossiaud, Jacques. "The City-Dweller and Life in Cities and Towns." *The Medieval World*. Edited by Jacques Le Goff. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. London: Collins & Brown, 1990, pp. 173-174, 177-178.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How did the literati describe the qualities of the city?
2. In what way was a city a "school of behaviour" for its inhabitants? What were its peculiarities of influence according to social groups?
3. Why was "civility" upheld in the city?
4. What kind of behaviour did the rustics who recently moved to the city acquire in the medieval cities?
5. How did the city dwellers change throughout time? How did they isolate themselves from the new inhabitants of the city?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. In your own words, how would you interpret Rossiaud's statement that "[the city-dwellers] launched their sons on the highways of the world"?
2. What do you think of the divide between the manners of the urban and rural persons that the author discusses?
3. Rossiaud seems to suggest that a city imposes or even creates a certain type of behaviour. Can you find examples of this in al-Radi and Mirza's works?
4. Can you think of reasons, other than those discussed by Rossiaud, why a city life changes people's lifestyles?

MECCA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

MECCA IN MODERN TIMES

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR: MECCA

Ziauddin Sardar is a contemporary writer on Islamic science and culture, and has contributed to the critique of Western domination in the world. Born in Dipalpur, Northern Pakistan, he moved to London with his father and studied physics and information sciences. He lived and worked in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, doing scientific research, mostly for well-paying institutions. Moving back to London, he wrote for periodicals like Nature and New Scientist, and helped to edit Inquiry magazine. Between 1994 and 1998 Sardar was a visiting professor at the Middlesex University. Currently, he is based at the City University in London and also edits Futures journal. Sardar has written over thirty books, and hundreds of essays and articles. Introducing Islam (1992) is one of his internationally-acclaimed books. His recent works are Postmodernism and the Other (1998), Orientalism (1999), The Consumption of Kuala Lumpur (2000), and The A to Z of Postmodern Life (2002). The following excerpt is taken from his essay "Mecca" that was published in Granta literary magazine. The story contends that modernity has 'destroyed' the historical city of Medina, and is also threatening Mecca, the cradle of Islamic civilisation. As you read, consider the author's critique of modernity, and how it challenges the 'historical' cities.

It was about Medina, the ancient city of Yathrib, the second holiest city of Islam. Medina is the home of the Prophet's Mosque, the burial place of the Prophet Muhammad. It was in Medina—in Arabic the generic term for 'the city'—that the civilisation of Islam was born. "Despite the fact Medina gave birth to one of the most dynamic and intellectually profound civilisations," Angawi explained, "the city itself has always been simple." Much of the social and commercial life of the city focused around the Prophet's Mosque. The original mosque was built of sun-dried brick. The floor was made of earth and the ceiling constructed of palm **fronds** covered with mud and supported by pillars of palm wood. The mosque has been rebuilt a number of times over the centuries, added to and made splendid by caliphs and kings. The Ottomans in particular paid a great deal of attention both to the Prophet's Mosque and the city, and Ottoman architecture reflected the beauty, grace and splendour of the holy site. Angawi showed slides of the Salutation Gate, one of the main entrances to the mosque, which was embellished with beautiful ceramics given by Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

"Since the formation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia," Angawi said, "the city has undergone two transformations." In the time of King Abdul Aziz, it still retained its Ottoman flavour. At the entrance to the city, a splendid inner castle stood as a reminder of the medieval wall that once defended it. Streets were lined with **stucco,** houses ornamented with *mashrabiah*, intricately-worked wooden **lattices**. The Prophet's Mosque was rose-red with Ottoman minarets and magnificent gates surmounted with gold inscriptions by Turkish calligraphers. Between 1948 and 1955, during the reigns of two successive Saudi kings, the mosque was extended by one third and entirely rebuilt in grey stone, in neo-Mamluke style. The two styles clashed somewhat but,

fronds -
a large leaf (especially of a palm or fern) usually with many divisions

stucco -
fine plaster used in decoration and ornamentation (as on interior walls)

lattices -
An open framework made of strips of metal, wood, or similar material overlapped or overlaid in a regular, usually crisscross pattern

during this period of transition, most of the old city was left untouched. Only a few large modern hotels overshadowed the old houses, and here and there occasional car parks appeared as **eyesores**. Then came the second transformation in June 1973. Angawi became visibly emotional. "In a matter of days," he said, commenting on slides of bulldozers demolishing ancient cultural property, "the whole city was razed to the ground." No one complained. Indeed, not many knew what had happened. "Fourteen hundred years of history and tradition disappeared in a puff of dust," Rosh added. The slides became a parade of 'modern city' views, with large multi-lane roads, gaudy hotel buildings and **hideous** new mosques where the elegant old Ottoman mosques had stood. The pictures spoke for themselves.

Angawi made me an offer I could not refuse. "They will do the same to Mecca," Angawi said. "We have about five years to save Mecca," Rosh intervened. "We need you to work with us on this cause," they concluded, their voices filled with urgency and passion. "There is one more thing," said Rosh. "I am looking for a wife and I am told you are about the best person to consult on these matters."

eyesores -
something offensive to view
hideous -
ugly, revolting

SOURCE: Sardar, Ziauddin. "Mecca." *Granta* 77, Spring 2002, pp. 229-230.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What was the significance of Medina?
2. Did the existence of the old mosque influence city life? Support your answer with examples from the text.
3. How was the Prophet's Mosque constructed?
4. In what way did historical circumstances influence Medina?
5. Why was Angawi worried about the fate of Mecca?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Can you draw any parallels between Rossiaud and Sardar? What do they consider to be important aspects of cities?
2. What is the attitude of the protagonist in "Mecca" to the city's capitalist attractions? Is it in any way similar to the views of Nazgul in Herders' Calling?
3. What does Sardar value in urban traditions?
4. Do you think it is important to protect 'historic' places in cities against the tide of modernisation and development?

RHIANNON BARKER AND NIGEL CROSS: THE AFRICAN SAHEL

The following excerpt is taken from a report on the Sahel Oral History Project (SOHP) launched in 1989 by SOS Sahel. The project aimed at researching the cultural, historical and environmental aspects of the African region called Sahel. The Sahel belt extends from Africa's Atlantic Coast to the Indian Ocean, covering over ten countries between the Sahara Desert and tropical Africa. Within the framework of the SOHP, a network of NGOs conducted research about the indigenous people's knowledge of the environment in order to assist local populations in making better use of local resources. SOHP was undertaken also in order to understand the survival techniques of the communities who had lived from fishing and farming for hundreds of years until a combination of environmental and human factors drastically affected their lives. The researchers also gave advice to outside development projects about the intricacies of the region. What you will read is the results and conclusions of the Sahel Oral History Project. As you continue, consider how communities have had to abandon ancient traditions in order to survive under changing circumstances.

The findings of such a broad, multifaceted study as SOHP are hard to quantify. However, what can be usefully highlighted are common themes, which occurred from Ethiopia in the east to Mauritania in the west, and either challenged or supported the current orthodoxy.

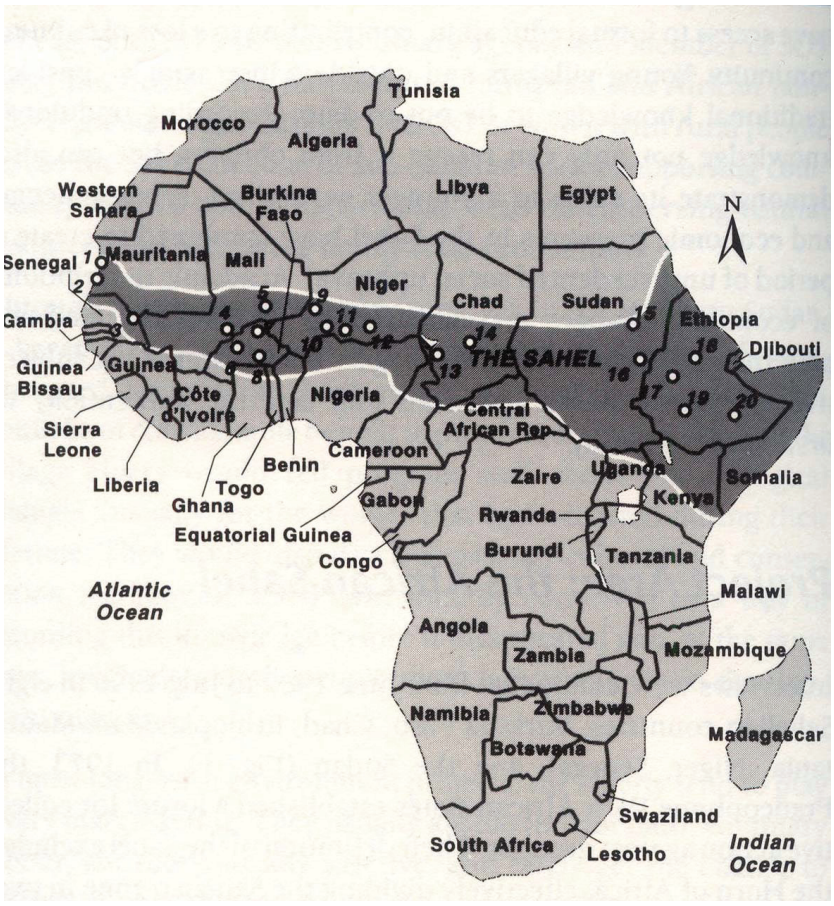
The common experience of environmental and climatic change and the reason attributed to such change was universal: "The bush is dead, the trees have disappeared, and the soils are tired." The reason cited by almost every informant is inadequate and sporadic rainfall. Human factors were also cited: pressure on land from rising populations and the fact that more and more **pastoralists**, whose herds have been devastated by drought, are turning from pastoralism to farming. Bush land is being cleared with increasing rapidity to make land available for cultivation. The increased pressure on land and natural resources has disrupted what was a previously **amicable** relationship between farmers and pastoralists—conflicts between the two groups are frequently reported.

Although the majority felt that degradation was attributable to climatic change, many were confident that steps can, and are, being taken to counter some of the damage. Trees are being planted and the fertility of the soil has been improved by adaptations of traditional farming methods such as compost holes and binds to reduce soil erosion and improve water infiltration. Development projects have clearly been instrumental in adapting and reinstating many of these traditional techniques. Such work is freely commented on by the informants, who forcefully state their own agenda.

Traditional knowledge concerning the environment and systems of farming and pastoralism have been touched upon. Farmers talk about tried and tested methods of improving soil fertility. Pastoralists explain how they control animal reproduction, the pastures preferred by each of their animals, and the ideal ratio of males and females. Healing methods used by traditional mid-wives and herbal remedies gathered by the Marabouts (traditional healers) are mentioned in varying degrees of detail.

pastoralists - people who have livestock raising as their primary economic activity

amicable - harmonious, agreeable



INTERVIEW SITES OF THE SAHEL
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Despite the constraints and the lack of detail in some areas, SOHP has succeeded in establishing a fuller picture of community history and social evolution than originally anticipated. It has revealed unexpected changes in relationships between groups: adults and children; sedentary farmers, pastoralists, and agropastoralists; men and women. Much of the information contradicts received development wisdom and provides ample evidence that many standard generalisations simply do not stand up or are so general as to be seriously misleading. For instance, the project highlights the dangers of generalising about women's position in rural communities. According to Fatchima Beine, President of the Women's Committee of Tabalak, Niger,

> *Before, when natural resources were abundant, women did not have to work so hard. Now, however, women do the same work as the men and, during the day, they work in the field.*

But, according to Sayanna Hatha, a woman in the neighbouring village of Tabiri,

> *New technologies have helped to lighten a woman's load. She no longer has to spend several hours a day grinding grain because of the presence of diesel-powered mills; there are wells and pumps from which she can collect water. The men plough the fields and if the family doesn't have enough food, then it is the men who have to go in search of supplements.*

As always, there are marked differences within villages that are lost in generalisations. As reported by Rekia, a woman farmer in Takieta, Niger,

NATURAL RESOURCES FOR INCOME GENERATION IN SUDAN

Years ago, all the wood we needed was near. It used to take us only 5 minutes to collect. Now it's a 10-hour trip. So, those who can afford it, buy it from the men who sell it in the market.

As far as fuelwood collection is concerned, the gap between women with some money and women without has widened.

In the Nile province of the Sudan, married women whose husbands have remained in the area as farmers welcome their improved quality of life. This is illustrated in the words of Um Gazaz El Anada from Misektab (near Shendi),

peril - threat, danger

Now we don't have to pound the dura or pull water from the deep well. Also, our participation in agricultural work has decreased.

and Hajey Juma Ahmed,

When I was young, I used to do some work on my husband's farm. But now women are just sitting at home waiting for the men to bring money to them.

But the widow of a pastoralist in the same area has had to work as a paid seasonal labourer and is the sole breadwinner for a family of eight.

Such variation in women's roles and status within a well-defined geographical area illustrates the **perils** of generalisation. Many interviews with women highlighted the phenomenon of female heads of households. As a follow-up to these findings, a research project has been planned that will look closely at this group's problems and

potentials. The research will not only fill a gap in knowledge but also find a practical application on SOS Sahel projects.

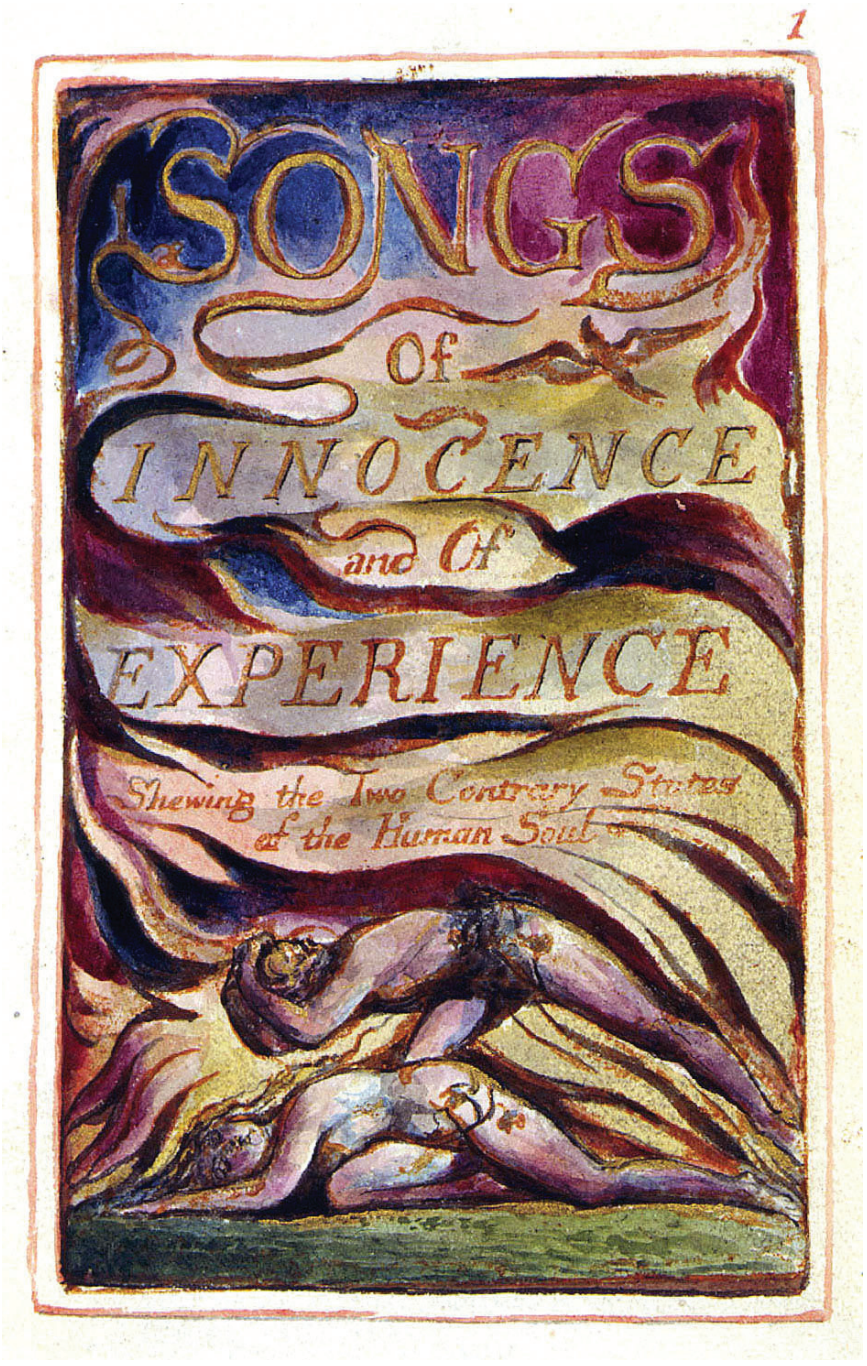
SOURCE: Barker, Rhiannon and Nigel Cross. "The African Sahel." *LORE. Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge*. Edited by Martha Johnson. Canada: International Development Research Centre, 1992, pp. 129-131.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the causes of environmental change according to the locals in Sahel?
2. How did the people react to the changes in environment and climate?
3. Did the findings of SOHP correspond to the assumptions of regular development projects?
4. Who are generalizing, and why? Why is generalisation dangerous?
5. Did the project affect people's lives? What did the target groups say about SOHP?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Compare the goals and outcomes of the Kampong Improvement Program and SOHP. What did these projects achieve?
2. What is the role of the local population in the development of the Sahel belt and Kampong Kali Cho-de? Why is it important to consult with and involve local populations in such projects?
3. Considering the outcome of SOHP, do you think it is possible to preserve the jailoo tradition in the Kyrgyz culture?
4. In SOHP's conclusions, the author claims that according to the findings, most of the radical changes taking place in Sahel are due to external factors. Considering this, how is it possible for the affected populations to negotiate a better living conditions for themselves with impersonal factors? Who should take responsibility in such circumstances? Government, local communities or aid agencies?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SONGS
of
INNOCENCE
and Of
EXPERIENCE
Shewing the Two Contrary States
of the Human Soul

WILLIAM BLAKE: LONDON

William Blake (1757-1827) was an English poet and artist. Born in London, he attended a painting school, read widely on his own initiative, and became apprentice to engraver James Basire, from whom he learnt most of his artistic skills. He continued his professional degree as an engraver at the Royal Academy in 1779. Although not credited during his own time, Blake is now remembered as a promoter of Romanticism. His lyrics are now considered as an example of the brilliant use of the English language in producing poetry. He authored Political Sketches By W.B. (1783), An Island in the Moon (1787), There is No Natural Religiona and All Religions are One (1788). His longer poetry collections, Songs of Innocence and Experience, was published in 1789, where he depicted the purity of life based on his childhood experience. Combining it with the Experience, he produced a sort of answer to his earlier beliefs. In the Songs of Experience Blake criticised the rationalistic and materialistic beliefs that came with the Enlightenment in his own time. In "London", the excerpt below, he portrays the city of his childhood that transformed itself radically through time. Read the following poem several times for better understanding. As you read, pay close attention to the choice of words, as each word may signify an important point.

I wander **thro'** each charter'd street,
Near where the charter'd **Thames** does flow,
And mark in every face I meet
Marks of weakness, marks of **woe**.

In every cry of every man,
In every infant's cry of fear,
In every voice, in every ban,
The mind-forg'd **manacles** I hear.

How the chimney-sweeper's cry
Every black'ning church appals;
And the **hapless** soldier's sigh
Runs in blood down **Palace** walls.

But most thro' midnight streets I hear
How the youthful **harlot's** curse
Blasts the new-born infant's tear,
And **blights** with plagues the marriage **hearse**.

thro' -
through
Thames -
the river that flows through London
woe -
used to express grief, regret, or distress; a condition of deep suffering from misfortune, affliction, or grief
manacles -
chains
hapless -
having no luck, unfortunate
Palace -
the official residence of a royal personage
harlot -
prostitute
blights -
impairing or destroying growth
hearse -
a vehicle for carrying a coffin to a church or cemetery

SOURCE: Blake, William. "London." *Spartacus Educational*.
URL: http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/PRblake.htm

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How do you understand the poem?
2. What kind of social and economic issues does Blake raise in the poem?
3. How is the city of London depicted in the poem?
4. What does the author mean by the words "in every face I meet marks of weakness, marks of woe"?
5. What is the poet trying to say by his frequent references to children in the poem?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Is it possible to compare al-Radi's study about the kampong and Blake's description of London of his own time?
2. Are urban 'traditions' always positive? Can you bring examples to support or refute this statement?
3. Why do you think Blake describes London in such a negative light? Are cities cradles of 'progress' and 'development'?

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS:

1. Having read through Chapter Four, how would you define 'urban traditions'? How and why are urban traditions different from rural or suburban traditions within the same culture?
2. How do communities cope with rapid economic changes in the urban areas? Bring examples from your own experience.
3. Sardar, al-Radi and Blake approach 'urban' issues from different stands. Can you outline their major arguments?
4. Does Clifford Geertz's study on Java contain any examples of conflict of urban and suburban traditions?
5. What kinds of specific 'East' German traditions, as opposed to 'West' German, can you identify in Becker's film?
6. How does the city influence religion? Consider the works of M.C. Ricklefs, Jo-Ann Shelton and Saulesh Yessenova.

ADDITIONAL READING:

1. Kostof, Spiro. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*. Little, Brown, 1993.
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FILM

"Divine Intervention," directed by Elia Suleiman, Filmstiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen et al., 2002.

