Hemispheres
Studies on Cultures and Societies
Vol. 31, No. 2

Contents

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From Mircea Eliade to Jeppe Sinding Jensen: A Few Remarks on Phenomenology of Religion

Abstract

For Jeppe Sinding Jensen, the study of religion resembles the study of language. As the language is a human construct that consists, among other things, of words, sentences and grammar rules, so religion is established by constructs of a different kind – phenomena, which can be described and compared. He distinguishes within religion around twenty components (for example, it deals with ideas, activities, roles, authorities, institutions) and by using the so–called component method he assumes that religion is not "one thing" but it consists of many "things" in varyings proportions. What does it mean? Religion "occurs" in the human space. "Things" that compose it – phenomena which, according to Jensen, are not (as Mircea Eliade wanted it) a "reflection" of some sacred substance, fit into some created "program of living".

Introduction

Phenomenology of religion, strictly speaking its realistic current, originates from the history of religion, but it does not identify with it. It is not only about showing the transformation which different religions underwent, but the understanding of religion becomes the main problem of phenomenologists, namely how it appears to man. However, phenomenology of religion shall take into account the whole man, not only his psychological aspect, as it is on the ground of psychology of religion. At the same time, it builds a bridge between various disciplines regarding religion and theology or philosophy of religion. The latter only aspire to discover the ultimate truth whilst phenomenology suspends judgement on the existence and the truth of the subject–matter of religion. Therefore, God is neither subject, nor object in phenomenological discourse. He is not a phenomenon, as He does not emerge. The subject of phenomenology is a historical material as a whole which is a subject to imply and interpret.

Jensen's conception is an alternative proposal for Eliade's phenomenology of religion. It seems, it is the prolongation or even modification of Clifford Geertz's thought. When the first one offers the definition of religion as "semantic and cognitive networks comprising ideas, behaviours and institutions in relation to counter–intuitive superhuman agents, objects and posits",[1] the second treats on religion as interpersonal relationship based on knowledge of the world and man. It is a form of actualization of the ensuing event to which archetypes refer[2] – so, is has something of secrecy and the mystical experience in itself. In Jensen's proposal the researcher does not offer the traditional definition of religion with its constitutive value in order to avoid the charge of ethnocentrism. At the same time he assumes that religions have many things "in common" inherently retreating into the social reality.

Eliade's genealogy of phenomenon

A phenomenon does not appear here as a thing which can be stated on by an overview of what is viewed. The phenomenon, however, is not something completely subjective. It belongs to its nature to always appear "to someone". But it is relatively hidden, it manifests itself progressively and it is transparent. The progressive phases of the subject correspond to these features in the form of the individual

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[1] Jeppe Sinding Jensen, *What is Religion*, Durham: Acumen Publishing, 2014, p. 8.

[2] Stanisław Kamiński, *Światopogląd Religia Teologia* [Worldview – Religion – Theology], Lublin: TN KUL, 1998, pp. 99–105.

experience, processes of implication and bearing witness. To enable the reflection on experience, it must be reconstructed in the form of a certain outline called a structure. Without this reconstruction, experience in itself is intangible. The reconstructed structure cannot be understood through causative logic, but it may be only implied by revealing it in the form of significant entirety. It is rooted in the empirical reality, in a person who seeks understanding. Hence the elements of the significant entirety always fit in the model of someone's sense. The importance of this structure is revealed to man progressively, in stages. The emerging elements are interlinked. They are not a photograph of reality – but they appear in the form of words addressed to man. It is the word and its sense that requires implication. This process is preceded by the presumed situation of human objection against life which is being experienced. Man expects from life more than he receives. To meet the word – or rather "to be spoken" determines the cultural process which in this perspective becomes a discovery of "obligation" toward the realm of values. The obligation is a human opportunity to feel affection for "someone" within the other. The aim of the joint peregrination becomes the salvation, the complete fulfilment which the world is not able to give.

Contrary to the evolutionistic conceptions, Eliade perceives Paleolithic man as a prototype of religious man whose awareness is immersed in the sacred, i.e. the Power. According to Eliade, the sacred appears as the opposite to the profane. The carrier of power may be any element of the world. For the original human phenomena, such as rain, storm, fire caused involuntary connotations with the affiliation to the sphere of sanctity, being a symbol of its force, namely the power. The sanctity of the world has meant that, e.g. animals were also used for other extraconsumptive aims. However, it should not be forgotten that the sacred was both sacrosanct and defiled.