"GOING ON A VISIT"
by Akmal Mirshakar

CHAPTER FIVE:
TRADITION MEETS MODERNITY

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five focuses on the discussion of traditions and modernity. Modernity is a vague term and it is hard to define it as a concept. Marx's famous line, describing modernity, is "all that is solid melts into air". It is a good starting point for the discussion of traditions, as they face challenges in modern times where socioeconomic and political factors make certain traditions redundant or baseless, or bring about their rapid alternation.

So what happens when traditions meet modernity? The answer, certainly, depends on our assumptions. What do we consider a tradition? Is tradition something that takes its beginning from the past, as was asked in Chapter One, or is it simply a blend of daily, novel practices that human beings justify retrospectively by turning to the past? One may ask many questions, but it would be hard to get answers unless we look at specific instances of what happens to certain traditions under current times where everything seems under flux.

In this regard, Chapter Five offers a presentation about Afghan War Rugs. Rug-making is an ancient tradition in the Central Asian region. But as the case study will demonstrate, the traditions depict modern issues or concerns. And in the example of rug-making, the reader will observe how the age-old tradition of rug-making has taken on new faces when it met modernity.

To continue this discussion, the Chapter includes fiction writing scrutinizing the role of religious traditions in modern times, and academic research on how past knowledge is transmitted to the present whilst traditions 'make use' of modern technology.

In addition, you will read texts approaching the issue of traditions from a sociological perspective: how social groups preserve traditions and what happens when their traditions are encroached by modernity. The Chapter will conclude with an interesting attack on traditions, from a modern point of view, by futurists. As you go on to the next page, consider the texts in connection with what you have come across in the course.

A PARTICULAR TYPE OF BALUCHI CARPET
These carpets, similar to prayer rugs, are nomadic works produced mostly in Afghanistan. They are hand woven of natural camel wool, with geometric patterns, often coloured in red and dark blue.

AFGHAN WAR RUGS

Afghan carpet-making tradition is an ancient pursuit. Carpets were made for pleasure, for money, and as a way of continuing family enterprises. What we call 'Afghan' is itself an arguable term since the territory of current Afghanistan was not as fixed as it is now. It was inhabited by different groups, and each of them had its own traditions, which were applied in the case of carpet making. As a result, carpet patterns depicted family or group symbols and values. Throughout the last century, Afghanistan experienced many rapid changes: a constant change of governments, various types of rule, civil wars, invasion by the Soviet Union, and more recently Taliban takeover and the United States-led war against terrorism. So, modernity did not completely present itself in positive terms. Yet, at the same time, old traditions did not die out. Taking the example of rug-making, the social response to challenges of modernity was a change in patterns of carpet making. Certainly, the society has experienced many other problems as well, but in this chapter, we will only consider how the rug-maker responded to social changes. As you watch the slide show presentation, consider the different war motives of different rugs, reflecting various social concerns.

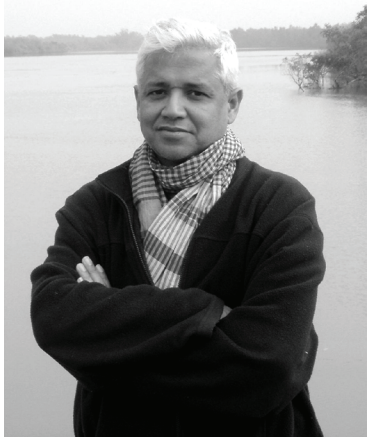
SOURCE: Afghan War Rugs. *Merchant Adventurer.* URL: http://www.warrug.com.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What do you think about the war patterns on the rugs?
2. How do the carpets depict different conflicts in Afghanistan?
3. Are you able to tell which carpet reflects which kind of weaponry?
4. What do you think about the carpet depicting the story of Soviet departure from Afghanistan?
5. How do you interpret the patterns on the carpet entitled "Heat to War"?
6. Do the patterns reflect only war motives or can you find other social symbols in these carpets?
7. Why would rug-makers take up war patterns in their activity? Would you consider it a type of art?
8. How are these Afghan carpets different from regular Central Asian carpets?
9. Do you think it is a proper response for communities to conjure up war motives in their rugs? Can it be considered a sign of protest to social changes and what 'modernity' brought to the Afghan people?
10. What are other ways of how traditional society can respond to modernity? Bring examples from your own experience.

AMITAV GHOSH: THE IMAM AND THE INDIAN

Amitav Ghosh is an academic and novelist from India. Born in Calcutta, he studied history and sociology at the University of Delhi. In 1979 he earned a diploma in Arabic from a Tunisian Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes, and a degree in Social Anthropology from Oxford University. He did his PhD in the same field at Oxford in 1982. He taught and did research in Kerala, India, and worked as a visiting professor at several universities: Univesrity of Delhi, of Virginia, of Pennsylvania, of Cairo, and Columbia University. Currently, Ghosh is based in the Department of English at Harvard University. He is a holder of many awards, both for academic work and fiction writing. Gosh started writing novels only after his doctoral degree. He authored such books as The Circle of Reason (1986), The Shadow Lines (1990), In an Antique Land (1994), The Calcutta Chromosone (1996), and The Glass Palace (2000). He also produced travel essays, one of which is offered below for the reader's attention. "The Imam and the Indian", published in Granta in 1986, is a fictional narrative that takes place in Egypt. The protagonist in the story, the Indian, meets the Imam, whose trade is no longer appreciated, and whose religious knowledge is little praised. As you read, consider how traditions, in the context of modernity, become very relative values.



I met the **Imam** of the village and Khamees the Rat at about the same time. I don't exactly remember now—it happened more than six years ago—but I think I met the Imam first.

But this is not quite accurate. I didn't really 'meet' the Imam: I **inflicted** myself upon him. Perhaps that explains what happened.

Still, there was nothing else I could have done. As the man who led the daily prayers in the mosque, he was a leading figure in the village, and since I, a foreigner, had come to live there, he may well, for all I knew, have been offended had I neglected to pay him a call. Besides, I wanted to meet him; I was intrigued by what I'd heard about him.

People didn't often talk about the Imam in the village, but when they did, they usually spoke of him somewhat dismissively, but also a little **wistfully**, as they might of some old, half-forgotten thing, like the annual flooding of the Nile. Listening to my friends speak of him, I had an **inkling**, long before I actually met him, that he already belonged, in a way, to the village's past. I thought I knew this for certain when I heard that apart from being an Imam he was also, by profession, a barber and a healer. People said he knew a great deal about herbs and **poultices** and the old kind of medicine. This interested me. This was Tradition: I knew that in rural Egypt Imams and other religious figures are often by custom associated with those two professions.

The trouble was that these accomplishments bought the Imam very little credit in the village. The villagers didn't any longer want an Imam who was also a barber and a healer. The older people wanted someone who had studied at al-Azhar and could quote from **Jamal ad-Din Afghani** and **Mohammad Abduh** as fluently as he could from the Hadith, and the younger men wanted a fierce, black-bearded orator, someone whose voice would thunder from the mimbar and reveal to them their destiny.

Imam -
the prayer leader in a mosque
inflict -
to inflict yourself upon someone means that you force the person to meet
wistfully -
full of thought; eagerly attentive
inkling -
a slight hint or indication
poultices -
a soft, usually heated and sometimes medicated mass spread on cloth and applied to sores or other illnesses
Jamal ad-Din Afghani -
1838-1897, he is considered to be the founding father of Islamic modernism
Mohammad Abduh -
1849-1905, a Sheikh, he argued that traditional Islam faced serious challenge by the modern, rational and scientific thought

No one had time for old-fashioned Imams who made themselves ridiculous by boiling herbs and cutting hair.

Yet Ustad Ahmed, who taught in the village's secondary school and was as well-read a man as I have ever met, often said—and this was not something he said of many people—that the old Imam read a lot. A lot of what? Politics, theology, even popular science . . . that kind of thing.

This made me all the more determined to meet him, and one evening, a few months after I first came to the village, I found my way to his house. He lived in the centre of the village, on the edge of the dusty, open square which had the mosque in its middle. This was the oldest part of the village: a **maze** of low mud huts huddled together like confectionery on a tray, each hut crowned with a billowing, tousled head of straw.

When I knocked on the door the Imam opened it himself. He was a big man, with very bright, brown eyes, set deep in a wrinkled, weather-beaten face. Like the room behind him, he was distinctly untidy: his blue jallabeyya was mud-stained and unwashed and his turban had been knotted anyhow around his head. But his beard, short and white and neatly trimmed, was everything a barber's beard should be. Age had been harsh on his face, but there was a certain energy in the way he arched his shoulders, in the clarity of his eyes and in the way he **fidgeted** constantly, was never still: it was plain that he was a **vigorous**, restive kind of person.

'Welcome,' he said, courteous but unsmiling, and stood aside and waved me in. It was a long, dark room, with sloping walls and a very low ceiling. There was a bed in it and a couple of mats but little else, apart from a few scattered books: everything bore that dull **patina** of **grime** which speaks of years of neglect. Later, I learned that the Imam had divorced his first wife and his second had left him, so that now he lived quite alone and had his meals with his son's family who lived across the square.

'Welcome,' he said again, formally.

'Welcome to you,' I said, giving him the formal response, and then we began on the long, reassuring **litany** of Arabic phrases of greeting.

'How are you?'

'How are you?'

'You have brought blessings?'

'May God bless you.'

'Welcome.'

'Welcome to you.'

'You have brought light.'

'The light is yours.'

'How are you?'

'How are you?'

He was very polite, very proper. In a moment he produced a kerosene stove and began to brew tea. But even in the performance of that little ritual there was something about him that was guarded, watchful.

'You're the *doktor al-Hindi*,' he said to me at last, 'aren't you? The Indian doctor?'

I nodded, for that was the name the village had given me. Then I told him that I wanted to talk to him about the methods of his system of medicine.

He looked very surprised and for a while he was silent. Then he put his right hand to his heart and began again on the ritual of greetings and responses, but in a markedly different way this time; one that I had learnt to recognise as a means of changing the subject.

'Welcome.'

maze -
a confusing intricate network of passages

fidgeted -
to move or act restlessly or nervously

vigorous -
energetic, enthusiastic

patina -
an appearance or aura that is derived from association, habit, or established character

grime -
black dirt or soot, especially such dirt clinging to or ingrained in a surface

litany -
a long, formal conversation

'Welcome to you.'

'You have brought light.'

'The light is yours.'

And so on.

At the end of it I repeated what I had said.

'Why do you want to hear about *my* herbs?' he retorted. 'Why don't you go back to your country and find out about your own?'

'I will,' I said. 'Soon. But right now.'

'No, no,' he said restlessly. 'Forget about all that; I'm trying to forget about it myself.'

And then I knew that he would never talk to me about his craft, not just because he had taken a dislike to me for some reason of his own, but because his medicines were as discredited in his own eyes as they were in his clients'; because he knew as well as anybody else that the people who came to him now did so only because of old habits; because he bitterly regretted his inherited association with these relics of the past.

'Instead,' he said, 'let me tell you about what I have been learning over the last few years. Then you can go back to your country and tell them all about it.'

He jumped up, his eyes shining, reached under his bed and brought out a glistening new biscuit tin.

IMAM

'Here!' he said, opening it. 'Look!'

Inside the box was a **hypodermic** syringe and a couple of glass phials. This is what he had been learning, he told me: the art of mixing and giving injections. And there was a huge market for it too, in the village: everybody wanted injections, for coughs, colds, fevers, whatever. There was a good living in it. He wanted to demonstrate his skill to me right there, on my arm, and when I protested that I wasn't ill, that I didn't need an injection just then, he was offended. 'All right,' he said **curtly**, standing up. 'I have to go to the mosque right now. Perhaps we can talk about this some other day.'

That was the end of my interview. I walked with him to the mosque and there, with an air of calculated finality, he took my hand in his, gave it a **perfunctory** shake and vanished up the stairs.

hypodermic - a type of needle

curtly - shortly

perfunctory - lacking in interest or enthusiasm

Source: Ghosh, Amitav. "The Imam and the Indian." Granta 20, Winter 1986, pp. 136-139.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How did the protagonist meet the Imam?
2. Who was the Imam? How was he known among the villagers?
3. What does the protagonist say about people's attitude to the Imam and his skills?
4. Why was the Imam unwilling to tell the protagonist about his healing skills?
5. What kind of new skills was the Imam trying to gain? Why was he forced to look for new means of living?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. What do you think is the moral of the story?
2. How would you interpret the author's statement that "[no one had time for old-fashioned Imams who made themselves ridiculous by boiling herbs and cutting hair"?
3. What does the story tell about traditions and modernity?
4. Do you see any parallels between the Imam's response to changing social attitudes and the reflection of war patterns in Afghan rug-making activities?

JAMES C. SCOTT:
THIN SIMPLIFICATIONS AND PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE: METIS

James C. Scott is a professor and researcher from the United States. He works at the Yale University as a Sterling Professor and the Head of the Political Science and Anthropology departments. At the same time, Scott is a Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Stady at Princeton University and of the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. Scott is a member of the American Academy of Arts, and in the past, has also served as the president of the Association of Asian Studies. In his research he focuses on Southeast Asia, its political economy, class relations, and ideologies. He is an author of Political Ideology in Malaysia: Reality and the Beliefs of an Elite, Comparative Political Corruption, The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Subsistence and Rebellion in Southeast Asia and others. Some of his articles have been published in journals such as Asian Studies, American Political Science Review, and Politics and Society. The following excerpt comes from his recent major work Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed (1998). The author tells a Malaysian story about the value of localized traditional knowledge, as opposed to skills of the 'experts'. As you read, consider how modern and traditional values co-exist, and how the latter makes up for the former, when it fails to achieve its objective.

While doing **fieldwork** in a small village in Malaysia, I was constantly struck by the breadth of my neighbours' skills and their casual knowledge of local ecology. One particular **anecdote** is representative. Growing in the compound of the house in which I lived was a locally-famous mango tree. Relatives and acquaintances would visit when the fruit was ripe in the hope of being given a few fruits and, more importantly, the chance to save and plant the seeds next to their own house. Shortly before my arrival, however, the tree had become infested with large red ants, which destroyed most of the fruit before it could ripen. It seemed nothing could be done short of bagging each fruit. Several times I noticed the elderly head of household, Mat Isa, bringing dried nipah palm **fronds** to the base of the mango tree and checking them. When I finally got around to asking what he was up to, he explained it to me, albeit reluctantly, as for him this was pretty **humdrum** stuff compared to our usual gossip. He knew that small black ants, which had a number of colonies at the rear of the compound, were the enemies of large red ants. He also knew that the thin, lancelike leaves of the nipah palm curled into long, tight tubes when they fell from the tree and died. (In fact, the local people used the tubes to roll their cigarettes.) Such tubes would also, he knew, be ideal places for the queens of the black ant colonies to lay their eggs. Over several weeks he placed dried nipah fronds in strategic places until he had masses of black-ant eggs beginning to hatch. He then placed the egg-infested fronds against the mango tree and observed the ensuing week-long **Armageddon**. Several neighbours, many of them sceptical, and their children, followed the fortunes of the ant war closely. Although smaller by half or more, the black ants finally had the weight of numbers to prevail against the red ants and gain possession of the ground at the base of the mango tree. As

fieldwork -
research that is firsthand observation of social, cultural or anthropological phenomena, as opposed to theoretical studies or research done in a controlled environment

anecdote -
usually short narrative of an interesting, amusing, or biographical incident

fronds -
a large compound leaf of a palm

humdrum -
boring, usual, unexciting

Armageddon -
final battle, war

MANGOS

the black ants were not interested in the mango leaves or fruits while the fruits were still on the tree, the crop was saved.

This successful field experiment in biological controls presupposes several kinds of knowledge: the habitat and diet of black ants, their egg-laying habits, a guess about what local material would substitute as movable egg chambers, and experience with the fighting **proclivities** of red and black ants. Mat Isa made it clear that such skill in practical **entomology** was quite widespread, at least among his older neighbours, and that people remembered something like this strategy having worked once or twice in the past. What is clear to me is that no agricultural extension official would have known the first thing about ants, let alone biological controls; most extension agents were raised in town and in any case were concerned entirely with rice, fertiliser, and loans. Nor would most of them think to ask; they were, after all, the experts, trained to instruct the peasant. It is hard to imagine this knowledge being created and maintained except in the context of lifelong observation and a relatively stable, multigenerational community that routinely exchanges and preserves knowledge of this kind.

proclivities -
an inclination or predisposition toward something
entomology -
the scientific study of insects

Source: Scott, James C. "Thin Simplifications and Practical Knowledge: Metis." Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 333-334.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What amazed Scott about the knowledge of the locals in Malaysia?
2. What is the story of the mango tree in the author's case study about?
3. How does Mat Isa suggest the tree could be saved from the destructive red ants?
4. How was Mat Isa successful in getting rid of the ants that were destroying the tree?
5. What kind of biological knowledge according to Scott is necessary to counter the destruction of the trees?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Why was the knowledge of Mat Isa useful in terms of saving the tree?
2. Speaking of the city-trained professionals, Scott says "they were, after all, the experts, trained to instruct the peasant'. What does the author suggest by this remark?
3. What can you say about the value of traditional knowledge based on Scott's work?
4. Is it possible to preserve and apply the traditional knowledge, which the author talks about, amidst changing modern circumstances?
5. How does Scott's Mat Isa differ from the Imam in Amitav Ghosh's story?

ELIZABETH GASKELL: A TALE OF MANCHESTER LIFE

Elizabeth Cleghorn (Stevenson) Gaskell (1810-1865) was a reformist English writer. She was born and raised in a Unitarian religious environment by her aunt after her mother's death. She married William Gaskell, a Unitarian minister, and moved to Manchester, where she spent all her life. Being the wife of a minister, she had many community obligations, and was well-aware of the socio-economic problems in the city and the conditions of the poor. Mary Burton (1848), a story based in Manchester, was Gaskell's first novel. It immediately gained recognition, since it reflected on the problems of the time and came out in a year of revolutions in Europe. Charles Dickens and Thomas Carlyle extended their praise to Gaskell, and Dickens offered to publish her next work Cranford (1853) in his literary magazine. She also wrote Ruth (1853), Life of Charlotte Bronte (1857) – an autobiographical novel about her friend Charlotte Bronte, Sylvia's Lovers (1863), and Wives and Daughters (1864-66) that she did not finish. The following selection from Mary Burton is a story of the relationship of the protagonist Mary with her father Mr. Burton, who is unsuccessfully involved in trade union activities. As you read, pay close attention to the setting of the story, which reveals much about the social changes taking place in England at the time.

Despair settled down like a heavy cloud; and now and then, through the dead calm of sufferings, came pipings of stormy winds, foretelling the end of these dark **prognostics**. In times of sorrowful or fierce endurance, we are often soothed by the mere repetition of old proverbs which tell the experience of our forefathers; but now, "it's a long lane that has no turning," "the weariest day draws to an end," etc., seemed false and vain sayings, so long and so weary was the pressure of the terrible times. Deeper and deeper still sank the poor; it showed how much lingering suffering it takes to kill men, that so few (in comparison) died during those times. But, remember! we only miss those who do men's work in their humble sphere; the aged, the feeble, the children, when they die, are hardly noted by the world; and yet to many hearts, their deaths make a blank which long years will never fill up. Remember, too, that though it may take much suffering to kill the able-bodied and effective members of society, it does not take much to reduce them to worn, **listless**, diseased creatures, who **thenceforward** crawl through life with moody hearts and pain-stricken bodies.

The people had thought the poverty of the preceding years hard to bear, and had found its yoke heavy; but this year added sorely to its weight. Former times had **chastised** them with whips, but this chastised them with scorpions.

Of course, Barton had his share of mere bodily sufferings. Before he had gone up to London on his vain errand, he had been working short time. But in the hopes of speedy redress by means of the interference of Parliament, he had thrown up his place; and now, when he asked leave to resume his work he was told they were diminishing their number of hands every week, and he was made aware, by the remarks of fellow-workmen, that a **Chartist** delegate, and a leading member of a trades' union, was not likely to be favoured in his search after employment. Still he tried to keep up

prognostics - a sign of a future event
listless - characterised by lack of interest, energy, or spirit
thenceforward - from that time or place onward
chastised - to discipline or punish, esp. by beating
Chartist - the principles and practices of a party of political reformers, chiefly workingmen, active in England from 1838 to 1848.

a brave heart concerning himself. He knew he could bear hunger; for that power of endurance had been called forth when he was a little child, and had seen his mother hide her daily morsel to share it among her children, and when he, being the eldest, had told the noble lie, that "he was not hungry, could not eat a bit more," in order to imitate his mother's bravery, and still the sharp wail of the younger infants. Mary, too, was secure of two meals a day at Miss Simmonds'; though, by the way, the dressmaker too, feeling the effect of bad times, had left off giving tea to her apprentices, setting them the example of long abstinence by putting off her own meal till work was done for the night, however late that might be….