In Eliade's opinion, the analogy which fully embodies the sacred and most appeals to man is the universe as a whole and/or a living organism. The cosmic rhythm is revealed to man in terms of order, harmony and fertility. The human astonishment of the universe which becomes a complete hierophany gives rise to philosophy and religion. It means that, by exploring the world, we note its "hidden" side. It is something "quite different" that causes numinous fear and, at the same time, the state of intoxication, but also fascination. The inconceivable aspect of reality actually gives a feeling of existence of something inconceivable, different from what we confront in our everyday life.

As Eliade sees it, in the original communities cosmogonies were the highest manifestation of the divinity. The universe has become a model of the earthly world for the original human which is why he has attempted to emulate the divine order in his action. It was manifested by establishing villages, building houses, temples, boats and marking the entire world with order. The acting man tried to emulate the cosmogonic myth to ensure his success in life. Therefore, the primal men divided the universe into the sacred and secular when proceeding with establishing their seats. The first one was characterised by order, becoming an oasis of security, and so, the appropriate place to live a dignified life. The second though was chaotic, becoming dangerous and hostile to man. Only opening up to a bright side of the sacred, according to Eliade, allowed man to build a sacred space on the model of the cosmogonic myth. The division of the universe between the sacred and secular has its analogy to the division between the sacred and secular periods. The first period is infinite, divine, the second is historical. The annual festivals are re–actualization of events that took place during the divine period.

According to phenomenologists, the sacred not only causes a sense of fascination and terror in man, but it also presents an absolute tasks in the form of various types of taboos before him. They are a way to achieve disguised human potential that requires the interference of the Power to activate it. It takes place during the ritual, during the sacred period. This period is recalled in myths which announce the absolute truth revealing the involvement of the sacred in the world. This message is being rationalised by the primal people and it shall take the form of myth. It only states that is just the way it is. The same applies to the acknowledgment of the sacred" duality which dominates over the law and morality. It is what it was before the world was created.

For the phenomenologists, so–called rites of passage are a kind of image depicting the movement towards the sacred, "the release" of human opportunities, motion towards the new life. The change cannot be made without effort and suffering, as if man died and was born all over again. Therefore, it is difficult in such a view to understand the world and human in terms of the state as something static, but rather as the maturation process in which rites of passage play a vital role. These rites do not vanish, just as the sacred does not. They may only change their external form as well the sacred might, revealing in their numerous demonstrations.

The movement towards the sacred requires human to get rid off what unsustainable and variable. It takes place symbolically in the phase of separation. The individual loses his or her past status which is a prerequisite of passage and the change of his or her actual position. This process is launched by changing external conditions, namely the place of residence. Sometimes the individuals are being moved out to a secluded and unspoilt place, away from the world's busiest routes. These people are buried alive. In addition to it, a change in appearance occurs that symbolizes an end to the actual human existence. The end becomes an opportunity for man to curb the power which he possesses going into the new life, the sacred.

The observers of modern life, including Jensen who was mentioned in the title of the article, are rather willing to believe that the Power which used to shine bright, has currently faded away. Contemporary man becomes insensitive to the message from "the other world".

The nature of postmodern religious struggle – philosophical and cultural background

The state of contemporary anthropology of religion forms part of the social sciences' condition. Marian Kempny singles out a distinct cultural aspect from the area of meta theoretical analyses, which completes purely epistemological, methodological, and/or historical conditioning of anthropological knowledge. He endeavours to answer the question to which extent the anthropological knowledge is a cultural phenomenon.[3]

The author treats anthropology as knowledge of culture involved with ethnocentrism, and also as a derivative of the fact of cultural diversity. The history of anthropology is a history of attempts to describe and explain the diversity of the human population. It is a permanent and complex motion, appearing the scope between human universalism and its ethnic variations. According to Kempny, earlier anthropology has claimed the right to "control" the world (the anthropologist had the last word on this ground), and contemporarily it aims primarily to communicatively understand THE OTHER. Such an attitude breaks through the "domineering" tradition in anthropology for its dialogue nature.

The so–called "new anthropology", to which Clifford Geertz was a name sponsor, provides a bridge between traditional, functional and structural anthropology and its postmodernist, critical version. Simultaneously, Geertz's proposal to direct anthropology towards literature was the beginning of shaping its radical form. Among others C. Geertz,[4] G. Marcus and G. Clifford,[5] G. Marcus and M. Fischer[6] and R. Rosaldo[7] pick up these threads.