And by-and-by Mary began to part with other **superfluities** at the pawn-shop. The smart tea-tray, and tea-caddy, long and carefully kept, went for bread for her father. He did not ask for it, or complain, but she saw hunger in his shrunk, fierce, animal look. Then the blankets went, for it was summer time, and they could spare them; and their sale made a fund, which Mary fancied would last till better times came. But it was soon all gone; and then she looked around the room to crib it of its few remaining ornaments. To all these proceedings her father said never a word. If he fasted, or feasted (after the sale of some article) on an unusual meal of bread and cheese, he took all with a sullen indifference, which depressed Mary's heart. She often wished he would apply for **relief** from the Guardians' relieving office; often wondered the trades' union did nothing for him. Once, when she asked him as he sat, grimed, unshaven, and **gaunt**, after a day's fasting, over the fire, why he did not get relief from the town, he turned round, with grim wrath, and said, "I don't want money, child! D—n their charity and their money! I want work and it is my right. I want work."…

Still, he often was angry. But that was almost better than being silent. Then he sat near the fire-place (from habit), smoking, or chewing opium. Oh, how Mary loathed that smell! And in the dusk, just before it merged into the short summer night, she had learned to look with dread towards the window, which now her father would have kept uncurtained; for there were not seldom seen sights which haunted her in her dreams. Strange faces of pale men, with dark glaring eyes, peered into the inner darkness, and seemed desirous to ascertain if her father was at home. Or a hand and arm (the body hidden) was put within the door, and **beckoned** him away. He always went. And once or twice, when Mary was in bed, she heard men's voices below, in earnest, whispered talk.

They were all desperate members of trades' unions, ready for any thing; made ready by want….

"Father does not like girls to work in factories," said Mary.

"No, I know he does not; and reason good. They oughtn't to go at after they're married, that I'm very clear about. I could reckon up" (counting with her finger), "aye, nine men I know, as has been driven to th' public-house by having wives as worked in factories; good folk, too, as thought there was no harm in putting their little ones out at nurse, and letting their house go all dirty, and their fires all out; and that was a place as was tempting for a husband to stay in, was it? He soon finds out gin-shops, where all is clean and bright, and where th' fire blazes cheerily, and gives a man a welcome as it were."

Alice, who was standing near for the convenience of hearing, had caught much of this speech, and it was evident the subject had previously been discussed by the women, for she **chimed in**.

"I wish our Jem could speak a word to th' Queen, about factory work for married women. Eh! but he comes it strong when once yo get him to speak about it. Wife o' his'n will never work away fra' home."

superfluities -
additional things, excesses
relief -
aid, support
gaunt -
excessively thin and angular
beckon -
signal or summon, as by nodding or waving
chime in -
interrupt the speech of others

"I say it's **Prince Albert** as ought to be asked how he'd like his missis to be from home when he comes ill, tired and worn, and wanting some one to cheer him; and maybe, her to come in by and by, just as tired and down in th' mouth; and how he'd like for her never to be at home to see to th' cleaning of his house, or to keep a bright fire in his **grate**. Let alone his meals being all hugger-mugger, and comfortless. I'd be bound, prince as he is, if his missis served him so, he'd be off to a gin-palace, or summut o' that kind. So why can't he make a law again' poor folks' wives working in factories?"

Mary ventured to say that she thought the Queen and Prince Albert could not make laws, but the answer was,

"Pooh! don't tell me it's not the Queen as makes laws; and isn't she bound to obey Prince Albert? And if he said they mustn't, why she'd say they mustn't, and then all folk would say, oh, no, we never shall do any such thing no more."…

Some weeks after this there was a meeting of the trades' union to which John Barton belonged. The morning of the day on which it was to take place he had lain late in bed, for what was the use of getting up? He had hesitated between the purchase of meal or opium, and had chosen the latter, for its use had become a necessity with him. He wanted it to relieve him from the terrible depression its absence occasioned. A large lump seemed only to bring him into a natural state, or what had been his natural state formerly. Eight o'clock was the hour fixed for the meeting; and at it were read letters, filled with details of woe, from all parts of the country. Fierce, heavy gloom brooded over the assembly; and fiercely and heavily did the men separate, towards eleven o'clock, some irritated by the opposition of others to their desperate plans.

It was not a night to cheer them, as they quitted the glare of the gas-lighted room, and came out into the street. Unceasing, soaking rain was falling; the very lamps seemed obscured by the damp upon the glass, and their light reached but to a little distance from the posts. The streets were cleared of passers-by; not a creature seemed stirring, except here and there a drenched policeman in his oil-skin **cape**. Barton wished the others good night, and set off home. He had gone through a street or two, when he heard a step behind him; but he did not care to look and see who it was. A little further, and the person quickened step, and touched his arm very lightly. He turned, and saw, even by the darkness visible of that badly-lighted street, that the woman who stood by him was of no doubtful profession. It was told by her faded finery, all unfit to meet the pelting of that pitiless storm; the gauze bonnet, once pink, now dirty white, the muslin gown, all draggled, and soaking wet up to the very knees; the gay-coloured barège shawl, closely wrapped round the form, which yet shivered and shook, as the woman whispered: "I want to speak to you."

He swore an oath, and bade her **begone**….

He flung her, trembling, sinking, fainting, from him, and strode away. She fell with a feeble scream against the lamp-post, and lay there in her weakness, unable to rise. A policeman came up in time to see the close of these occurrences, and concluding from Esther's unsteady, reeling fall, that she was tipsy, he took her in her half-unconscious

Prince Albert - 1819-1861, the husband and prince consort of Queen Victoria of England

grate - fireplace

cape - a sleeveless outer garment fastened at the throat and worn hanging over the shoulders

begone - to go away, depart

state to the lock-ups for the night. The superintendent of that abode of vice and misery was roused from his dozing watch through the dark hours, by half-delirious wails and moanings, which he reported as arising from intoxication….

vagrancy - the crime of wandering about without employment or identifiable means of support

So the night wore away. The next morning she was taken up to the New Bailey. It was a clear case of disorderly **vagrancy**, and she was committed to prison for a month. How much might happen in that time!

Source: Gaskell, Elizabeth. "Mary Burton: A Tale of Manchester Life." The Gaskell Web. URL: http://www.lang.nagoya-u.ac.jp/~matsuoka/Gaskell.html.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What does the story tell about the socio-economic conditions of the poor in Manchester?
2. What is the family situation of Mary and her father Mr. Burton?
3. In what movement did Mr. Burton take part? What was the aim of this organization?
4. Why does Mr. Burton turn to opium? What does this say about workers of that time?
5. What can you conclude from the dialogue between Mary and Alice about women's conditions in Manchester?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Why were the workers in "A Tale of Manchester Life" forced to organize for their rights?
2. What does the story depict about the relationship between the workers and the government?
3. How does the modernity demonstrate itself in the novel of Gaskell?
4. Do you see any parallels between the choices that the Imam has to make in Ghosh's story and the mid-19th century workers in Gaskell's work? How do the persons affected by 'modernity' respond in each case?

EMILE DURKHEIM: SANCTIONS AND MECHANICAL AND ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was a French thinker, who is largely credited with founding sociology as a scientific discipline. Born in Epinal, France, into a Jewish family, Durkheim broke with family tradition of becoming rabbis, and studied at the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris. After his graduation from college, where he mainly focused on philosophy and moral reform, he taught in various French towns in 1882-1892. His first, most famous book, The Division of Labour in Society (1893) explores what happens to societies when they start to modernize, and labour becomes more and more specialized. Social solidarity, which is the bond between individuals and society, changes during the modernisation – industrialisation process. Pre-industrial societies are characterized by 'mechanical solidarity', as all members of the group have the same function, while modern societies are rather marked by 'organic solidarity', where members have different tasks and thereby depend on each other. The following excerpt explains the differences between the two types of solidarity, and the reasons for naming them 'mechanical' and 'organic'. As you read the text, consider his arguments in connection with the theme of the chapter.

We recognise only two kinds of positive solidarity, which are distinguishable by the following qualities:

1. The first ties the individual directly to society without any intermediary. In the second, he depends upon society, because he depends upon the parts which compose it.
2. Society is not seen in the same aspect in the two cases. In the first, what we call 'society' is a more or less closely-organised totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all the members of the group: it is the collective type. By contrast, the society to which we are bound in the second instance is a system of differentiated and specialised functions which are united in definite relationships. These two societies really make up only one. They are two aspects of one and the same reality, but nonetheless they must be distinguished.
3. From this second difference there arises another which helps us to characterise and name the two kinds of solidarity.

The first can be strong only to the degree that the ideas and tendencies common to all the members of the society are greater in number and intensity than those which pertain to each individual member. Its strength is determined by the degree to which this is the case. But what makes our personality is how many particular characteristics we possess which distinguish us from others. This solidarity thus can grow only in inverse ratio to personality. There are in each of us, as we have said, two forms of consciousness: one which is common to our group as a whole, which, consequently, is not ourself, but society living and acting within us; the other, on the other hand, represents that in us which is personal and distinct, that which makes us an individual.

Solidarity which comes from resemblance is at its maximum when the conscience collective completely envelops our whole consciousness and coincides in all points with it. But, at that moment, our individuality is **nil**. It can develop only if the community takes a lesser part of us. There are, here, two contrary forces, one **centripetal**, the other **centrifugal**, which cannot flourish at the same time. We cannot, at one and the same time, develop ourselves in two opposite senses. If we have a strong inclination to think and act for ourselves, we cannot be as strongly inclined to think and act as others do. If our ideal is to present a unique and personal appearance, we cannot resemble everybody else. Moreover, at the moment when this latter solidarity exercises its force, our personality vanishes, by definition, one might say, for we are no longer ourselves, but the collective being.

The social molecules which cohere in this way can act together only in so far as they have no action of their own, as with the molecules of inorganic bodies. That is why we propose to call this form of solidarity 'mechanical'. The term does not signify that it is produced by mechanical and artificial means. We call it that only by analogy to the cohesion which unites the elements of an inorganic body, as contrasted to that which forms a unity out of the elements of a living body. What finally justifies this term is that the link which thus unites the individual to society is wholly comparable to that which attaches a thing to a person. The individual consciousness, considered in this light, is a simple **appendage** of the collective type and follows all of its actions, as the possessed object follows those of its owner. In societies where this type of solidarity is highly developed, the individual is not his own master, as we shall see later; solidarity is, literally something which the society possesses. Thus, in these types of society, personal rights are not yet distinguished from real rights.

It is quite different with the solidarity which the division of labour produces. Whereas the previous type implies that individuals resemble each other, this latter presumes that they differ. The former is possible only in so far as the individual personality is absorbed into the collective personality; the latter is possible only if each one has a sphere of action which is peculiar to him—that is, if he possesses a personality. It is necessary, then, that the *conscience collective* leave open a part of the individual consciousness in order that special functions may be established there, functions which it cannot regulate. The more this region is extended, the stronger is the cohesion which results from this solidarity. In fact, on the one hand, every individual depends more directly on society as labour becomes more divided; and, on the other, the activity of every individual becomes more personalised to the degree that it is more specialised. No doubt, as circumscribed as it is, it is never completely original; even in the exercise of our occupation, we conform to conventions and practices which are common to our whole occupational group. But, in this instance, the yoke that we submit to is much less heavy than when society completely controls us, and it leaves much more place open for the free play of our initiative. Here, then, the individuality of all grows at the same time as that of its parts. Society becomes more capable of collective action, at the same time that each of its elements has more freedom of action. This solidarity resembles that which we observe among the higher animals. Each organ, in effect, has its special character and autonomy; and yet the unity of the organism is as great as the individuation of the parts is more marked. Because of this analogy, we propose to call the solidarity which is due to the division of labour, 'organic'.

nil -
nothing, zero
centripetal -
moving or directed toward a center or axis
centrifugal -
moving or directed away from the center
appendage -
something added or attached to an entity of greater importance or size

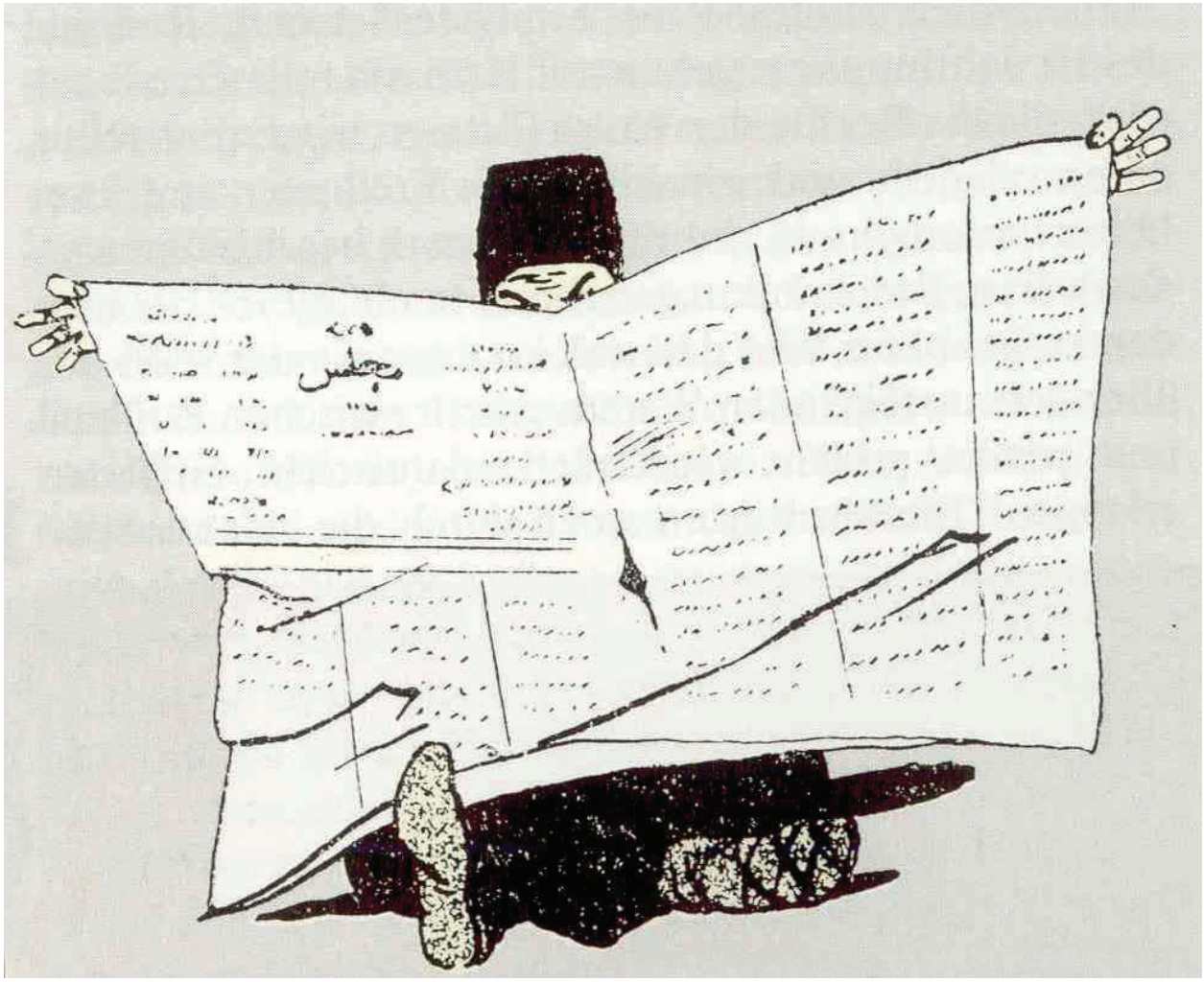
Source: Durkheim, Emile. "Sanctions and Mechanical and Organic Solidarity." Classical Sociological Theory: A Reader. Edited by Ian McIntosh. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002, pp. 192-193.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. According to Durkheim, what is 'mechanical' and 'organic' solidarity? How do these two types of 'solidarity' function?
2. What does the author understand by the term 'society'?
3. What types of 'consciousness' does Durkhiem differentiate? How do these relate to 'solidarity'?
4. Under what kind of 'solidarity' do individuals have more freedom?
5. Does the division of labour affect 'solidarity' in society? If yes, how does this process take place?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Can you apply Durkheim's analysis of social 'solidarity' to the contexts described in the Afghan War Rugs presentation, and in the writings of Ghosh, Scott, and Gaskell?
2. Ghosh's hero – the Imam, and Gaskell's character – Mr. Burton, seem to be socially excluded, while their societies are dominated by 'organic' solidarity. How is it possible to explain this incoherence? What would Durkheim say about this?
3. What type of 'solidarity' would allow the communities to preserve their traditions better?
4. Is it possible to categorize Durkheim's 'organic' solidarity as an outcome of modernity?
5. How valid is Durkheim's division of 'mechanical' and 'organic' solidarity? What can you say about it based on your own experience?



NEWSPAPERS - FOR MUSLIMS BY MUSLIMS -
FIRST BECAME WIDELY PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED IN THE EARLY 1900s

ADEEB KHALID:
MUSLIM PRINTERS IN TSARIST CENTRAL ASIA: A RESEARCH NOTE

Adeeb Khalid is one of the leading researchers on Central Asia. He is a professor at the History Department of the Carleton Collge, Minnesota. His recent book The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia (1998) deals with one of the under-researched topics in Central Asia. Khalid's various articles, such as "The Emergence of a Modern Central Asian Historical Consciousness", "Society and Politics in Bukhara, 1868-1920", and "Russian History and the Debate over Orientalism" have appeared in different journals, including the Russian Kritika and the Central Asian Survey. He has also contributed to the Central Eurasian Project. The following text by Khalid surveys the origins of the printing press in Central Asia during the Tsarist period. The author presents several examples of private local printing presses, and how they contributed to the political and intellectual debates of the day. The "Jadid" movement played an important role in bringing the printed press to Central Asia. The Jadids were reformers of Central Asian society. By introducing new curricula to their "New Method" schools, they encouraged understanding over memorization and used new "secular" material for classroom learning. Muslim society, they felt, needed to be modernized otherwise it would stagnate and be left behind. It was through education and the printing press that they felt they could bring about this change.

The introduction of printing in a literate society allows the rapid duplication of the written word in unprecedented quantities and thus transforms older systems of communication and transmission of culture. Printing becomes an avenue for reform and the site for political contests in which printers—individuals who possess the new technology—play a major role. The important role that master printers played in intellectual life in the early centuries of printing in Europe has been widely recognised[1]; a look at the early history of printing in Central Asia would seem to indicate that important parallels exist in the Muslim world as well. Printers could become active reformers, or, conversely, active reformers could become printers in order to better disseminate their ideas. Yet, the public careers of Central Asian printers differed from their European counterparts in important ways because printing was introduced to Central Asia by external forces and took root in a colonial environment.

The first printing press in Central Asia was set up by the Russians at the newly-established military headquarters in Tashkent in 1868. Privately-owned presses followed, but a combination of economic and political reasons ensured that most of these were owned by Russians. Setting up a printing press required a massive investment as well as official approval. Few Central Asians had the financial means required for the operation, and the Tsarist administration was **loath** to allow the proliferation of the new medium in the hands of its newly-acquired subjects.

loath -
unwilling or reluctant

1 The best introduction to this mass of literature is through two of its most substantial works: Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, 2 vols; and Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: a Publishing History of the Encyclopedia 1775-1800,* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

We know of only five Muslims who owned printing presses in the Tsarist period. A brief review of their careers sheds light on the various roles printers assumed in Central Asian society. Such a study is indispensable also for a proper understanding of the social basis of reform and change in the Tsarist period, providing some much needed flesh on the still largely political skeleton of Central Asian history.

The first locally-owned printing press in Central Asia was also the most unusual. It was a **lithographic** press set up by Muhammad Rahim Khan, the ruler of Khiva, at his court in 1874. Rahim Khan (r. 1864-1910), who himself wrote poetry under the nom de plume Firuz, had cultivated a minor cultural renaissance at his court by patronising the work of a number of court poets and historians.[2] The press was part of this venture, meant to present the elegant, courtly culture in a new form.

In 1874, the press produced its first volume, the divan of Munis, the Khivan poet and historian active around the turn of the nineteenth century. Works by Nawa'i, Fuzuli, Bedil and Agahi followed. Some volumes were substantial, such as the 1652-page Chahar Divan of Nawa'i printed in 1299/1881-1882, or the 1655-page **anthology** of the court circle compiled by Tabibi, called Majmu'at ush-shu'ara, printed in 1324/1906.

But the impact of this press on intellectual life in Khiva outside the court was minimal. The press, like the courtly culture that it served, was an instrument of royal pleasure rather than a tool for popular enlightenment. As the Russian orientalist A. N. Samoilovich observed in 1908, "The press does not have a permanent home; it does not accept outside [i.e., commercial] orders, and works irregularly . . . The publications of the press do not go on sale, but are given out as gifts by the Khan."[3] These books were usually printed in editions of only 150-200 copies.[4] One should be **wary**, therefore, of ascribing too great an importance to this press. It is not valid to see this press, with its one hand-operated machine, as the **fountainhead** of Central Asian publishing[5] or as an achievement of the Turkmen people.[6]

It was one Muhammad Azim Haji Marghilani, a merchant from Ferghana, who became the first Muslim to operate a printing press for commercial purposes in Central Asia when he acquired the equipment in Bombay on his way back from the hajj and installed it in Marghilan in 1884. The press moved to Kokand in 1887 where it soon disappeared.[7] Unfortunately, further biographical information is not available on Azim Haji; he remains the most vaguely known of our printers.