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[3] Marian Kempny, *Antropologia bez dogmatów – teoria społeczna bez iluzji* [Anthropology without Dogmas, Social Theory without Illusions] Warsaw: IFiS PAN Publishers, 1994; Jaber F. Gubrium and James. A. Holstein, *The New Language of Qualitative Method*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997; Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (eds), *Representation in Scientific Practice*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988; Steve Woolgar (ed.), *Knowledge and Reflexivity: New Frontiers in the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Sage, 1988; Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, New York: Basic Books, 1983; Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988.

[4] Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives. The Anthropologist as Author*, California: Stanford University Press, 1988.

[5] George Marcus and James Clifford (eds), *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1986.

[6] George Marcus and Michael Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique. An Experimental Moment In the Human Science* (2 ed.), Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

[7] Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

Geertz thinks the social and cultural worlds in the form of symbolic systems arise within various kinds of interpretation which are often difficult to compare with each other. Understanding of these worlds by their inhabitants requires laborious poring over them and re–interpreting. C. Geertz says this process does not take place only in their heads, but also and perhaps above all in the forms of public behaviour which can be seen. They recall a document "written" in the public places, "on the marketplace or at the mosque". The description C. Geertz offers is characterised by the following elements: it is a kind of interpretation, which emerges from the social discourse and the interpretations included in the description attempt to save what was said in the discourse.[8] Geertz believes the authentication of text becomes its author's experience. He is a witness of what he has managed to understand. The representation of "the outside world" should be moderately clear and honest. Referring to James's concept of religion, viewed in terms of religious experience, Geertz tries to convince the reader that these "recesses of feeling, the darker, blinder strata of character,[...] the places in the world in which we catch real fact in the making"[9] currently seems to be incomprehensible. "These days, Geertz states, religious struggle mostly refers to quite outdoor occurrences, plein air proceedings in the public square–alleyway encounters, high court holdings. [...] Immigration policies, minority problems, school curricula. [...] Nothing particularly private [...] about all that".[10]

And yet, let us go back for a while to the history of a young Javanese, referred by C. Geertz.[11] It was happening in Indonesia in the late 1980s when some signs of "Islamic revival" could be seen in public life. The source of revival was the appearance of a new, vigorous class of artists, intellectuals and politicians representing the Islamic mentality which led to the increased expansion of religious education, publishing of books, various periodicals, newspapers focusing on religious topics. One of the signs of this revival among educated women turned out to be characteristic style clothing: a long, loose fitting, monochrome gown with a white winding scarf called *jilbab*. It was designed to conceal what majority of Javanese women exposed, wearing among others fitting, low–cut blouses, similar to those seen in New York and not only there. Women who started to wear dress called *jilbab* have become an object of criticism, being nicknamed "fanatics" or "fundamentalists".

Suzanne Brenner interviewed twenty women. For them, changing their clothing was not only a mark of impact of "the significant communities", but perhaps of the "original light" (C. Geertz's analogy for religion, of which Jensen judged that it may already be faded) which is not the result of education or the collective consciousness, but something more. Yet, let us refer to Brenner's reflection.

"The women who spoke to me, Brenner writes, were intelligent, strong–minded people who consciously and intellectually struggled with the contradictions of everyday life and who had their own, highly personal reasons for choosing the routes they had chosen. Most women chose [to wear *jilbab*] partly out of religious conviction, insisting that [it] was a requirement... of Islam".[12]

Recalling Brenner's work, C. Geertz refers mainly to the question asked by James: what does religion mean for your deepest personal experience? – and referring to the aforementioned phenomena from the realm of fashion: what did these Javanese women, who chose to wear *jilbab,* reach personally, how did they read this experience?

The story of a young film actress of whose experiences Brenner speaks sheds light on the discussed issue of "rebirth".

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[8] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 2000, p. 27.

[9] Clifford Geertz, *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 168.

[10] Ibid., p. 169.

[11] Ibid., pp. 179–181.

[12] Ibid., pp. 181–182.

"I was terrified. I was really afraid I was going to die. Because if I were to die, what would be the price for all my sins?" Images of her past, of being drunk, of wandering about at night, of frequenting discotheques, of appearing nude on the screen, came before her eyes. It was, she said, "as if [she] heard "the whisper of heaven" at that moment".[13]

Religion: from Clifford Geertz to Jeppe Sinding Jensen

In his definition of religion mentioned in the foreword Jensen emphasises a number of components it consists of, not distinguishing any of them. Geertz, as opposed to the researcher of Aarthus, indicates the value of "law and order" that distinguish the religious and the common–sense behaviour. Geertz tends to talk about religion in terms of the symbolic system and a program of living rooted in the cultural reality. At the same time, he allows people, who believe to see the difference between how it is and how it should be.

In the realm of religion C. Geertz speaks of worldview, i.e. certain ideas on the fundamental order and governance which is an emotionally justified notion organised in a way to adopt ethos of the group presented within the program of living. The system of religious symbols is presented in a way to make it credible for a certain group and to make ethos justified, i.e. assumed as compatible with the true.[14] The world of symbols reveals its specificity from the perspective of the following dichotomies: emic vs etic, irreducible vs reducible, religion vs religions, contemporary religions vs primary (or traditional) religions.

A discussion on the dichotomy of emic and etic originates from the thought of Kenneth Pike. The first of the aforementioned terms refers to the meanings of words used in native languages (languages of the subjects), and the second to the linguistic signs used by the anthropologist to describe the world of meaning that is "unfamiliar" to him.[15] For Pike, the emic approach is characterised by the internal (appropriate for the subject) insight or discovery of what the subject/the native participates in whereas the etic perspective has something of creation and it is created by the anthropologist.

According to Marvin Harris,[16] only the etic point of view allows the anthropologist to forecast and it gives him the possibility to falsify a text. In his opinion, a believer "knows" what he believes in, indeed, but he does not know "why" he does it. In this context, only the anthropologist with his etic vision of reality is able to answer the question. However, the currently preferred questions are: what kind of meaning do the concrete people assign to their actions? What do they think about them? Following the line of Weber, Geertz attempted to answer such questions.

Within this "internal" perspective two dimensions might have been seen: a description of religion made by its current confessor (a theological dimension) and an attempted "external" description made by the anthropologist, who is not necessarily a believer (C. Geertz). People involved in the "theological" description seem to fully realise what the given rite means to them. For C. Geertz, in case of etic approach it was about balancing the experience (the further and the nearer as well) as far as it was possible.

It should be noted that the emic point of view was neither the beginning nor the end of discussion (on religion, in this regard), but it was an important part of it. Moreover, it seems that both emic and the etic point of view should be treated as two working hypothesis which require verification.

The second of the aforementioned dichotomies, namely religion as the irreducible vs the reducible thing, is closely connected to the emic and etic point of view. A conception that religion is an irreducible phenomenon and thereby it enjoys a degree of autonomy among other cultural phenomena appears in the theological and phenomenological discourse. Currently, there is no shortage of votes, however, defending the reductionist formulations of cultural elements.

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[13] Ibid., p.183.

[14] Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 34.

[15] Russel T. McCutcheon (ed.), *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, London: Cassel, 1999, p. 15.

[16] Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theor*y, New York: Harper and Row, 1968, pp. 568–92.

The word reductionism may be used in many ways. More narrowly defined, it may apply only to the attempts to explain religion by one chosen factor (which is the way of management or social structure). Some psychological, sociological, or anthropological formulations of religion are usually considered here. They all share the conviction that religion does not occupy some unique status among other social phenomena, so religion as the social fact may be explained by reference to other social facts that are somehow available to the researcher. The phenomena that are to be explained can therefore be observed and tested. If we stopped at the emic view of religion, it would not be possible to change or develop the appropriate conceptual network.

Regarding the multitude of religions, another dichotomy appears, namely religion vs religions. Starting with Tylor's thought and ending with Geertz's definition, one can observe some forms of a "here–and–now" religion with tendencies to generalizations (B. Malinowski, C. Geertz) on the one hand, and on the other religion is more often treated as an emerging phenomenon, which is valid only under specific social, economic, and political conditions (T. Asad). The first approach presupposes the existence of some relatively constant component (E. B. Tylor's and E. E. Evans–Pritchard's idea of supernatural entities, soul, spirits of the ancestors, or C. Geertz's idea of law and order). By contrast, the second one treats the phenomenon of religion in terms of the unique human response to the unique, always exceptional and unrepeatable external circumstances.