After the demise of Azim Haji's press, Central Asia was without a printing press in Muslim hands until 1902 when Ghulam Hasan Arifjan opened a lithograph press in Tashkent. Arifjan (1874-1947) had long been involved in the book trade, having done his apprenticeship as a bookbinder. In 1909, he acquired a steam-powered press to replace the existing hand press. He remained the most popular printer in Tashkent for Uzbek

lithographic - produced by printing from a metal or stone surface
nom de plum - French for pen name
anthology - a collection of literary pieces, such as poems, short stories, or plays
wary - cautious, careful
fountainhead - a chief and copious source; an originator

2 On Rahim Khan and his court circle, see H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature: a Bio-Bibliographical Survey,* Utrecht: The Library of the University of Utrecht, 1969, s.v. "Firuz," and *passim.* The work of this circle included poetry, original compositions on history, and translations of classics of the Arabic and Persian historiography and literature.

3 A. N, Samoilovich, "Materialy po sredenaziatsko-turetskoi literature, II: Khivinskie pridvornye knigokhranilishcha i knigopechatnia," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR,* ser. Obshchestvennykh nauk (1981), No. 1, p. 82. In 1908. the press was housed in a pavilion in a royal garden.

4 A. Lazberdyev, *Iz istorii bibliograjirovaniia natsional'noi pechati narodov Srednei Azii vtoroi poloviny XIX i pervoi chetverti XX veka,* Ashkhabad: Ylym, 1974, pp. 17-23.

5 Edward Allworth, *Central Asian Publishing and the Rise of Nationalism,* New York: New York Public Library, 1965, pp. 10-14.

6 The Turkmen scholar Almaz Yazberdiyev has made this argument in several places; see Lazberdyev, *op.cit.,* and Almaz Yazberdiyev, *Arap grafikas'inda neshir edilen Tiirkmenche kitaplar,* Ashkhabad: Him, 1981, pp. 22-27.

7 Rustam Kholmatov, *Farghona noshirlari wa nashrlari (XIX asr okhiri, XX asr awwaliga qadar),* Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1986, *passim*.

and Persian books until 1918, when his business was nationalised. During this period, the Ghulamiya press printed hundreds of volumes for publishers from all over Central Asia. In addition to printing, Arifjan was also involved in publishing and bookselling. He published numerous titles and owned one of the leading bookstores in Tashkent.[8]

Since he was the most **prolific** printer in Tashkent, Arifjan was involved with every genre of publishing in Central Asia, ranging from classical poetry to Sufi **tracts** to **primers** for Jadid schools. When it came to publishing books on his own, however, Arifjan's tastes were more circumscribed. He is known to have published several editions of Fuzuli (d. 1556), a **bayaz** of Muqimi (1850-1903), and the Majmu'a-yi Nurnuma, a collection of **risalas** for various guilds.[9] Some of his books had print runs as high as 3000 copies, a very large figure for the period.[10]

In 1908, Ishaq Khan Tora Junaydullah Khoja-oghli (1862-1937) received permission to start a printing press in his ancestral village of Toraqorghan in the Ferghana valley. Ishaq Khan came from a landowning family. He received a traditional madrasa education in Kokand and was **qazi** in Toraqorghan, Namangan and Khanabad for 15 years.[11] In his mid-twenties he travelled abroad extensively, a five-year trip between 1887 and 1892 taking him to Arabia, Iran, Afghanistan, India and Chinese Turkestan. On this trip, he spent a considerable amount of time in Bombay where he picked up the printing trade and acquired an interest in foreign languages and scripts.[12] Upon his return, he became an active reformer, writing extensively in the official Turkistan wilayatining gazeti, then the sole forum for public debate in Turkestan, calling upon his compatriots to rouse themselves from their "sleep of ignorance" and to acquire modern knowledge. In 1901, he published his Lughat-i sitta alis-na, in which he provided the equivalents of several hundred Uzbek terms in Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Russian (in Arabic transcription).

It was this concern with reform that led Ishaq Khan to apply for permission to operate a printing press in 1908.[13] When permission was granted, he **leased** printing equipment from Orenburg and established a printing press in his house in Toraqorghan. The equipment was brought to Kokand by train and then transported on camelback to the village. In 1910, however, he moved the press to Namangan and hired a Tatar, Husayn Makaev, to manage it. The press possessed both **typographic** and lithographic equipment, the former having Arabic, Russian, Latin and Hebrew fonts.[14] While not as prolific as the Ghulamiya, the Ishaqiya press produced a number of unusual books in the years leading up to 1917. Many of these were the work of Ishaq Khan and Husayn

prolific - fruitful; marked by abundant inventiveness or productivity
tracts - verses of Scripture
primers - elementary textbooks
bayaz - collection of poetry
risala - treaties
qazi - judge
lease - to rent, hire
typographic - the composition of printed material from movable type

8 Aziz Bobokhonov, *Ozbek matbaasi tarikhidan,* Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1979, pp. 164-175.
9 *Ibid.;* see also Ra'no Mahmudova, "Toshbosma asarlar wa ularning Ozbek adabiyoti tarikhidagi ahamiyati (XIX asr okhiri — XX asr boshlari)," unpublished dissertation, Tashkent 1970, pp. 51-56.
10 M. Rustamov, *Istoriia knigoizdaniia v Turkestane,* Tashkent: Tashkent. Gos. Pedagog. Institut, 1983, p. 17.
11 Olim Usmon, *Ozbekistonda rus tilining ilk targhibotchilari,* Tashkent: Uzbekistan SSR Ilmlar Akademiyasi Nashriyoti, 1962, p. 40.
12 Ishaq Khan Junaydullah Khoja-oghli, *Jami' ul-khutut,* Namangan, 1912, p. 5.
13 Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Uzbekskoi SSR, Tashkent (TsGA UzSSR), f..19, d. 28853, l. 5.
14 Advertisement in Abdurrauf Shahidi, *Mahramlar* Namangan, 1912, p. 55.

Makaev. For instance, in 1912, Ishaq Khan published a book on the alphabets of the world, providing historical accounts of the development of every alphabet of the world accompanied by illustrations.[15] In the same year, the press printed the first play to be published in Central Asia, a work by the Tatar, Abdurrauf Shahidi.[16] In 1915, when the Tatar singer and public figure Kamil ul-Mutfi Tuhfatullin toured Central Asia, the Ishaqiya press produced a **libretto** of his Namangan concert.[17]

The Ishaqiya press also did job printing, accepting orders for business forms, announcements, etc. In 1917, when the Revolution allowed it, Husayn Makaev used the press to start publishing newspapers. He launched the Farghana Nidasi in March 1917. The weekly **folded** after 40 issues, and was replaced by the Farghana sahifasi in November.[18] The ultimate fate of the press is not known at the time of writing.

In 1914, the Kokand merchant Abidjan Mahmudov received permission to set up a printing press. Abidjan, a merchant of the Second Guild, was also a Jadid activist. In March 1913, he applied for permission to establish a printing press and to publish a newspaper to be called Nashriyat-i Abidjan.[19] He received permission for both these ventures, although the newspaper eventually appeared as Sada-yi Farghana. The newspaper folded in the spring of 1915 for financial reasons. Abidjan's press apparently had only typographic capabilities and was never used to print books; however, the press printed **stationery** and business forms in both Russian and Uzbek.

Abidjan was a leading figure in the Ghayrat Book Company, founded as a **joint stock** entity in 1915 to supply the region's New Method schools with textbooks and stationery, and to disseminate books, newspapers and magazines among the local population.[20] In the new political atmosphere of 1917 Abidjan launched another newspaper, Tirik Soz, but it also quickly went under.[21]

libretto -
the text of a dramatic musical work, such as an opera
fold -
collapse, stop working
stationery -
writing materials and office supplies
joint stock -
stock or capital funds of a company held jointly or in common by its owners
tenuous -
flimsy, weak; insignificant
wherewithal - the necessary means, especially financial means
wherewithal -
the necessary means, especially financial means

Abidjan emerged as an important political figure in 1917. His was a prominent voice at the Turkestan Muslim Congress in April and he was Minister for Food Supplies in the autonomous government at Kokand that lasted from November 1917 to February 1918.[22]

There were other printers, of course; indeed, the majority of Central Asian books printed in the Tsarist period were printed by Russian-owned presses doing contract work. Even the press at the Governor-General's chancellery in Tashkent printed books for private publishers.[23] But in these cases, the relation of the new technology to Muslim society was very **tenuous**.

Local printers had a much stronger connection with the intellectual world they served than did Russian printers. As these examples show, Muslim printers often took on the roles of publishers and booksellers as well. An established printer usually had the financial **wherewithal** to finance the publication of new books. Moreover, many

15 Ishaq Khan, *Jamr ul-khutut*, pp. 132.

16 Shahidi, *Mahramlar;* this was the first text of a play to be published in Central Asia. Behbudi's *Pidarkush,* the first play written by a Turkestani and set in Turkestan, followed in 1913

17 Kamil ul-MutH Tuhfatullin, *Mashur jirlauchimiz Kamil ul-Muti"i Tuhfatullin janablarining mufassal kansert praghrammasi, yakhud Libretto,* Namangan: Ishaqiya, 1915, 36 pp., typeset, with two portraits of the artist. The volume contains the texts of 31 songs and four speeches delivered at the concert in Namangan on 4 March, 1915.

18 Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La Presse et le movement national chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920,* Paris: Mouton, 1964, p. 266.

19 TsGA UzSSR, f. 19, d. 19074,11. 14-18.

20 TsGA UzSSR, f. 1, op. 31, d. 1144,11. 34v-36.

21 Bennigsen and Quelquejay's entry on this newspaper *(op. cit.)* pp. 167-168, is incorrect. The first issue of the newspaper was dated 2 April 1917 (O.S.).

22 Abdullah Receb Baysun, *Turkis Milli Hareketleri,* Istanbul, 1943, pp. 7-8.

23 The authorities reserved the right to select their customers, however. The press was under orders to have no dealings with *Sada-yi Turkistan,* the Jadid newspaper launched in 1914, even after the same chancellery had granted it permission to publish. (TsGA UzSSR, f. 1, op. 31, d. 1144,1. 5v.)

reformers were attracted to the printing trade at least as much by their reformist convictions as by the promise of financial gain. Ishaq Khan and Abidjan both acquired printing presses to allow them to better disseminate their message. This combination of commercial and intellectual status could turn printers into prominent public figures. Unfortunately, few had the financial resources to acquire a printing press, and fewer could pass the test of political reliability and loyalty. The khan of Khiva was immune from these considerations, but he chose to use the technology for purely personal reasons. The impact of printing on Central Asian society was thus greatly reduced by the colonial regime under which it was introduced.

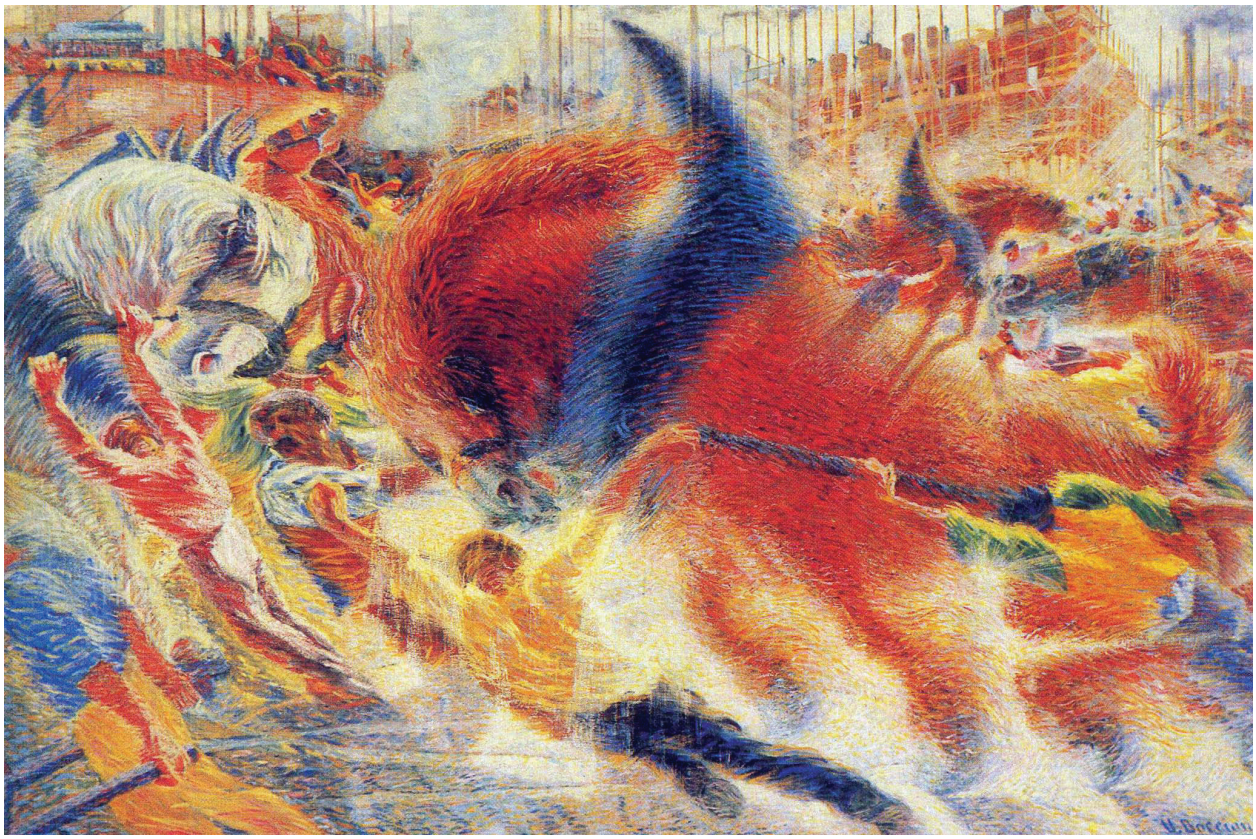
Source: Khalid, Adeeb. "Muslim Printers in Tsarist Central Asia: a Research Note." Central Asian Survey, Vol. 11, 3rd Issue, (1992), pp. 113-116.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does 'printing', according to Khalid, influence society?
2. How did colonialism influence the development and impact of printing press in Central Asia?
3. What kind of printing press existed in Tsarist Central Asia? How did it influence the intellectual communities?
4. Did the ownership of a printing press have political importance in Central Asia?
5. What role did private press in Central Asia play in the Communist revolution of 1917?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. How does the private or public ownership of printing presses influence the role of the press in society?
2. In general, how was printing connected to Modernisation in Central Asia?
3. What kind of role can the printing press play in preserving or replacing traditional values?
4. Is access to modern means of preserving information a gain or a loss for traditions? Refer to the examples from the Afghan War Rugs presentation, James C. Scott and Emile Durkheim's writings.
5. In your opinion, how does the printing press currently influence public opinion formation in Central Asian countries?



"THE CITY RISES"
By Umberto Boccioni, 1910

FILIPPO MARINETTI: THE FOUNDING AND MANIFESTO OF FUTURISM

Filippo Tommasso Marinetti (1876-1944) was a leading ideologist and founder of Futurism. Born in Alexandra, Italy, Marinetti received his education in numerous countries, including Egypt, Italy, Switzerland and France. Having mastered several languages, he worked in France most of his time, writing for a literary magazine. In 1909, he published "Manifeste de Futurisme" in French Le Figaro, which laid the basis of the literary, artistic, and political movement of Futurism, which advocated ideas of rapid change, use of machines, power, speed, energy, rejection of old values, and embracement of the 'new', often for the novelty's sake. He continued his literary career with the French play Le Roi bombance (The Feasting King, 1909), the novel Mafarka le Futuriste (1910), the Italian play Anti-neutralita (Anti-Neutrality, 1912), and the work of prose Teatro sintetico futurista (Synthetic Futurist Theatre, 1916). He later became an open Fascist and supported Mussolini. In the poetry collection Guerra sola igience del mundo (War - the Only Hygiene of the World, 1915) he praised the start of World War I, and claimed that Futurism is a continuation of Fascism in Futurisme e Fascismo (1924). The following is an excerpt from the Manifesto of Futurism. As you read, consider what the author believes is the role of traditions in modernity.

Museums: cemeteries!... Identical, surely, in the sinister **promiscuity** of so many bodies unknown to one another. Museums: public dormitories where one lies forever beside hated or unknown beings. Museums: absurd **abattoirs** of painters and sculptors **ferociously** slaughtering each other with colour-blows and line-blows, the length of the fought-over walls!

That one should make an annual pilgrimage, just as one goes to the graveyard on **All Souls' Day**—that I grant. That once a year one should leave a floral tribute beneath the Gioconda, I grant you that... But I don't admit that our sorrows, our fragile courage, our **morbid** restlessness should be given a daily conducted tour through the museums. Why poison ourselves? Why rot?

And what is there to see in an old picture except the laborious **contortions** of an artist throwing himself against the barriers that thwart his desire to express his dream completely?... Admiring an old picture is the same as pouring our sensibility into a funerary **urn** instead of hurtling it far off, in violent spasms of action and creation.

Do you, then, wish to waste all your best powers in this eternal and futile worship of the past, from which you emerge fatally exhausted, shrunken, beaten down?

In truth I tell you that daily visits to museums, libraries, and academies (cemeteries of empty exertion, Calvaries of crucified dreams, registries of aborted beginnings!) are, for artists, as damaging as the prolonged supervision by parents of certain young people drunk with their talent and their ambitious wills. When the future is barred to them, the admirable past may be a solace for the ills of the **moribund**, the sickly, the prisoner... But we want no part of it, the past, we the young and strong Futurists!

So let them come, the gay **incendiaries** with charred fingers! Here they are! Here they are!... Come on! Set fire to the library shelves! Turn aside the canals to flood the

promiscuity - immorality
abattoirs - a slaughterhouse
ferociously - brutally, violently
All Souls' Day - a day usually in November which is dedicated to the dead
morbid - morose, sick, sickly
contortions - twisting out of shape
urn - a small container, like a vase that holds the ashes of a dead person
moribund - near to death
incendiaries - one who creates or stirs up factionalism or sedition; an agitator

museums!... Oh, the joy of seeing the glorious old canvases bobbing adrift on those waters, discoloured and shredded!... Take up your pickaxes, your axes and hammers and wreck, wreck the **venerable** cities, pitilessly!

The oldest of us is thirty: so we have at least a decade for finishing our work. When we are forty, other younger and stronger men will probably throw us in the wastebasket like useless manuscripts—we want it to happen!

They will come against us, our successors, will come from far away, from every quarter, dancing to the winged **cadence** of their first songs, flexing the hooked claws of predators, sniffing doglike at the academy doors the strong odour of our decaying minds, which will have already been promised to the literary **catacombs**.

But we won't be there... At last they'll find us—one winter's night—in open country, beneath a sad roof drummed by a monotonous rain. They'll see us crouched beside our trembling aeroplanes in the act of warming our hands at the poor little blaze that our books of today will give out when they take fire from the flight of our images.

They'll storm around us, **panting** with **scorn** and **anguish**, and all of them, exasperated by our proud daring, will hurtle to kill us, driven by a hatred the more **implacable** the more their hearts will be drunk with love and admiration for us.

Injustice, strong and sane, will break out radiantly in their eyes.

Art, in fact, can be nothing but violence, cruelty, and injustice.

The oldest of us is thirty: even so we have already scattered treasures, a thousand treasures of force, love, courage, astuteness, and raw will-power; have thrown them impatiently away, with fury, carelessly, unhesitatingly, breathless, and unresting... Look at us! We are still untired! Our hearts know no weariness because they are fed with fire, hatred, and speed!... Does that amaze you? It should, because you can never remember having lived! Erect on the summit of the world, once again we hurl our defiance at the stars!

You have objections?—Enough! Enough! We know them... We've understood!... Our fine deceitful intelligence tells us that we are the revival and extension of our ancestors—Perhaps!... If only it were so!—But who cares? We don't want to understand!... Woe to anyone who says those infamous words to us again!

Lift up your heads!

Erect on the **summit** of the world, once again we hurl defiance to the stars!

venerable -
dignified, imposing, stately; admirable

cadence -
balanced, rhythmic flow, as of poetry or oratory

catacombs -
an underground cemetery consisting of chambers or tunnels with recesses for graves

panting -
To breathe loudly or heavily

scorn -
disdain, disrespect

anguish -
suffering, torment

implacable -
not willing to be calmed or satisfied

summit -
the highest point or part; the top.

Source: Marinetti, Filippo. "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism." The Niuean Pop Cultural Archive. URL: http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/manifesto.html

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is Marinetti's attitude towards museums?
2. What does Marinetti say the Futurists should do?
3. How does the author define 'art'?
4. How does the author perceive the past?
5. What should the Futurists' general attitude towards life be, according to Marinetti?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. How do you understand Marinetti's vision of the future?
2. What would Durkheim say to Marinetti's desire to discard the past and embrace only originality and dynamism in life?
3. Would James C. Scott agree with Marinetti? Explain your answer.
4. What would be the human condition under the circumstances described by Marinetti? Consider Gaskell's work as an example of a depiction of rapid social changes.
5. Do you know any Central Asian authors whose ideas resembled the passions of the Futurists?

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. Having read chapter five, how would you define modernity?
2. What is the impact of modernity on traditions?
3. Can you draw parallels between Benedict Anderson's argument about the creation of identity and Khalid's assertion that the printing press greatly influences society?
4. How can the works of authors like Muhammad Iqbal, Karl Marx and Vitali Vitaliev fit under the theme of 'tradition meets modernity'?
5. How did the subjects of 'modernity' respond to change in *Herders' Calling*, *The African Sahel* and *Mecca*?
6. How would William Blake, Fyodor Dostoevsky and Clifford Geertz respond to Filippo Marinetti?