In other words, the dichotomy religion vs religions can be presented at the level of theoretical analyses concerning a particular subject, which is the object of study. Here we are confronted with the question which is still repeated in anthropological analysis of religion: is religion a unique subject? According to Asad, since religion is always integrated into the network of social, economic and political phenomena, being thereby somehow dependent on them, it is difficult to see it in universal terms. But in C. Geertz's conception, religion is integrated into a network of various links, but due to "the primordiality" of its occurrence it should be treated, however, with a degree of autonomy.

As a result of Asad's approach, for certain researchers, there is no one trans–culturally important phenomenon on the basis of which we could talk about religion. Each understanding of religion (emic or etic) is determined by the cultural or historical context and it is related to the systems of power and ideology. Since is it not possible to formulate one theory or definition of religion, it is difficult to assume the existence of some trans–cultural phenomenon, which would allow us to recognize the space called religion within a complex, fragmented, and asymmetrical world. In this context, the word religion, like other abstract terms, serves to draw the researcher's attention to the analogous phenomena, which must be considered independently, and not "labelled" within a preconceived definition.

At the core of cognitive conception of culture and religion

According to the cognitivists, religion outgrew the community of thinking assuming among others the soul assigned to animate and inanimate nature. It already had occurred as a result of the primitive man's reflection on the content of dreams and trances. Amplifying Tylor's thought, Jensen regards life and its forms as the elements of evolutionary process. One of its elements is to edify the sensitivity to the activity of immortal agendas.

At the core of this process we find the assumptions that all people think alike and they all respond to their environment with similar thought processes. Jensen distinguishes intuitive and counterintuitive thinking. What is intuitive thinking? If we are told about some unknown animals, we assume intuitively that they are mortal and that they are not made of inanimate matter, i.e. iron. Jensen notes we all have such intuitive knowledge. And the ontological limits are intuitively respected – people are not immortal and they may not penetrate physical objects. Sometimes, however, these limits are being violated within counterintuitive thinking which is neither false nor reductionist. One example of such thinking is to say that

human is mortal, but God is immortal. That kind of thinking takes place during the ritual in which everything becomes possible.

Beliefs, ritual and the human mind

Jensen considers beliefs before the ritual regarding them as the constitutive elements of a religious worldview. Of course, it is not about the chronology, but logic. All people of all known cultures and religions shared/share different beliefs[17] and thus they did not speak/do not speak with one voice. However, what they have in common is a conviction that faith directs their attention towards something or someone who transcends the material world. According to Jensen, the article of faith is counterintuitive. In the language of Eliade's phenomenology, it is metaphysical and transcendent. The beliefs do not assume the existence of some religious mind, but simply a human mind.[18]

Jensen, following Armin Geertz,[19] points out four key features of the human mind:
– a finely honed social cognition;
– a drive to communicate and cooperate;
– a self–descriptive brain;
– a superstitious brain prone to unusual mental and/or emotional experiences.

Jensen notes that we are intelligent and emotional apes which pronounce easily, are very superstitious, and extremely sensitive to social standards and virtual reality due to the nervous system. The features listed above create preliminary conditions for religious behaviour which traces in the form of symbolic behaviour we find among the apes long before the emergence of Homo sapiens. However, the explosion of culture has made us "blind" to "initial conditions", and yet, Jensen states "nothing emerges out of nothing".[20] Our features, functions, and capacities shall be the result of accumulation of the original state, stretching over a long period of time.

The above authors refer to the reflection of neuropsychologist Merlin Donald[21] in whose opinion the main feature that distinguishes us, human beings, from animals is imagination. It underlies the beliefs, behaviour, culture, society, and religion. In the human world man draws a scheme of house before he starts to build it. The scheme is a kind of scaffolding for social competence and religious imagination, and it becomes perceptible through signs such as words.

Hence, people live in the material world which is "possible" to tell (as Jerome Bruner writes), which shall consist of experienced things and known or imagined ideas. The human ability to think about things beyond their normal contexts shall be expressed most fully in the ritual. The ritual is primarily the metaphorical action. Before we go further, let us recall the alternative formulations of thoughts and mind.

A. Geertz and thereby Jensen emphasize our common biological and cognitive equipment in analyses of beliefs, but C. Geertz[22] accents the cultural equipment. In his opinion, many researchers believe it is difficult to explain the complexity of mammals' mental processes mainly by the increase in population of neurones. It seems that cultural templates, rather than genetic ones, have something more to say on this. It means that mental activity is not fully determined internally. Geertz makes a thesis that "human mental functioning is intrinsically determined by cultural resources." Before a child gets the capacity of mental adding, he or she must learn how to do it by performing simple operations on the small sticks

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[17] Jensen, *What...*, p. 63.