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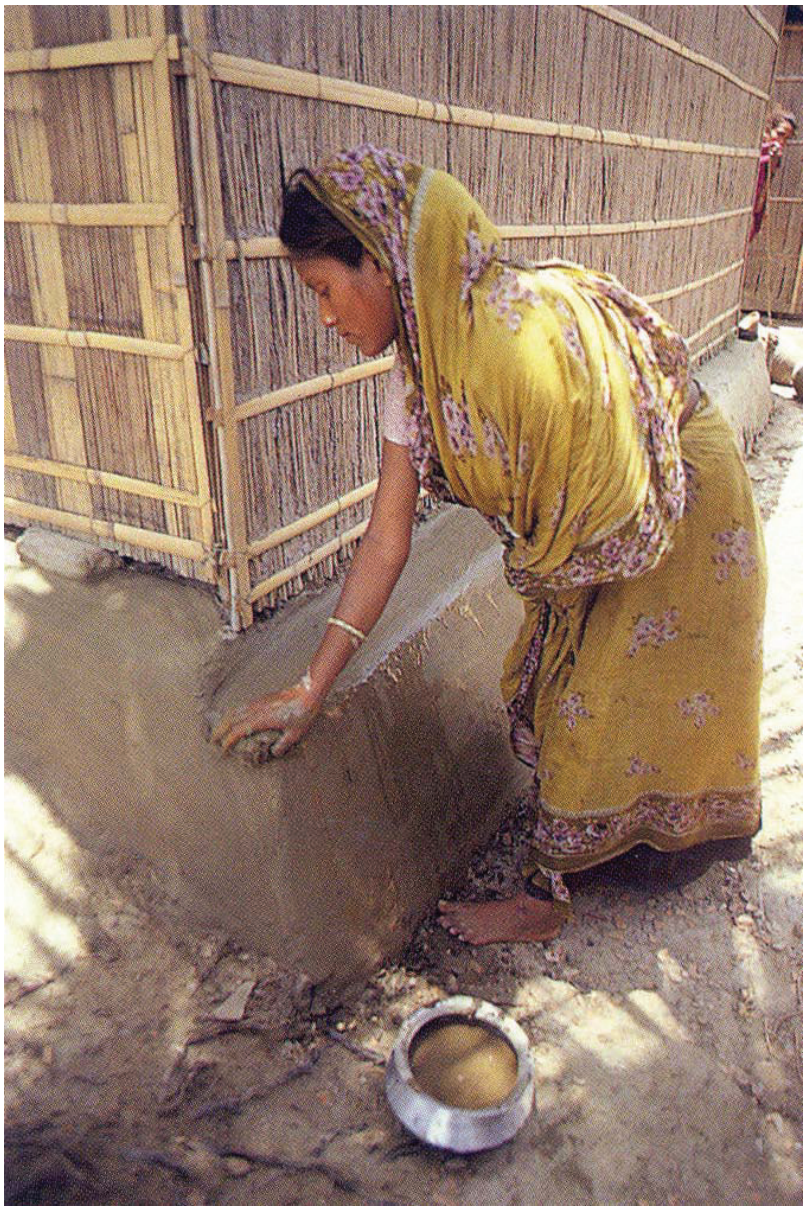
CHAPTER SIX:
GLOBALISATION AND TRADITIONS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six looks at traditions within the context of globalisation. The term 'globalisation' is perhaps one of the most popular, ambiguous and vigorously-contested words of the last decade. Economists use it to explain free-market economics and corporate capitalism. Political scientists use it to assert the growing interdependence of nation states and the blurring of borders and sovereignty. Human rights activists use it to justify their interventions in the affairs of states. Sociologists, historians, anthropologists, and philosophers use it to argue their latest theories. In this chapter, we will be examining the impact of this phenomenon on traditions. How are cultures affected by globalisation? Can traditions survive globalisation?

Many questions discussed in this chapter are elaborations on the themes raised in the previous chapter, 'Tradition Meets Modernity'. In one of the texts, readers will get acquainted with the different faces of the global city of London. The theme of globalisation and tradition will also be approached from the angle of one of the most ancient traditions of humankind - religion. Will religion be compromised by the new values that globalisation brings, or will it flourish under the new opportunities in communication and transportation that globalisation affords? Chandra Muzaffar will raise questions about the role of Islam in the modern world and a representative of a Mu'tazilite movement will consider Islam in the context of global economics. In addition, Chapter Six will offer an interesting account of how certain traditional communities are making their way, however slowly, through the web of global networks. The case of Grameen Bank, which helps the poor via microcredit, is one example under consideration here. Chapter Six also includes a text by Huntington, which raises a lot of concerns for a peaceful world under globalisation. As you read, keep the texts from the previous chapters in mind.



A WOMAN IN BANGLADESH USING GRAMEEN MICROCREDIT MONEY FOR HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS

ALAN JOLIS: THE GOOD BANKER

The following article describes the project of Muhammad Yunus, a banker from South Asia who aims to eradicate world poverty through the provision of small loans or "micro-credits" to the third world poor. Born in what is now Bangladesh, Yunus decided that poverty was the greatest problem facing his country and one that standard measures had not succeeded in resolving. Instead of taking the conventional route of charity and welfare to deal with the problems of the poor, Yunus developed the concept of "micro-credit". Micro-credit loans enable poor people to secure loans for which they otherwise would not qualify, and start up small businesses or make small investments. Since this article was written in 1996, micro-credit programmes have been established with remarkable success in virtually every country in the world, including all the Central Asian republics. As you read "The Good Banker", think about how creative thinking can generate solutions to problems that were traditionally considered unsolvable or inevitable. Also consider the reasons behind the success of micro-credit programmes. What role does "self-help" play in programs for the poor? Also consider how small-scale measures can have a greater and more positive impact than large-scale measures since they do not bring the large-scale changes with them that tend to interfere with and disrupt traditional ways of life. Also consider how, in general, globalisation relates to the resolution of global problems such as poverty, and how this in turn affects long-held traditional beliefs and practices.

MUHAMMAD YUNUS

Muhammad Yunus believes that he can **eradicate** world poverty, all by the use of one simple idea. Now the world's leaders are starting to take him seriously.

Cynics roll their eyes to the ceiling, but Muhammad Yunus, a 56-year-old banker from Bangladesh, is that rare thing: a **bona fide** visionary. His dream, which he is actively pursuing, is the total eradication of poverty from the world. "One day," he says confidently, "our grandchildren will go to museums to see what poverty was like."

But what is truly amazing about Yunus is not the extravagance of his vision but the fact that, after two decades of working in anonymity, his ideas are winning converts among the world's top policy-makers. Bill Clinton said in his last election campaign that Yunus deserved a Nobel Peace Prize and cited his experiment in Bangladesh as a model for rebuilding the inner cities of America. Since then, the World Bank has made him the head of its advisory committee to propagate his vision worldwide. He has also won countless prizes and **accolades**: hailed by "Asia Week" magazine as one of the 25 most influential Asians, by the "New York Times" as the star of the UN's Women's Conference last year, and by ABC TV as Man of the Week. When he's not busy receiving prizes—the World Food Prize and the Care Humanitarian Award among them—he is escorting Hillary Clinton on a field trip to his borrowers or preparing for a visit by Queen Sofia of Spain. In July he will come to England to receive an honorary doctorate from Warwick University.

What this man has invented that excites so much interest is something called micro-credit. It is both terribly simple and, in the field of development and aid, completely revolutionary. Rather than donating billions to help large infrastructure ventures, Yunus

eradicate - eliminate, wipe out

cynic - someone who does not believe or who is doubtful of something

bona fide - real or legal; genuine

accolades - a special acknowledgment; an award

gives loans of as little as **A320** to the **destitute**. A typical borrower from his bank would be a Bangladeshi woman (94 per cent of the bank's borrowers are women) who has never touched money before; all her life, her father and husband will have told her she is useless and a burden to the family; finally, widowed or divorced, she will have been forced to beg to feed her children. Yunus lends her money—and doesn't regret it. Kept on the straight and narrow by a mixture of peer pressure and peer support, she uses the loan to buy an asset which can immediately start paying income—such as cotton to weave, or raw materials for **bangles** or a cow she can milk. She repays the loan in tiny weekly instalments until she becomes self-sufficient. Then, if she wants, she can take out a new, larger loan. Either way, she is no longer poor.

His bank provides no training, no education, no infrastructure for its clients. "I firmly believe that all human beings have an innate skill," says Yunus. "I call it the survival skill. The fact that the poor are alive is proof of their ability. We do not need to teach them how to survive: They know this already. Giving the poor credit allows them to put into practice the skills they already know. And the cash they earn is then a tool, a key that unlocks a host of other problems."

The Grameen Bank ("rural bank" in Bengali), which Yunus has built over the last 20 years, is today the largest rural bank in Bangladesh. It has over 2 million borrowers and works in 35,000 villages throughout the country. Assuming that each borrower has six dependents, it is possible that 10 per cent of the population of Bangladesh (or 12 million people) now live directly from the benefit of Grameen loans. By 1994, the bank had lent a total of A3650m; in 1995, it made loans of A3250m. By 1998, it plans to increase its lending to A3650m a year. The bank actively seeks out the most deprived in Bangladeshi society: beggars, illiterates, widows. Yet it claims a loan repayment rate of 99 per cent. Most western banks would be delighted with such a **bad debt** ratio. And, since 92 per cent of its shares are owned by the borrowers themselves (the balance is owned by the government), it truly is a bank for, and of, the poor. Each borrower is issued with one non-tradable share and has to start a saving scheme as a form of insurance against disaster. "What Yunus has achieved is simply brilliant," says Bruno Lefevre, who just completed a study of Grameen for UNESCO.

The man whose vision has made this all possible is a soft-spoken, bespectacled ex-professor, who lives and dresses simply—he earns only A3160 a month and is, in public, **unassuming** and shy. In private Muhammad Yunus is funny, charming and approachable. His best work is done in a two-bedroom apartment at the bank's headquarters in Bangladesh's capital, Dhaka, where he lives with his wife and 10-year-old daughter, Deena. He does not own a car, and, although he was recently persuaded to get a credit card for hotel bookings, he has never actually charged anything to it.

Yunus was born in 1940 in Chittagong, the business centre of what was then Eastern Bengal. His father, a goldsmith, did well for himself and pushed his sons to seek higher education. But his main influence was his mother, Sofia Khatun, who had 14 children, of whom five died in childbirth. "Mother always helped any poor who knocked on our door," he explains. "Thanks to her I always knew I would have a mission in life, though I didn't know what form it would take." Tragically, a **congenital** illness reduced her mental abilities in later life.

A320 -
A 320 = US$ 36.95 ; US$ 1 = A 8,66
destitute -
poor enough to need help from others
bangles -
a rigid bracelet or anklet
bad debt -
unlikely to be repaid
unassuming -
modest, humble
congenital -
existing since or before birth

In 1965, he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship and went to do a PhD at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he stayed for seven years. Returning in 1972 to become the head of the economics department at Chittagong University, he found the situation in newly

independent Bangladesh worsening day by day. The terrible man-made famine of 1974, which by some estimates killed 1.5 million Bangladeshis, changed his life for ever. "While people were dying of hunger on the streets, I was teaching elegant theories of economics. I started hating myself for the arrogance of pretending I had answers. We university professors were all so intelligent, but we knew absolutely nothing about the poverty surrounding us. Why did people who worked 12 hours a day, seven days a week, not have enough food to eat? I decided that the poor themselves would be my teachers. I began to study them and question them on their lives."

Yunus spent most of 1975 and 1976 leading his students on field trips to the nearby village of Jobra. It was easy to see the problem, but what was the solution? He introduced improved rice-farming techniques and established a farmers' cooperative to irrigate during the dry season. Soon he realised that targeting farmers was not helping the truly destitute underclass—the landless, assetless, rural poor.

Then he made his big discovery. One day, interviewing a woman who made bamboo stools, he learnt that, because she had no capital of her own, she had to borrow the equivalent of 15*p* to buy raw bamboo for each stool made. After repaying the middleman, she kept only a l*p* **profit margin**. With the help of his graduate students, he discovered 42 other villagers in the same **predicament**.

"Their poverty was not a personal problem due to laziness or lack of intelligence, but a structural one: lack of capital. The existing system made it certain that the poor could not save a penny and could not invest in bettering themselves. Some moneylenders set interest rates as high as 10 per cent a month, some 10 per cent a week. So, no matter how hard these people worked, they would never raise themselves above subsistence level. What was needed was to link their work to capital to allow them to **amass** an economic cushion and earn a ready income."

And so the idea of credit for the landless was born. Yunus's first approach was to reach into his pocket and lend each of the 42 women the equivalent of A317. He set no interest rate and no repayment date: "I didn't think of myself as a banker, but as the liberator of 42 families."

Immediately, Yunus saw the impracticality of carrying on in this way, and tried to interest banks in institutionalising his gesture by lending to the poorest, with no **collateral**—Bankers laughed at him, insisting that the poor are not "**creditworthy**." Yunus answered, "How do you know they are not creditworthy, if you've never tried? Perhaps it is the banks that are not people-worthy?"

Undeterred, he started an experimental project in Jobra, the village he and his students had been studying, and staffed it with his graduate students. Between 1976 and 1979, his microloans successfully changed the lives of around 500 borrowers. But it was hard work combining the project with his full-time job as a Professor, and he

profit margin - the difference between cost and price
predicament - a difficult situation
amass - to come together; collect
collateral - something that you promise to give to somebody if you can't pay back money that you borrow
creditworthy - a responsible borrower

continued to lobby the state-owned Central Bank and the commercial banks to adopt his experiment.

In 1979, the Central Bank was won over and arranged for the Grameen project, as it was then called, to be run from the branches of seven state-run banks—initially in one province, and, by 1981, in five. Each expansion confirmed the effectiveness of micro-credit: by 1983, Grameen had 59,000 clients in 86 branches. Eventually, Yunus decided to quit academia and go it alone. Grameen was incorporated as a separate legal institution in 1983, and since then it has moved fast—some would say too fast—to expand its operations.

Grameen is not noticeably "bank-like". It does lend money, and it does get repaid with interest. But there are no telephones in its branches, no typewriters or carpets — most borrowers are visited by Yunus's staff in their villages—and no loan agreements. Borrowers who are not destitute are excluded, and so, usually, are men. Yunus soon discovered that lending to women, who traditionally have the least economic opportunity in Bangladeshi society, was much more beneficial to whole families; and that women were more careful about their debts. All that an assetless and landless person must do in order to be eligible for a loan is to prove that they understand how Grameen works. Over the years, representatives of the borrower-shareholders have agreed with the bank certain principles and commitments which they will undertake to help improve their lives and their ability to meet their debts. To Westerners these may seem at best **paternalistic**; however, the slogans are chanted enthusiastically by the microborrowers. They pledge to abide by "the 16 decisions", a set of personal commitments such as "We pledge to send our children to school," and "We pledge not to demand or pay **dowry** for our daughters' marriage." The most important of these commitments is to join up with four fellow borrowers, none of whom can be a family member, to form a "group." The group dynamic provides a borrower with the self-discipline and courage needed to enter into these uncharted waters. Peer pressure and peer support effectively replace collateral: if one borrower **defaults,** the whole group is penalised. The system also saves the bank the costly business of screening and monitoring borrowers.

Transactions are kept simple. Loans are always for a year and interest is fixed at 20 per cent simple interest, not **compounded**. Repayment starts the second week of the loan which, though it may sound punishing, releases the borrower from the need to produce a **lump sum** at the end of the year—and typically builds her confidence. All loan **disbursements** and repayments are made publicly in "centre meetings" (in front of eight or 10 groups) on a weekly basis. In a country steeped in corruption at all levels of administration, Grameen prides itself on being as transparent and open as possible.

Hajeera Begum was born in 1959, in a village not far from Dhaka. Her father, a farm labourer, could not feed his six daughters, and he married her off to a blind man simply because he demanded no dowry. Hajeera and her husband survived on what little she earned cleaning houses, but she was unable to feed her three children regularly. One day she asked her husband for permission to join Grameen, but he had heard it was a Christian front organisation bent on destroying Islam. He threatened to divorce her if she joined.

Without telling anyone, she travelled to a nearby village and attended some introductory sessions where Grameen workers explained the principles of the bank. The first time the members of the group she had joined took the oral exam to show they knew the rules of Grameen, Hajeera was so nervous that she couldn't answer the questions. "All my life I was told I was no good. I was told I brought only misery to

paternalistic - practice of treating or governing people in a fatherly manner

dowry - money or property brought by a bride to her husband at marriage

defaults - failure to meet a financial obligation

compound - to compute interest on the principal and accrued interest

lump sum - a single sum of money that serves as complete payment

disbursement - payment, expense, cost

my parents because I was a woman and my family could not pay for my dowry. Many times I heard my mother say she should have killed me at birth. I did not feel I was worthy of a loan, or that I could ever repay it."

She would have given up, but the other members of her group encouraged her, and she passed the exam. At last the day came when she **mustered** the strength to ask for a loan of 2,000 **thaka** (A335). When she received it, tears ran down her face. Her group persuaded her to use the loan to buy a **calf** for fattening and a share of the rice harvest to process and sell. When her father brought the calf to the house, her husband was so excited that he forgot his threat of divorcing.

Within a year Hajeera had paid off her first loan, taken a second loan and used it to rent a piece of land, planted it with 70 banana seedlings, and used the balance to buy a second calf. Today, with a **mortgage**, she owns a rice field, and goats, ducks and chickens. "We now enjoy three meals a day," says Hajeera. "We can even afford some meat once a week. I intend to send all three of my children to school and college, even university. You ask what I think of Grameen? Grameen is like my mother. She has given me new life."

A GRAMEEN PARTICIPANT

Independent studies by the World Bank and others indicate that within five years, about half Grameen's 2 million borrowers manage to pull themselves up over the poverty line, while a further quarter hover near the line. In addition, studies of the Grameen method suggest that after a wife joins the bank, her husband is likely to show her more tenderness and respect. Divorce rates drop among Grameen borrowers, as do birth rates.

Why does micro-credit work? What theoretical framework does it rely on? Yunus avoids **jargon** and graphs; instead, he states simply: "Poverty covers people in a thick crust and makes the poor appear stupid and without initiative. Yet if you give them credit, they will slowly come back to life. Even those who seemingly have no conceptual thought, no ability to think of yesterday or tomorrow, are in fact quite intelligent and expert at the art of survival. Credit is the key that unlocks their humanity."

That is not to say that micro-credit solves all problems. One quarter of Grameen borrowers do not manage to repay their loans and remain trapped in poverty, often—like the woman I met recently who had been featured four years ago on an American television programme as a "Grameen success story"—because they are too sick or **infirm**. It is this 25 per cent which is now giving Yunus the most worry; often, he believes, problems arise from the lack of social infrastructure.

Meanwhile, critics of Grameen abound. The most vocal are the fundamentalists who believe the bank is anti-Islamic. These conservatives regularly spread wild rumours about Grameen: Hajeera Begum's blind husband was told that if she joined Grameen she would secretly be forced to abandon her faith. I also heard of women being told that Grameen would turn them into Christians and feed them to the tigers; or that they would be tortured, tattooed on the arm and sold into prostitution. One woman was beaten repeatedly by her family to prevent her from joining in 1987, while in 1994, in

mustered - to bring together; gather
thaka - currency of Bangladesh
calf - a young cow or bull
mortgage - borrowing money by promising a property in exchange for the money if the debtor does not pay back
jargon - expressions and words that are used in a specific field, e.g. economics, finances, etc.
infirm - weak in body

the conservative north-west of the country, a branch of Grameen was burnt down.

Yunus denies that he is in an undeclared war with Islam. Indeed, Grameen claims to be more Islamic than ordinary banks, because it builds up self-employment, instead of forcing women to seek factory jobs away from their families. Furthermore, it does not violate Islam's ban on charging interest because its borrowers own the bank, so that in essence they are paying interest to themselves. When opponents try to prevent Grameen from entering a village, his staff have orders to remain outside, avoiding confrontation, and wait for the women to come to them.

Another frequent criticism is that Grameen charges too much interest initially 16 per cent and for the last four years 20 per cent. Yunus's answer is simple: if anyone can run a bank for the poor and charge less, please go ahead and do so. He has promised to reduce interest rates if and when he can. This is significant, because in 1995, for the first time in its existence, Grameen finally made enough profit to operate on a fully-commercial basis without the need for any more preferential loans (which it has received in the past from Bangladesh's Central Bank and sympathetic banks in the West), or grants from charitable trusts such as the Ford Foundation. Yunus also intends to pay cash **dividends** to his borrowers.

Within the international development community, many people working in traditional aid agencies distrust Yunus's self-help philosophy. They argue that what keeps poor people trapped is inadequate social and welfare policies. It isn't micro-loans that are going to bring water, sanitation, health care and schools to desperate communities. The success of microcredit is distracting governments from their responsibilities, they say. Even those who generally approve of him sometimes ask why Yunus's programme needs to be profit-making at all.

Yunus answers this last point with the observation that any institution for the poor that is not self-sufficient is bound to be hurt by reliance on donors: "It is like telling a patient that he can breathe by himself for 23 hours a day, and the balance of the time the govenment will provide the oxygen. That means you are at their mercy. Any time a politician changes his mind, or a bureaucrat forgets, you die." Many aid programmes, he says, are just trying to make poverty tolerable rather than to eliminate it.

Despite the opposition, Yunus's method is gathering supporters. Grameen is being copied in 52 countries. The methods are adapted to suit local conditions, but the solution of creating a counter-culture that empowers individuals with their own capital is the same.

The United States alone has over 500 Grameen spin-offs. Englewood is a murderous crack-ridden ghetto on the south side of Chicago, where you would never imagine a Bengali professor would have any role to play. But the Full Circle Fund, a Grameen clone created by the city's South Shore Bank, has operated there for 10 years. Here the borrowers are mostly welfare mothers: they take out loans of as little as $375 (A3250) to buy nail-sculpting boxes; they start beauty salons, make and sell jewellery, open bookstores, create **day-care centres** and rehabilitate buildings. In Chicago dowries are not an issue but, as part of joining FCF, borrowers pledge not to waste money on expensive funerals.

dividends - share of profits paid to shareholders

day-care centre - a place where mothers can leave their children during the working day

The bank has entered into an agreement with the Governor of Illinois so that borrowers can continue to receive welfare benefits in the transitional period until they become self-reliant. To see women weep for joy when they inform the authorities that they no longer need welfare is a moving experience.

Group solidarity works well in America's black ghettos, on Indian reservations, in rural Arkansas—wherever the social life of the poor is tightly knit. But in many urban

settings in the West the lack of it has been the greatest stumbling block to the Grameen method. Maria Nowak, a worker for the World Bank who has set up Grameen replicas in Albania and in Bosnia, has not had the same success in France, where she is based. "There is simply no solidarity among the poorest of the poor here," she says. "Why would a Zairean tortured in prison in her country and now living in Paris care about a fellow borrower living in a train station out of garbage bags? There is not enough social fabric left on which to hook the group solidarity." But even replicators in Asia and Africa report that it is more difficult to make microcredit work in urban areas, especially among those who have no fixed address and thus few links to their neighbours.

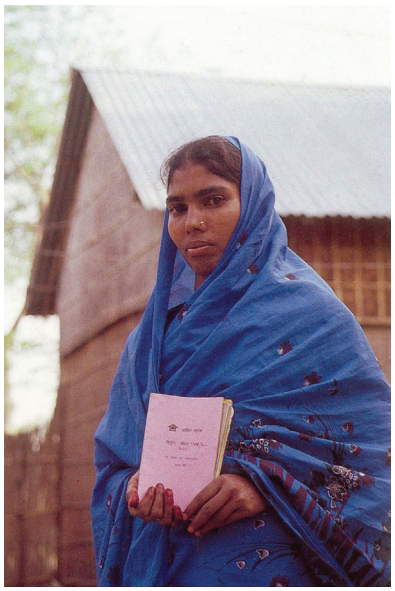
Yunus does not pretend to have solution for all problems. What he does say is that by creating wealth in the countryside, Grameen can reduce the pressure on those moving to the urban **slums**. He also points to the success of the newly-formed Shokhti Foundation, which has 118,000 micro-loan borrowers in the **shanty towns** of Dhaka; and to the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), which has many more in Indian cities.

It has also been suggested that microcredit cannot flourish in Western countries without Bangladesh's long history of self-employment. But Yunus believes that self-employment is the future. He has visited China, where Grameen loans have helped starving peasants who have too little to keep warm in winter; he has travelled to South Africa and met with the poor who jump at the chance to start their own car repair workshop or timber-sawing business, or plant wheat. All this has convinced him that, as Jan Piercy, US Executive Director of the World Bank, puts it: "Creating jobs requires huge investment, management, **overheads** ... It is extremely complex and time-consuming to set up, whereas self-employment is immediate. It may be tiny, but each tiny bit contributed by the millions adds up."

It is Yunus's very **pragmatism**, and his refusal to be cornered by ideology, which his supporters say may prevent him from getting the Nobel Prize for economics—which usually rewards theoretical work. But Yunus is far too ambitious for Grameen to worry about a mere prize. What he has set his sights on is the total eradication of poverty from the world and to hear him discuss it is spine-tingling: "There are 1.2 billion poor in the world. Grameen has reached 2 million of them, our **copycats** service another 1.5 million in Bangladesh. Our international replicators have 2.5 million borrowers. That means so far, counting dependants, we've helped 36 million. If we can reach 100 million, that will be a critical mass. The rest will be easy.

"People say I am crazy, but no one can achieve anything without a dream. When you build a house, you can't just assemble a bunch of bricks and mortar, you must first have the idea that it can be done. If one is going to make headway against poverty, one cannot do business as usual. One must be revolutionary and think the unthinkable."

SOURCE: Jolis, Alan. "The Good Banker." *The Independent on Sunday Supplement*, 5 May 1996. URL: http://www.gdrc.org/icm/grameen-goodbanker.html.



GRAMEEN PROGRAMME PARTICIPANT

slums - a heavily-populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor

shanty town - the suburban, very poor neighbourhood of big cities

overheads - relating to the operating expenses of a business

pragmatism - practicality, common sense

copycat - to act as an imitator or mimic

WEAVING – A MICRO-CREDIT FINANCED SMALL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Who is Muhammad Yunus and what is he famous for inventing?
2. What is micro-credit? How does it work?
3. On what terms does Grameen lend money? What are "the 16 decisions"?
4. Is the idea of micro-credit always met with positive responses? What was the result of cloning Grameen-type banks elsewhere?
5. Do you think that micro-credit helps people to retain their traditions? Why and how?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Do you know any organizations in your community which grant micro-credit loans? Do you know anyone who has secured such a loan?
2. Can the Grameen's response to the problem of poverty be considered an appropriate response to this issue in all countries of the world, given the phenomenon of globalisation?
3. Why is self-help so highly praised by Yunus? Do you think self-help would help to solve the problems in other poor countries?

CHANDRA MUZAFFAR: UNIVERSALISM IN ISLAM

Chandra Muzzafar (1947 -) is a professor at the University of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur who has gained international attention for his widely-published articles on the inclusiveness, as opposed to the communalism, of Islam. His research looks specifically at the interrelationship between religion and ethnicity in Malaysia today. Most Malaysians are Muslim, and the largest ethnic group is the Malays. But there are also very large non-Muslim communities, most notably the Chinese and South Asian. In the 1960s and '70s, Muslim Malays first began moving in large numbers to Kuala Lumpur, the capital city. At the same time, Malays began talking about a "rising tide of Islam". In this essay, Muzaffar considers the claims to special status that certain groups take.

The Universalism of Islam is an open proclamation to everyone—Muslim and non-Muslim alike—that communalism is totally alien to the spirit and philosophy of Islam.

This proclamation is particularly relevant in a society like ours. It is unfortunate that over the decades Islam in Malaysia has come to be seen in communal perspectives. "Communal" in this context does not mean mere association with a particular community. It is perhaps unavoidable that in a situation where all Malays are Muslims, Islam will be perceived as a Malay religion by both Malays and non-Malays. As long as there is sufficient awareness that Islam does not belong exclusively to the Malays and that there are millions upon millions of non-Malays who are also Muslims, no one can say that such a perception is in itself communal.[1]

What makes the prevailing attitude towards Islam communal is the tendency to link the religion with what I shall call Malayism and Bumiputraism when it is apparent that both the premises of these two almost identical "isms" and their implications have nothing to do with Islam. By Malayism I mean that whole philosophy that argues that, as the indigenous community, the Malays have certain political, economic and cultural rights that distinguish them from the non-indigenous communities [primarily Chinese and South Asians]. Bumiputraism rests upon the same premise except that it also encompasses indigenous non-Malay, non-Muslim communities whose interests may, at certain points, conflict with those of the Malays.[2] A clear instance would be the political **pre-eminence** of the Malays, which is not just pre-eminence in relation to the non-indigenous communities but also pre-eminence in relation to the non-Malay, non-Muslim indigenous communities.[3]

1 There is this awareness, though non-Malays who be come Muslims are sometimes referred to as people who have *"masuk Melayu"* (become Malays). *"Masuk Melayu,"* however, need not be interpreted literally; it could simply mean those who have adopted the religion of the Malays.

2 These communities would be the Kadazans, Ibans, and others of East Malaysia in the main and some of the Orang Asli of West Malaysia.

3 In both Sabah and Sarawak, for instance, the Chief Ministership and certain other important political offices are held by indigenous Muslims, though non-Muslim indigenous communities are numerically stronger in both states. For a fuller discussion of politics in these states, see K. J. Ratnam and R. S. Milne, *New States in a New Nation* (London: Frank Cass, 1974).

pre-eminence - superior to or notable above all others

Since both Malayism and Bumiputraism are founded upon the notion of an indigenous people, let us consider this factor from the point of view of Islam. The Islamic party of Malaysia (PAS [*Partai Islam Se-Malaysia*, or Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party]) has all along demanded the "restoration of Malay sovereignty" primarily because of the indigenous status of the community.[4] What is important to us is that its demand has invariably been presented in the name of Islam. Even a cursory analysis of PAS's philosophy will reveal that its insistence upon Malay political pre-eminence, Malay economic pre-eminence and Malay cultural pre-eminence have been articulated as a way of protecting the integrity of Islam.[5]

Now Islam does not recognise an indigenous/non-indigenous **dichotomy** as the basis of any social system. If terms like indigenous (Bumiputra) and non-indigenous (non-Bumiputra) are used merely as descriptions of categories within the population which have emerged as a result of the evolution of the Malaysian nation, it would not be altogether **antithetical** to Islamic principles. For then the categories concerned would be of historical rather than social relevance. But since the PAS argument is that public life should be conducted on the basis of an indigenous/non-indigenous dichotomy one would be right in describing it as an un-Islamic stance. There are three important reasons for saying so. Firstly, it is seldom realised that by distinguishing the indigenous community from the non-indigenous communities one is, in fact, dividing the Muslims since there are Muslims who are non-Bumiputras just as there are Bumiputras who are non-Muslims. Islamic teachings are opposed to any covert or overt attempt to divide Muslims. This is borne out by the importance attached to the very well-known principle in Islam that "the Believers are but a single Brotherhood, so make peace and reconciliation between your two contending brothers" (Qur'an, Sura *Al-Hujurat* [Sura 49], Verse 10).[6] **Lest** this idea of Muslim unity be misunderstood it must be stressed that Islam does not advocate an obscurantist sort of unity without considering the ethical foundations of that unity. As proof, it is stated in the Qur'an that "God will not leave the Believers in the state in which ye are now until He separates what is evil from what is good." (Sura *Al-'Imran* [Sura 3], Verse 179) Dividing non-indigenous Muslims from indigenous Muslims in matters relating to politics, economics, education and culture is certainly not a case of separating evil from good! Secondly, even if all Bumiputras were Muslims and all non-Bumiputras non-Muslims, it would still be wrong to differentiate between the two groups in employment, education, and other similar areas where the **paramount** consideration should be the welfare of the human being. The Qur'an itself prohibits such discrimination (Sura *Al-Baqara* [Sura 2], Verse 272). The constitution of Medina formulated by Prophet Muhammad (may peace be upon him) provided equal rights and responsibilities to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.[7] Illustrious caliphs in early Islam like Abu Bakr [reigned 632-634], 'Umar [reigned 634-644], and 'Ali [reigned 656-661] took great pains to ensure that their non-Muslim citizens were well looked after. According to the 8th century Hanafi jurist Abu Yusuf, the second caliph 'Umar even fixed special pensions for the non-Muslims living in **Damascus**.[8] Thirdly, by placing

dichotomy - a division or the process of dividing into two especially mutually exclusive or contradictory groups or entities

antithetical - opposite to or opposing something

lest - for fear that, in case

paramount - of chief concern or importance

Damascus - the capital and largest city of Syria, in the southwest part of the country

repugnant - incompatible, inconsistent

4 See "Amanat Yang di-Pertua Agong PAS Ulang Tahun 1958" [The 1958 Anniversary Speech of the President of the PAS], in *Cenderamata Pembukaan Bangunan PAS Kelantan & Kongres PAS ke 13 [Souvenir Program in Conjunction with the Opening of the PAS's Building in Kelantan and the Thirteenth PAS Congress]*.

5 For a detailed analysis see my "Protection of the Malay Community: A study of UMNO's Position and Opposition Attitudes," Masters Thesis, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 1974.

6 See A. Yusuf AH [1872-1952], *The Holy Qur 'an: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1972).

7 For a discussion on the Constitution of Medina, see Zainal Abidin Ahmad, *Piagam Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. [Charter of the Prophet Muhammad, Peace Be upon Him]* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Bulan Bintang, 1973).

8 See Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, *The Islamic Law and Constitution* (Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications Ltd.), p. 312.

the whole Bumiputra/non-Bumiputra dichotomy at the centre of things one has, in a sense, elevated ethnicity and ancestry to a level which is **repugnant** to genuine Islamic values. One of the *hadiths* (sayings of Prophet Muhammad) reminds mankind that "there is no pride whatsoever in ancestry; there is no merit in an Arab as against a non-Arab nor in a non-Arab as against an Arab."[9] What is at the **kernel** of Islam is not ethnicity or ancestry but the unity of God. And the one most significant implication of that unity is the unity of the whole of mankind. The Qur'an for instance, observes,

> O mankind! We created you from a single pair of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other, not that ye may despise each other. Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you. (Sura Hujurat [Sura 49], Verse 13)

This concept of unity is in fact linked to the idea of equality within the human community as suggested in Sura *Al-'Imran* [Sura 3], Verse 195.[10] In other words, the very endeavour to sustain and strengthen ethnic dichotomies like the indigenous/non-indigenous distinction amounts to a denunciation of the central principle of Islam itself—the principle of the unity of God or *towhid*.

Obviously then, PAS cannot justify Bumiputraism by using or misusing Islam. Of course it is not just PAS that advocates Bumiputraism. It is, as we know, the whole basis of public policy formulation. However, in all fairness to the UMNO-led [United Malays National Organisation] government which is responsible for this, it must be recognised that it does not justify Bumiputraism in the name of Islam.[11]

That Bumiputraism cannot be defended from an Islamic point of view is something that very few Muslims in Malaysia are aware of. Even where there is some awareness, there doesn't seem to be a willingness to articulate such a view in public. This is true of almost all Muslim groups in the country, including those who argue that PAS is un-Islamic and that they represent pure, **pristine** Islam. That is why I have never believed for one moment that the tremendous interest in Islam manifested in recent years by educated youths and others who are part of the urban environment reflects the emergence of a genuine Islamic consciousness.[12] To establish this point, I shall undertake a

kernel - the centre, the most important aspect
pristine - remaining in a pure state; uncorrupted by civilisation
garb - clothes

9 Mawdudi, *The Islamic Law and Constitution,* p. 159.

10 In commenting upon that sura, Yusuf Ali notes, "In Islam, the equal status of the sexes is not only recognised but insisted on. If sex distinction, which is a distinction in nature, does not count in spiritual matters, still less of course would count artificial distinctions such as rank, wealth, position, race, color, birth, etc." A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an,* p. 175.

11 For the UMNO leadership as a whole, Bumiputraism is apparently justified on its own basis. Some analysis of this is available in my "The New Economic Policy and the Quest for National Unity," *Fifth Malaysian Economic Convention* (Malaysian Economic Association, 1978).

12 Two points, however, must be made. Firstly, there are without any doubt a number of Muslim youths who understand genuine Islamic principles. See, for instance, the view of Anwar Ibrahim [born 1947] (President, *Angkatan Bella Islam Malaysia* [Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia], or ABIM), in *Bintang Timur [Eastern Star],* 1st March

brief analysis of the so-called "rising tide of Islam" of the 1970s. I hope to show that Islam in Malaysia is still clothed in communal **garb**; that Muslims in Malaysia have yet to understand what the universal spirit of Islam means in reality.

It is no mere coincidence that this "Islamic tide" has risen in the 1970s. For the 1970s has seen the emergence of the Malay community as a significant component of the urban environment, especially the **Kuala Lumpur** environment.[13] It is estimated that by 1980, 32 percent of the urban population would be Malay.[14] In a society where ethnic consciousness is pervasive, Malays who have just become part of a largely non-Malay milieu are bound to develop an awareness of their ethnic background which may not have been there when they were amongst their own ethnic kind in the rural areas. One can argue that even in societies where ethnic consciousness is not as pervasive, a first-generation community in a somewhat alien setting is expected to manifest a similar psychological response. A sense of insecurity, a feeling of suspicion, of distrust, are some of the accompanying elements of this increased ethnic awareness. Islam provides a useful channel for the expression of this awareness since it touches the life of an ordinary Malay in a thousand different ways. No other cultural symbol of the Malay community can be as effective. The Malay language expresses only one dimension of Malay identity and besides, since 1970, it has become increasingly the language of social communication of non-Malays as well.[15] It cannot therefore be used as an avenue for expressing "Malay-ness." But Islam on the other hand, as it is understood here, can be used as the rationale for dressing in a certain way, staying away from certain groups, avoiding certain places and, most of all, adhering to certain beliefs and ideas. More specifically, this explains why some Muslim women in colleges and universities, firms and factories—more than their counterparts in the padi-fields and rubber small-holdings—are so concerned about dressing in the "proper Islamic way," about avoiding male company, about staying away from cinemas and so on. It also explains, I suppose, why there is so much concern among certain Muslim circles in the cities about whether "*tanggung halal*" [that which is permissible] signs displayed in some non-Muslim eating shops are genuine or not.[16] What all this shows is that as a reaction to the non-Malay, non-Muslim dominated urban environment, certain segments of the urban Malay community are seeking to carve out a distinctive identity, establish a separate ethnic presence. As I have tried to explain, this search is not the outcome of a sudden realisation of what it is to be a Muslim in terms of dress or social intercourse; rather it stems from a feeling of deep insecurity that compels the individual concerned to protect his "Malayness." This is why he chooses only those elements from Islam which will help him maintain his separateness, his distinctive-ness. After all, an Islamic identity is much more than dress forms or modes of social intercourse. Is not a Muslim also defined on the basis of his commitment to truth and justice, his readiness to fight oppression and corruption, his willingness to help the poor, the weak, his capacity for charity, for kindness? There are numerous verses in the Qur'an that support such an idea of a Muslim identity. One such verse says,

Kuala Lumpur - the capital city of Malaysia

privation - lack of the basic necessities or comforts of life

indigent - poor

1979. Secondly, the world-wide interest in Islam among young Muslims has also had some bearing upon the Malaysian situation, but I do not consider it a crucial factor.

13 This is due to both the rural-urban drift which has been on since Merdeka [Independence, 1957], and the New Economic Policy (NEP) [since the early 1970s] which among other things emphasises Malay participation in commerce and industry.

14 See *The Star,* 20 March 1979.

15 This is partly due to the implementation of Malay as the main medium of education since 1970.

16 The crucial word here is *"halal"* (legitimate). *"Halal"* signs therefore refer to foods that Muslims are allowed to eat. There has been a great deal of discussion about this in *Utusan Malaysia [Malaysian Messenger]* and *Utusan Melayu [Malay Messenger,* daily newspapers in Kuala Lumpur] in the last two years or so.

> And show him the two highways? But he hath made no haste on the path that is steep, and what will explain to thee the path that is steep? It is freeing the bondman; or the giving of food in a day of **privation**, to the orphan with claims of relationship, or to the **indigent** down in the dust. Then will he be of those who believe and enjoin patience (constancy and self-restraint), and enjoin deeds of kindness and compassion. Such are the Companions of the Right Hand. (Sura Al-Balad [Sura 90], Verses 10-18)

Another verse says,

> Seest thou one who denies the Judgment (to come)? Then such as the (man) who **repulses** the orphan (with harshness). And encourages not the feeding of the indigent. So woe to the worshippers who are neglectful of their prayers. Those who (want but) to be seen (of man) but refuse (to supply) (even) neighbourly needs. (Sura Al-Ma'un [Sura 107], Verses 1-7)

Of course, defining the identity of a Muslim in terms of his kindness to the poor will not serve the purpose of maintaining a separate identity since kindness like compassion is a sentiment, a value, which any human being, Muslim or non-Muslim, Malay or non-Malay, is capable of. If, on the other hand, one emphasises dress or food or various rituals which are specific and exclusive to the religion, one would be highlighting forms and practices which others cannot share. Thus, one would be able to sustain a Muslim/non-Muslim dichotomy which at the emotional-psychological level equals a Malay/non-Malay, a Bumiputra/non-Bumiputra dichotomy.

So far, I have shown that the interest in Islam in the 1970s is closely aligned to the crystallisation of ethnic consciousness in a new urban environment. Insecurity has been suggested as one of the propelling forces behind this consciousness. There is, however, another psychological force which is also at work at the same time—a force which superficially at least appears to contradict the feeling of insecurity we have just analysed. The political climate of the 1970s with its emphasis upon Malay interests and aspirations in the economy, in politics, and in the cultural life of the nation has bestowed various Malay groups with a sense of confidence about the legitimacy of their demands.[17] Confidence of this sort derived from an overall political situation where the Malay position is undoubtedly strong and powerful can, of course, co-exist quite happily with insecurity generated by a specific urban environment where the Malay

repulses - to repel by discourtesy, coldness, or denial

17 The genesis of this whole atmosphere is discussed in my "Some Political Perspectives on the New Economic Policy" *Fourth Malaysian Economic Convention* (Malaysian Economic Association, 1977).

position is neither strong nor powerful as yet. It is because there is this confidence that Malay groups are more vocal than ever before in demanding an Islamic administration based upon the Qur'an and the *sunna* (the way of the Prophet), Islamic laws, an Islamic economic system, an Islamic education system, indeed, a total Islamic society.[18] There are a number of things about these demands which must be noted. Firstly, as I have mentioned, the stronger Malay political position—an ethnic phenomenon—is at the root of these demands. Secondly, like the obsession with dress and rituals, the interest in Islamic laws cannot possibly evoke any **empathy** from the non-Muslims since Islamic laws are also, on the whole, very specific to the religion. It would have been different if the concern was with fighting exploitation or ensuring self-reliance—goals which are highly cherished in Islam—since they have an appeal that transcends religious boundaries. The emphasis given to Islamic laws and Islamic administration only helps to underline the differences that exist between Muslims and non-Muslims and, by implication, Malays and non-Malays. In that sense, it reveals the true character of the whole **agitation** for an Islamic state. Thirdly, if it were a genuine Islamic movement inspired by a genuine Islamic consciousness there would have been an increasing endeavour to study and analyse the structure and content of an Islamic society in Malaysia. This is particularly important in our context because the non-Muslim segment is a little more than half of the total population. How this large number of non-Muslims would fit into an Islamic society, what their rights and roles would be, what responsibilities they would share with the Muslims, how they would relate to an Islamic legislature or judicial system—all these and a number of other issues should have been debated and discussed in depth and detail. The fact is there has been no such effort. This lack of interest in the position and status of the non-Muslims among the so-called "Champions of Islam" of the 1970s is no different from the total lack of concern for the non-Muslims and non-Malays exhibited by PAS in the 1950s and 1960s. It is because there isn't this concern, that no Muslim group in the country has taken up cudgels on behalf of the non-Muslim poor. Yet, the humanitarian ideals which lie at the heart of Islam, the noble examples of the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be upon him) and the great caliphs which I had **alluded** to earlier, would demand such a response.

Once again, this negative attitude of various Muslim groups exposes the real nature of their political struggle. It is just another way of preserving Malayism. To understand this better, one has to compare the situation here with the attitudes that prevailed among Islamic groups in Indonesia from the 1930s right up to the 1960s. In spite of a smaller non-Muslim population, leaders of the Masyumi [party] in particular, like Muhammad Natsir [1908-1993], spent so much time and effort elucidating the rights and responsibilities of non-Muslims in the Islamic state they envisaged for Indonesia.[19] One of their more important intellectual commitments was the quest for common principles that could unite Muslims and non-Muslims—a commitment which conforms with Qur'anic ideals.[20] In this connection, no Muslim group in Malaysia has ever bothered to embark upon such a mission, though, at the level of social philosophy, there are many outstanding similarities between Islam and aspects of Chinese culture and Hindu thought.[21] The

empathy - consideration for and understanding of another's situation, feelings, and motives

agitation - stirring up of public interest in a matter of controversy, such as a political or social issue

allude - to make indirect reference

jettisoned - to get rid of as superfluous or encumbering

18 The development of these demands finds some mention in my "Dominant Concepts and Dissenting Ideas on Malay Society and Malay Rule from the Malacca Period to the Merdeka Period," Doctoral Thesis, University of Singapore, 1977.

19 See various parts in Muhammad Natsir, *Capita Selecta [Selected Works]*, volumes I and II (Jakarta, Indonesia: Pustaka Pendis, 1957).

20 The Qur'anic call for common principles is contained in Sura *Al-'Imran* [Sura 3], Verses 64-66.

21 For some discussion of common values, see my "Values in the Education System," *New Directions* (Singapore),

reason is, of course, obvious. It is because Islam is seen from a communal angle—not a universal perspective. Finally, one would have thought that those who seek to establish an Islamic state would first examine critically the ideas, beliefs and attitudes of the Muslim community itself, in order to discover if these are elements which need to be **jettisoned** in the endeavour to create a genuine Islamic spirit. Apart from the occasional blast at some insignificant ritual like Mandi Safar or puja ceremonies,[22]Muslim groups have maintained an embarrassing silence in relation to more fundamental ideas and attitudes within Malay society. These are ideas and attitudes which need to be **rectified** in the interest of Islam. One such important idea which I have already analysed is the whole notion of Bumiputraism. If the post-1970 Muslim movement was genuinely Islamic it would have at least attempted to show Muslims how a concept based upon ethnicity and ancestry—or upon residence and territory if you like—does not synchronise with Islamic values. The willingness to live with Bumiputraism, and worse still, defend it at times, shows that the real spirit of Islam has not crystallised. After all, Islam is a religion which has even questioned nationalism—let alone the perpetuation of communal dichotomies within a nation. Muhammad Iqbal [1877-1938], one of the greatest Muslims of this century, argued that territorial or racial nationalism was foreign to the spirit of Islam. As one writer on Iqbal put it,

> He [Iqbal] was convinced now that it would be a tragically **retrograde** step if the Muslim World began to try to remedy its frustrations by replacing the global Islamic sentiment by aggressive nationalism of the Western type. He conceived of Islam as a universal religion which envisaged all humanity as a unity. But the Islam of his time had become narrow, rigid and static. He conceived of life as evolutionary and dynamic. He came to the conclusion that a fossilised religious dogmatism could not generate an outlook that would lead to the self-realisation of individuals and communities.[23]

rectify - to set right, to correct by removing errors
retrograde - moving or tending backward
espouse - adopt, support, advocate
misgivings - doubts, worries, fears

It is this universal character of Islam, its conception of humanity as a unity, that we have attempted to present in this book. For this purpose we have chosen four illustrious names from Islamic history [Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207-1273), Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi (1702-1762), Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), and Ameer AH (1849-1928)]…. ALIRAN hopes that through the writings of these great thinkers the Malaysian public will achieve a deeper understanding of Islam. Because the views they have **espoused**

March 1976.

22 "Mandi Safar" is a sort of purification bath confined mainly to Muslim groups in Malacca. It is pre-Islamic in origin and has some roots in Hindu custom. One of the better known puja ceremonies was the puja conducted for fishermen going out to sea. It was once popular in Kelantan. The former PAS government banned it.

23 See Khalifah Abdul Hakim's "Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan: Iqbal," in M. M. Sharif, editor, *A History of Muslim Philosophy,* volume 2 (Wiesbaden, Germany: Otto Harras-sowitz, 1966), p. 1619.

are hardly known in our country, we can expect a number of our readers to express some **misgivings**.

But whatever their misgivings, it is our fervent prayer that they will go on looking for the truth in a sincere and rational manner. For in this quest for truth lies the future of Islam.

SOURCE: Muzaffar, Chandra. "Universalism in Islam." *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*. Edited by Charles Kurzman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 155-160.

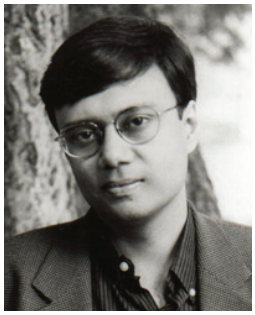
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the author's thesis? What does he set out to challenge?
2. Does Muzaffar see Islam as a 'universal' or 'communal' creed. Explain your answer.
3. Why is the author concerned about the development of post-1970 politics in Malaysia?
4. What, according to the author, makes communities 'ethnically-conscious' in urban environments?
5. Why does Muzaffar bring up the names of Iqbal, Rumi and others in his essay?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. How does 'tradition' reveal itself in modern urban milieu? Refer to Muzaffar in your response.
2. Do you think politics has always been closely interlinked with traditions at large? Why does Muzaffar differentiate between pre- and post-1970 Indonesia in this regard?
3. What kind of parallels can you draw between the works of Alan Jolis and Chandra Muzaffar?
4. Is Muzaffar's argument about Islam applicable in Central Asia? Justify your answer.
5. Why is universalism an issue in Islam? Do all religions claim to be universalistic or is it a phenomenon of the globalising world?

AMIT CHAUDHURI: A SMALL BENGAL



Amit Chaudhuri (1962 -) was born and raised in India. Chaudhuri received his university education in Great Britain, and now lives and works in Calcutta, India. Like Hanif Kureishi, Chaudhuri's work at times deals with the experiences of Asian Muslims, especially students and university professors, living in non-Muslim countries. The following story, like Kureishi's "Bradford", is set in a British city, in this case, London. Chaudhuri focuses on the lives of Bengali students from Eastern India living in one district of London. As you read this piece, think about how Kureishi's and Chaudhuri's portrayals of British society are similar and how they differ.

About five or six years after the war ended, and soon after India's independence and the beginning of the end of the British Empire, Belsize Park in the borough of **Camden** became home to a number of Indian, mainly Bengali, students. They lived in neighbouring houses, and were often neighbours in the same house; they talked with, and **jostled,** and cooked for each other, and had small rivalries and sympathies between themselves; but they knew they were a **transient** lot, because they were here to pass exams, and very few intended to stay, to get swallowed by the London that had become their temporary home. Time went by quickly, although, in retrospect, the procession of years would sometimes seem long.

Strangely enough, while **Kilburn** came to be known as a black and Irish area, and **Golders Green** a Jewish one, Belsize Park was never identified with its Bengali student population. Perhaps this was so because it was made up of **itinerants** rather than emigrants; most had left by the mid-Sixties—if not England, then at least Belsize Park. They were mainly young men and, now and again, women, in their late twenties or their thirties, diligent and intelligent on the whole, who had come to study for professional examinations whose names seemed to have been invented to enhance their job prospects: Chartered Accountancy, Cost Accountancy, MRCP, FRCP, ERGS. For these Bengalis, at least, there was a romance about degrees that had the words 'Chartered' or 'Royal' in them which will now probably seem absurd. The few who stayed on in England were often the ones who hadn't been able to get the degree they'd come here to acquire; they couldn't face their mothers and fathers without it; thus they drifted into the civic life of London, became railway clerks or council officials, or moved elsewhere, and eventually bought a house in Wimbledon or Sussex or Hampshire; at any rate, they left Belsize Park. Those who stayed on had their reasons—'staying on': those words had possibly as much resonance for them, though for entirely different reasons, as they did for the last Anglo-Indians—and none of those reasons, it is safe to suppose, had anything to do with an overwhelming attachment to England.

But most studied, and left; and, in Belsize Park, the emphasis was on exams and recreation. They'd brought Bengal with them though Bengal itself had become a state of mind, partitioned into two, half of it in India and half of it East Pakistan. They fell

Camden - a district of north London named after William Camden, 1551-1623, English antiquarian and historian

jostled - to force by pushing or elbowing

transient - temporary, transitory

Kilburn - a district of north-west London

Golders Green - a district of north-west London

itinerants - people travelling from place to place

into a routine of buying 'wet fish', shopping at Finchley Road, going to work, listening to Tagore songs, in between bouts of memorising the **pulmonary** functions of the heart or the intricacies of taxation law.

Some of the students had wives, and were newly married. The wife, like Draupadi in the *Mahabharat*, who married five brothers at once, not only played wife to her husband but often to all her husband's friends, making food for them, being indulgent to them when they were depressed, exhorting them to study hard, and generally lightening the air with her feminine presence. Later, the men would always remember these **surrogate** wives, the Mrs Mukherjis and Mrs Basus and Mrs Senguptas. In India, the new wife comes to her new home and is greeted by her husband's family and a way of life both pre-arranged and untested; every couple must, in the end, make what they will of their own lives. Here, in Belsize Park, the making of that life was both more naked and more secret; the new bride would be received not by her in-laws, but Cost Accountants-to-be and would-be surgeons and physicians. She would come not to her husband's house but to a **bedsit** with wallpaper and cooking **hobs** which was now to be her own, and which cost three pounds and ten shillings a week.

Among the tenants was a young man who was supposed to be studying Chartered Accountancy but was actually doing everything but study. He was thinner than normal; his mother had died when he was seven years old. When he had left India in 1949, he had been twenty-seven years old; he had lost his homeland with Partition; and he had got engaged to his best friend's younger sister. In 1955, she travelled to London with her younger brother to marry the young man. They, my parents, were among the people who lived in Belsize Park in the Fifties.

In a photograph taken at the time, my mother leans over my father, who is reading a newspaper; she hides her hands behind her back because she has been kneading dough. In another picture, apparently taken soon after the wedding, my parents have just arrived in Shepherd's Bush and are standing on the steps of a house, seeming slightly unfamiliar with each other though in fact they have known each other from childhood, my father dressed in the bridegroom's white **dhoti** and **kurta**, my mother's **sari** draped over her head. They have recently walked round the holy fire in a town hall near Euston Square. Now they would be reacquainted with each other as husband and wife; my father would rediscover his lost mother's affection in the woman he had married; they would travel in Europe; they would make friends among their neighbours; my mother's singing voice would acquire a new fame in Bengali circles; her reputation as a cook would be established.

Both, in the first years of their marriage, went out to work in the morning, and had their daily meeting-places outside work hours; during break-time, my mother would hurry to Jermyn Street, where my father worked for a few years in the Accounts Office of India House, and they would go for lunch or tea to the Lyons restaurant nearby. Once a week, they would have a Chinese dinner at the Cathay restaurant; watching, through a window, Piccadilly outside. Nearer the exams, my father would study at home while my mother went out to work as a clerk.

Without a **harmonium** or any other accompanying instrument, my mother would keep practising the Tagore songs that she had learned as a child, in Sylhet, which had become part of East Pakistan. Her singing was full-throated; her voice would carry in the silent afternoons; once, the **spinster** landlady, Miss Fox, came down to complain.

Then, in 1961, a year before I was born, my parents left for Bombay; my father had, after passing his exams, got a job that paid for his and my mother's fares back; the ship would take two weeks to reach India. As the ship sailed forth, my mother (so she tells me) stared at the cliffs of Dover to imprint them on her memory. In a year, she had conceived,

pulmonary - of, relating to, or affecting the lungs

surrogate - someone who takes the place of another; a substitute

bedsit - a rented room used for both living and sleeping in

hobs - electric heating plate on a cooker

dhoti - a loincloth worn by men in some parts of India

kurta - a loose, collarless shirt

sari - an outer garment worn chiefly by women of India and Pakistan, consisting of a length of lightweight cloth with one end wrapped about the waist to form a skirt and the other draped over the shoulder or covering the head

harmonium - an organ-like keyboard musical instrument

spinster - an unmarried woman and especially one past the common age for marrying

STREET SIGNS IN LITTLE ITALY, TORONTO, CANADA

and, at the age of thirty-seven, she gave birth to her first and only child in Calcutta.

This is what they left behind. Haverstock Hill leading on one side to Hampstead, and Belsize Avenue sloping downward to Swiss Cottage and Finchley Road on the other. Other lives begin; other stories; and the human capacity to create is at least as strong as the capacity to forget.

SOURCE: Chaudhuri, Amit. "A Small Bengal." *Granta 65*, Spring 1999, pp. 308-310.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does the author attribute different parts of the town to different groups?
2. Why were the Bengalis in the Belsize Park different from others?
3. What does the author mean by saying that Bengal was in reality "a state of mind"?
4. What kind of life did the protagonist's family lead in London?
5. Was the Bengali family in the story attached to London? How did this reveal itself?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Is Muzaffar's argument about increased ethnic consciousness applicable to Chaudhuri's story?
3. Are you able to differentiate between the types of nationalism discussed by Chaudhuri and Muzaffar?
3. According to the previous texts, in what way does globalisation change traditions?
4. What kind of factors, in your opinion, lead people to re-assert traditions into their daily lives or communal practices? Compare your arguments to the ones provided by Jolis, Muzaffar, and Chadhuri.

THE CHINESE TRADING DISTRICT

In Tokugawa, Japan, foreigners were only permitted in special, restricted trading ports in the city of Nagasaki, and these were only available to the Chinese and the Dutch.

ITO HIROBUMI: SOURCES OF JAPANESE TRADITION

For many centuries, Japan was closed to the outside world. Only foreigners from certain countries were allowed to enter the country and only at one particular city. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan was forced to open itself up to foreign influence. This began a period of very rapid modernisation in Japan, as the country attempted to adopt western technology while preserving Japanese culture and values. Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909) was a Prime Minister of Japan during this transformation. In the following piece, written at the end of his life, Ito reflects on the challenges of this process, beginning with the attempt to develop a Japanese constitution. Consider how Ito's view of the outside compares to those in the other readings in the chapter.

PECULIAR FEATURES OF NATIONAL LIFE

It was evident from the outset that mere imitation of foreign models would not suffice, for there were historical peculiarities of our country which had to be taken into consideration. For example, the Crown was with us, an institution far more deeply rooted in the national sentiment and in our history than in other countries. It was indeed the very essence of a once **theocratic** State, so that in formulating the restrictions on its **prerogatives** in the new Constitution, we had to take care to safeguard the future realness or vitality of these prerogatives, and not to let the institution degenerate into an ornamental crowning piece of the edifice. At the same time, it was also evident that any form of constitutional regime was impossible without full and extended protection of honour, liberty, property, and personal security of citizens, entailing, necessarily many important restrictions on the powers of the Crown.

EMOTIONAL ELEMENTS IN SOCIAL LIFE OF PEOPLE

On the other hand, there was one peculiarity of our social conditions that is without parallel in any other civilised country. Homogeneous in race, language, religion, and sentiments, so long secluded from the outside world, with the centuries-long traditions and inertia of the feudal system, in which the family and quasi-family ties permeated and formed the essence of every social organisation, and moreover with such moral and religious tenets as laid **undue** stress on duties of fraternal aid and mutual **succour**, we had during the course of our seclusion unconsciously become a vast village community where cold intellect and calculation of public events were always restrained and even often hindered by warm emotions between man and man. Those who have closely observed the effects of the commercial crises of our country—that is, of the events wherein cold-blooded calculation ought to have the precedence of every other factor—and compared them with those of other countries, must have observed a remarkable distinction between them. In other countries they serve in a certain measure as the scavengers of the commercial world, the solid undertakings surviving the shock, while enterprises founded solely on speculative bases are sure to vanish thereafter. But, generally speaking, this is not the case in our country. Moral

theocratic - governed by or subject to religious authority

prerogatives - an exclusive right or privilege held by a person or group, especially a hereditary or official right.

undue - exceeding what is appropriate or normal; excessive

succour - help, aid, assistance

and emotional factors come into play. Solid undertakings are dragged into the whirlpool, and the speculative ones are saved from the abyss—the general standard of prosperity is lowered for the moment, but the commercial fabric escapes violent shocks. In industry, also, in spite of the recent enormous developments of manufactures in our country, our labourers have not yet degenerated into spiritless machines and toiling beasts. There still survives the bond of patron and protégé between them and the capitalist employers. It is this moral and emotional factor which will, in the future, form a healthy barrier against the threatening advance of socialistic ideas. It must, of course, be admitted that this social peculiarity is not without beneficial influences. It **mitigates** the conflict, serves as the lubricator of social organisms, and tends generally to act as a powerful lever for the practical application of the moral principle of mutual assistance between fellow citizens. But unless curbed and held in restraint, it too may exercise **baneful** influences on society, for in a village community, where feelings and emotions hold a higher place than intellect, free discussion is apt to be **smothered**, attainment and transference of power liable to become a family question of a powerful **oligarchy**, and the realisation of such a regime as constitutional monarchy to become an impossibility, simply because in any representative regime free discussion is a matter of prime necessity, because emotions and passions have to be stopped for the sake of the cool calculation of national welfare, and even the best of friends have often to be sacrificed if the best abilities and highest intellects are to guide the helm. Besides, the dissensions between brothers and relatives, deprived as they usually are of safety-valves for giving free and hearty vent to their own opinions or discontents, are apt to degenerate into passionate quarrels and overstep the bounds of simple differences of opinion. The good side of this social peculiarity had to be retained as much as possible, while its baneful influences had to be safeguarded. These and many other peculiarities had to be taken into account in order to have a constitution adapted to the actual condition of the country.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW THOUGHTS

Another difficulty equally grave had to be taken into consideration. We were just then in an age of transition. The opinions prevailing in the country were extremely heterogeneous, and often diametrically opposed to each other. We had survivors of former generations who were still full of theocratic ideas, and who believed that any attempt to restrict an imperial prerogative amounted to something like high treason. On the other hand there was a large and powerful body of the younger generation educated at the time when the Manchester theory was in **vogue**, and who in consequence were ultra-radical in their ideas of freedom. Members of the bureaucracy were prone to lend willing ears to the German doctrinaires of the reactionary period, while, on the other hand, the educated politicians among the people having not yet tasted the bitter significance of administrative responsibility, were liable to be more influenced by the dazzling words and **lucid** theories of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and other similar French writers. A work entitled History of Civilisation, by Buckle, which denounced every form of government as an unnecessary evil, became the great favourite of students of all the higher schools, including the Imperial University. On the other hand, these same students would not have dared to **expound** the theories of Buckle before their own conservative fathers. At that time we had not yet arrived at the stage of distinguishing clearly between political opposition on the one hand and treason to the established order of things on the other. The virtues necessary for the smooth working of any constitution, such as love of freedom of speech, love of publicity of proceedings, the spirit of tolerance for opinions opposed to one's own, etc., had yet to be learned by long experience.

mitigates - to moderate in force or intensity
baneful - productive of destruction or woe; seriously harmful
smother - to destroy the life of someone or something by depriving of air
oligarchy - government by a few, especially by a small faction of persons or families
vogue - the leading place in popularity or acceptance
lucid - easily understood; intelligible
expound - to explain in detail; elucidate

DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION COMPLETED

It was under these circumstances that the first draft of the Constitution was made and submitted to His Majesty, after which it was handed over to the mature deliberation of the Privy Council. The Sovereign himself presided over these deliberations, and he had full opportunities of hearing and giving due consideration to all the conflicting opinions above hinted at. I believe nothing evidences more vividly the intelligence of our **august** Master than the fact that in spite of the existence of strong **undercurrents** of an ultra-conservative nature in the council, and also in the country at large, His Majesty's decisions inclined almost invariably towards liberal and progressive ideas, so that we have been ultimately able to obtain the Constitution as it exists at present.

august - marked by majestic dignity or grandeur

undercurrents - a hidden opinion, feeling, or tendency often contrary to the one publicly shown

SOURCE: Hirobumi, Ito. "Sources of Japanese Tradition." *The Ashville Reader: the Modern World.* Edited by Edward J. Katz et al. North Carolina: Pegasus Press, 1999, pp. 324-326.

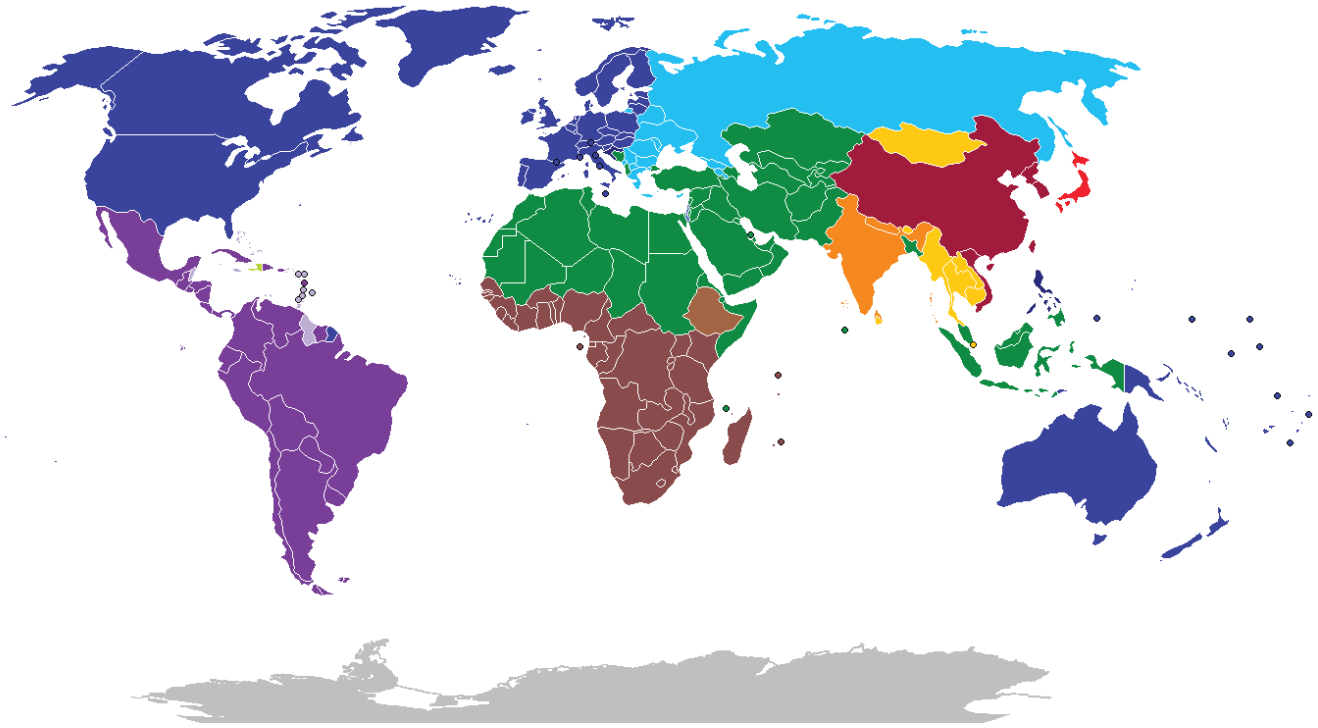
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Why does Ito say that foreign models would not be sufficient for developing a Japanese constitution? What alternative does he suggest?
2. What is the role of emotion in Japanese life according to Ito? Why is this unique?
3. Why would Ito include a discussion of emotion in a history of the Japanese constitution?
4. How did the "ultra-radical" younger generation come into conflict with conservatives?
5. What was the conclusion of this process? How do you think Ito felt about this conclusion?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Are there parallels between the conflict between generations in Ito's history and the characters in the piece by Chaudhuri?
2. Muzaffar talks about "Muslim universalism". How might he react to this Japanese constitutional debate?
3. Could you call the Japanese constitution the result of globalisation? Could you call it a means of resisting globalisation?
4. Do you agree with Ito that the Japanese experience is fundamentally different from that of any other culture?

HUNTINGTON'S CLASSIFICATION OF WORLD CIVILISATIONS



- Western Christendom
- Orthodox Christendom
- Islamic World
- Sinic World
- Latin America
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Hindu Civilization
- Buddhist Civilization
- Former British Colonies
- Israel
- Ethiopia
- Haiti
- Japan

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON: THE CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS

Samuel Huntington (1927 - 2008) a professor of international studies at Harvard University in the United States. From the 1950s till his death he had written numerous books on military power, democracy, and conflict and security. Amongst his works, he is best known today for a short essay published in 1993 entitled "The Clash of Civilisations". In this essay, Huntington argues that the basic fact of world history is that people are divided into different civilisations with different values. Where these civilisations meet other civilisations, there will be conflicts. As you read, consider how globalisation will affect the interactions of civilisations, and what that means for a country's national traditions.

THE NEXT PATTERN OF CONFLICT

World politics is entering a new phase, and intellectuals have not hesitated to proliferate visions of what it will be at the end of history, the return of traditional rivalries between nation states, and the decline of the nation state from the conflicting pulls of tribalism and globalism, among others. Each of these visions catches aspects of the emerging reality. Yet they all miss a crucial, indeed a central aspect of what global politics is likely to be in the coming years.

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilisations. The clash of civilisations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilisations will be the battle lines of the future.

Conflict between civilisations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world. For a century and a half after the emergence of the modern international system with the Peace of Westphalia, the conflicts of the Western world were largely among princes, emperors, absolute monarchs and constitutional monarchs attempting to expand their bureaucracies, their armies, their mercantilist economic strength and, most important, the territory they ruled. In the process they created nation states, and beginning with the French Revolution the principal lines of conflict were between nations rather than princes. In 1793, as R. R. Palmer put it, "The wars of kings were over; the wars of peoples had begun." This nineteenth- century pattern lasted until the end of World War I. Then, as a result of the Russian Revolution and the reaction against it, the conflict of nations

yielded to the conflict of ideologies, first among communism, fascism-Nazism and liberal democracy, and then between communism and liberal democracy. During the Cold War, this latter conflict became embodied in the struggle between the two superpowers, neither of which was a nation state in the classical European sense and each of which defined its identity in terms of its ideology.

These conflicts between princes, nation states and ideologies were primarily conflicts within Western civilisation, "Western civil wars," as William Lind has labelled them. This was as true of the Cold War as it was of the world wars and the earlier wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the end of the Cold War, international politics moves out of its Western phase, and its centre-piece becomes the interaction between the West and non-Western civilisations, and among non-Western civilisations. In the politics of civilisations, the peoples and governments of non-Western civilisations no longer remain the objects of history as targets of Western colonialism but join the West as movers and shapers of history.

THE NATURE OF CIVILISATIONS

During the Cold War the world was divided into the First, Second and Third Worlds. Those divisions are no longer relevant. It is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems or in terms of their level of economic development but rather in terms of their culture and civilisation.

What do we mean when we talk of a civilisation? A civilisation is a cultural entity. Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity. The culture of a village in southern Italy may be different from that of a village in northern Italy, but both will share in a common Italian culture that distinguishes them from German villages. European communities, in turn, will share cultural features that distinguish them from Arab or Chinese communities. Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilisations. A civilisation is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people. People have levels of identity: a resident of Rome may define himself with varying degrees of intensity as a Roman, an Italian, a Catholic, a Christian, a European, a Westerner. The civilisation to which he belongs is the broadest level of identification with which he intensely identifies. People can and do redefine their identities and, as a result, the composition and boundaries of civilisations change.

Civilisations may involve a large number of people, as with China ("a civilisation pretending to be a state," as Lucian Pye put it), or a very small number of people, such as the Anglophone Caribbean. A civilisation may include several nation states, as is the case with Western, Latin American and Arab civilisations, or only one, as is the case with Japanese civilisation. Civilisations obviously blend and overlap, and may include subcivilisations. Western civilisation has two major variants, European and North American, and Islam has its Arab, Turkic and Malay subdivisions. Civilisations are nonetheless meaningful entities, and while the lines between them are seldom sharp, they are real. Civilisations are dynamic; they rise

and fall; they divide and merge. And, as any student of history knows, civilisations disappear and are buried in the sands of time.

Westerners tend to think of nation states as the principal actors in global affairs. They have been that, however, for only a few centuries. The broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilisations. In *A Study of History*, Arnold Toynbee identified 21 major civilisations; only six of them exist in the contemporary world.

WHY CIVILISATIONS WILL CLASH

Civilisation identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilisations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilisation. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilisations from one another.

WHY WILL THIS BE THE CASE?

First, differences among civilisations are not only real; they are basic. Civilisations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion. The people of different civilisations have different views on the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as differing views of the relative importance of rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries. They will not soon disappear. They are far more fundamental than differences among political ideologies and political regimes. Differences do not necessarily mean conflict, and conflict does not necessarily mean violence. Over the centuries, however, differences among civilisations have generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts.

Second, the world is becoming a smaller place. The interactions between peoples of different civilisations are increasing; these increasing interactions intensify civilisation consciousness and awareness of differences between civilisations and commonalities within civilisations. North African immigration to France generates hostility among Frenchmen and at the same time increased receptivity to immigration by "good" European Catholic Poles. Americans react far more negatively to Japanese investment than to larger investments from Canada and European countries. Similarly, as Donald Horowitz has pointed out, "An **Ibo** may be …an Owerri Ibo or an Onitsha Ibo in what was the Eastern region of Nigeria. In Lagos,

Ibo - a member of an ethnic group around the lower Niger in Africa

he is simply an Ibo. In London, he is a Nigerian. In New York, he is an African." The interactions among peoples of different civilisations enhance the civilisation-consciousness of people that, in turn, **invigorates** differences and animosities stretching or thought to stretch back deep into history.

Third, the processes of economic modernisation and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity. In much of the world religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements that are labelled "fundamentalist." Such movements are found in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism, as well as in Islam. In most countries and most religions the people active in fundamentalist movements are young, college-educated, middle-class technicians, professionals and business persons. The "unsecularisation of the world," George Weigel has remarked, "is one of the dominant social factors of life in the late twentieth century." The revival of religion, "la revanche de Dieu," as Gilles Kepel labelled it, provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilisations.

Fourth, the growth of civilisation-consciousness is enhanced by the dual role of the West. On the one hand, the West is at a peak of power. At the same time, however, and perhaps as a result, a return to the roots phenomenon is occurring among non-Western civilisations. Increasingly one hears references to trends toward a turning inward and "Asianisation" in Japan, the end of the **Nehru** legacy and the "Hinduisation" of India, the failure of Western ideas of socialism and nationalism and hence "re-Islamisation" of the Middle East, and now a debate over Westernisation versus Russianisation in Boris Yeltsin's country. A West at the peak of its power confronts non-Wests that increasingly have the desire, the will and the resources to shape the world in non-Western ways.

In the past, the elites of non-Western societies were usually the people who were most involved with the West, had been educated at Oxford, the Sorbonne or Sandhurst, and had absorbed Western attitudes and values. At the same time, the populace in non-Western countries often remained deeply imbued with the indigenous culture. Now, however, these relationships are being reversed. A de-Westernisation and indigenisation of elites is occurring in many non-Western countries at the same time that Western, usually American, cultures, styles and habits become more popular among the mass of the people.

Fifth, cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. In the former Soviet Union, communists can become democrats, the rich can become poor and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estonians and Azeris cannot become Armenians. In class and ideological conflicts, the key question was "Which side are you on?" and people could and did choose sides and change sides. In conflicts between civilisations, the question is "What are you?" That is a given that cannot be changed. And as we know, from Bosnia to the Caucasus to the Sudan, the wrong answer to that question can mean a bullet in the head. Even more than ethnicity, religion discriminates sharply and exclusively among people. A person can be half-French and half-Arab and simultaneously even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim.

Finally, economic regionalism is increasing. The proportions of total trade that are intraregional rose between 1980 and 1989 from 51 percent to 59 percent in Europe, 33 percent to 37 percent in East Asia, and 32 percent to 36 percent in

invigorates - strengthen, stimulate

Nehru - Indian nationalist politician who was an associate of Mahatma Gandhi and an influential leader in the years leading to India's independence

preclude - to make impossible by necessary consequence; rule out in advance

North America. The importance of regional economic blocs is likely to continue to increase in the future. On the one hand, successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilisation-consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilisation. The European Community rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity. The success of the North American Free Trade Area depends on the convergence now underway of Mexican, Canadian and American cultures. Japan, in contrast, faces difficulties in creating a comparable economic entity in East Asia because Japan is a society and civilisation unique to itself. However strong the trade and investment links Japan may develop with other East Asian countries, its cultural differences with those countries inhibit and perhaps **preclude** its promoting regional economic integration like that in Europe and North America.

SOURCE: Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilisations" *Foreign Affairs*. Summer 1993, Vol. 72, n3. pp. 22-28. Online version. URL: http://www.alamut.com/subj/economics/misc/clash.html.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is a "civilisation" for Huntington? How is it different from a "culture"?
2. Huntington says that conflict between civilisations will be the latest state in the "evolution" of conflict. What does this mean?
3. What does the author mean when he says civilisations are "basic"?
4. Why does the process of the world becoming a smaller place translate into an increase in conflict for Huntington?
5. Huntington feels all civilisations are fundamentally different. Do you think he believes they are all of equal value, or equally good (or bad)?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Think about the Grameen Bank. If we accept Huntington's argument, should micro-credit work outside Bangladesh? Should it work outside the Islamic world?
2. Do you agree with Huntington's claim that civilisations are basic? Why or why not?
3. What do you think authors like Chaudhuri, Muzaffar and Ito would say to Huntington in response to his theory about the clash of civilisations?
4. Do you agree that Huntington's clash is inevitable?

ANONYMOUS MU'TAZILITE MUSLIM: SOCIAL LIBERALISM AND LAISSEZ-FAIR CAPITALISM

During the nineteenth century, European imperialism forced all parts of the world to think carefully about the relationship between traditional practices and the technological, social and economic practices being rapidly spread throughout the world. The following piece was published in the 1870s in the journal of a university founded by a Muslim modernist in the British Empire (present-day India) and was written by an unknown author who is believed to have belonged to the Mu'tazilite, a branch of Sunni Islam which emphasized the importance of free will and individual responsibility. In this article, the author draws conclusions about the effect of religion and law on customs in Muslim societies.

This union of Religion with social customs and juridical laws has done the most serious injury to the **Muhammadans** in every part of the world; and unless soon and timely dissolved there is every probability of the Muhammadan name becoming a **byword** and the Muhammadan races a laughing stock among civilised nations. The rapid and general decline of Muhammadan society contemporaneously in Asia, Africa, and Europe is due to this one single but mighty cause; and the gradual and general progress of Christian society in Europe is due to the success with which they have broken through this union between Religion and Civil Laws.

The history of Islam from the time of the Prophet down to the times of the Abbasi dynasty in Egypt and southwest Asia and those of the Omavi dynasty in southern Spain is the history of an uninterrupted success. This general success proves that the social structures that the Arabs overthrew were so rotten to the core that the very first shock of a contest with a nation, in whom the first enthusiasm of a new religion was still high, was sufficient to prostrate it completely, and that the social structure that grew up instead, though imperfect, must have been better suited to the **exigencies**.

Those numerous **schisms** of Religion, which occurred in the early history of Islam, and which indicate the existence at least of theological and metaphysical activity, all took place during the ascendancy of the Abbasi dynasty; the mo'tazelahs, who counted among themselves several distinguished Khalifahs, being as regards numbers the largest of the dissenting sects and—what is more important—having as regards doctrine very nearly broken asunder the union between Religious Truths and Civil Laws. But since the downfall of the Abbasi Khalifahs, even religious development has ceased to be perceptible in Muslim countries; and the culture of metaphysics, which formerly gave rise to many systems of philosophy, has now for several hundred years altogether ceased.

The Muslims established themselves in India at a much later date, but their Government had neither stability nor freedom—the two essentials of good government. Nor did they in India at the time of their greatest ascendancy materially advance knowledge—abstract or concrete, theoretical or practical—while in a worldly point

Muhammadans - of or relating to Muhammad or Islam
byword - a proverbial expression; a proverb
exigencies - urgent requirements; pressing needs
schisms - division, separation

of view the Hindus have always been much better off than ourselves, and in all the points that go to make up material prosperity we are essentially inferior to the Hindus of the present age.

This general decline of Muslim society must have been due to general causes embracing all the countries that they possessed; and I firmly believe that this decline is due to the connection of Religion with Customs, Laws, and Institutions. To a certain point, no doubt, it aided progress, but the limits were soon reached; from that time it has been a stumbling block to further developments. Not only has it prevented further progress but it has actually reduced the stock of knowledge and taken away from the measure of civilisation that we had already acquired.

That this inability to break through the union of Religion and Law is really the cause of our decline may be proved from the history of the Christian Religion. For those nations who were able to assert and maintain the Liberty of Private Judgment have made continued progress in the arts and sciences and in civilisation in general; while those nations that were unable to assert the Right of Private Judgment and **succumbed** to the authority of the Popes, the Bishops, and the Inquisitions have not only made no progress but have on the contrary considerably declined in civilisation and power, although they won for themselves, and for a time preserved, extensive empires and almost overpowering political and military prestige among the other nations of Europe.

Such was the glorious condition of Spain; but now it has no voice in European diplomacy and politics and no weight in the councils of European Powers. This decline is due to nothing but the fact that the Spanish Inquisition was too powerful for the disruption of the union of religious ideas and truths with those dogmatic doctrines and laws that the theological and priestly classes are fond of laying down on every subject of human activity and in every department of human life. It seems, however, that the Spaniards have at last come to an understanding of the causes of their decline, and that the example and literature of other European nations are awakening them to new life and vigour.

In Turkey, too, the action of European ideas and modes of thinking has, to some extent, weakened the strength of the connection between Religion and Law, and the juxtaposition of the Christian and Muhammadan populations is a guarantee of its further **diminution**. Similarly, in India the competition of several religious and legal systems is weakening the connection between Religion and Law; but our hopes of regeneration mainly lie in the influence of English education and the diffusion of European modes of thinking.

This is the point toward which is labouring that much to be revered friend of the Muslims, Sayyed Ahmed Khan, who has generously taken upon himself the thankless task of trying to improve the Muslims in spite of themselves. I doubt if, within the memory of Muslims in India, there has been such an instance of noble self-denial that, for the sake of doing good, has endured so much **obloquy** and suffered so much ill-will at the hands of his fellows. A striking contrast to the career of those who, possessing considerable influence with the ruling race and holding social position rarely attainable even by men of older and higher lineage or of larger and more durable incomes, devote their powers of tact and energy to the advancement of their own individual reputation amongst their equals and of their own personal importance amongst the governing classes.

succumbed - to yield to superior strength or force or overpowering appeal or desire

diminution - the act or process of diminishing; a lessening or reduction

obloquy - the condition of disgrace suffered as a result of abuse

SOURCE: Anonymous Mu'tazilite Muslim. "Social Liberalism and Laissez-Fair Capitalism." *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam: a Reader.* Edited by Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof. England: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, pp. 132-134.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the result of the union of religion, custom, and law, according to this writer? Why?
2. How does the author measure the "success" of Islam? How does the author measure its "decline"?
3. What proof does the writer offer to support his thesis?
4. What needs to be done to reverse this decline?
5. Do you think the author was male or female? Why?

REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. How would Huntington explain the author's idea of "decline"? Would he accept the solution?
2. The author is writing about the Muslim world in the 1870s, in a colony of the British Empire. Should we consider this "globalisation"?
3. Ito and this author both write about Asian societies responding to the West. Are their responses similar?
4. Have the issues of globalisation and tradition changed between the writing of the earliest piece in this chapter (1870s) and the latest pieces (end of the 1990s)?
5. Do any of the other texts in this chapter offer a solution to the "decline" identified by this author?

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. In this chapter, many of the authors look at questions of how we live according to traditions in a multi-national, multi-cultural world. What answers do they suggest? Why is this question of such importance to these authors?
2. In the earlier chapters, you examined many examples of interactions between different peoples, religions, and regions which changed, revived, or created traditions. Is this also a form of globalisation?
3. Is there something different or unique about global connections and their impact on traditions in today's world, something that is different from 100 years ago? 500 years ago? Support your answer with references to the readings.
4. Does it make sense to talk of traditions as separate from a global world?
5. A common term of the last forty years has been the "global village". What does this mean to you? What becomes of tradition in this context?
6. Can we imagine the existence of global traditions? Do some already exist?

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TRADITION AND CHANGE

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