[18] While presenting this part of reflection on beliefs, we refer to Jensen's considerations who followed Armin W. Geertz. Ibid., pp. 64–69.

[19] Armin Geertz is a General Secretary of the IAHR at the Aarthus University (Denmark). Geertz and Jensen manage a project called *Religion, Cognition and Culture (RCC)*. The purpose of the project is to recognize religion as a formative factor in the world of culture, being a rich source within the mechanisms linking the individual brain and body with the social brain and body.

[20] Jensen, *What...*, p. 64.

[21] Merlin Donald, *Origins of the Modern Mind: Three Stages in the Evolution of Culture and Cognition*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991. Idem., *A Mind So Rare: The Evolution of Human Consciousness*, New York: Norton, 2001.

[22] Geertz, *The Interpretation...*, pp. 45–202.

of wood. So, human culture is not added to human thought, but it is a component of it. Otherwise, thinking is a public process rather than private.

The reflective thinking is connected to converting the unclear situation into a coherent and harmonious whole. The human uniqueness is to learn many things to be able to operate in the world. It is accompanied by a constant flux of various incentives for which human must learn to comply in their lives. Not only reason is involved in this process, but also emotions are. So, we need a public images of feelings which only ritual, myth or art may provide us.

Jensen: performative dimension of the ritual

The ritual is a classic subject for anthropology of religion. There are various views on the ritual – as one of the components of religion – in the history of anthropological reflection on religion. They are connected to considerations on the mutual relationships between the ritual and faith. Based on Bell's thought,[23] Jensen notes that this debate lasts to this day.

Theologists consider piety as original (faith has the redemptive sense), while sociologists and anthropologists believe that it was ritual. The latter was/is a way of contact with "the other" world, and thus it is a tool for strengthening ideas, behavioural patterns, norms regulating the attitude towards "the other".

For Tylor, a ritual was "anachronistic". It was a symptom of earlier forms of primordial (animistic) religions. It was assumed that primitive man was connected to the animate and inanimate world (animals, plants and objects) by soul. The ritual was not only a form of understanding the world, but also influencing it. Another way to explain the ritual was to appeal to the analogy of the gift and communion that already included conceptions of supernatural creatures. And over time the intellectualistic point of view on the ritual has been replaced by the social one, which means the ritual has become a matter of the group (it did not exceed the human world even if the group referred to the sacred). In other words, it has become its integrating element. Bronisław Malinowski attempted to answer the question: what does this relationship mean for people involved in it? According to Jensen, religion and magic were not so much a manifestation of a false doctrine or primitive philosophy, but of practical action built upon reasoning, feelings and similarity. The ritual worked at many levels.

Later the attention began to be paid to the form and structure of the ritual. Starting with the thought of Arnold van Gennep, the ritual is being described as "the rite of passage", which consists of three phases: separation, passage and reintegration. On the basis of the ritual structure constructed in such a way, there were described in turn: crisis rituals, initiation rituals and calendar rituals.

While on the ground of a humanist reflection on the ritual a quest for meanings took the form of "thick description." Gods and ancestors known for the religious tradition are behind the ritual which appears as "a program for living". The ritual works if it is exercised in accordance with the requirements of tradition. Referring to Roy A. Rappaport, Jensen stresses relative invariance of the ritual and the fact that its participants do not decode meanings by themselves e.g. actions and symbols concurring to the ritual. The ritual is a prescribed action transmitted from generation to generation.

According to Jensen,[24] the ritual, mainly the religious one, does not contain any supernatural "power" in itself. It is a sign of "the presence" of religious institutions which carrying "the program for", shall endeavour to affect human lives. Jensen continues that if we are dealing with the planned project in case of social organisations, then it is difficult to say in case of institutions whether they are planned or even expected. It goes as far as to say that they arise spontaneously.

"Functioning of the ritual", which is a visible sign of the institution, becomes real due to the performative function of language.[25] The performative theory brought out its role the beginning of which was

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[23] Catherine Bell, *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 3–21.

[24] Jensen, *What...*, p.100.

[25] This function has begun to be promoted strongly since Bronisław Malinowski.

already apparent in Bronisław Malinowski's consideration on language. Catherine Bell connects it to Kenneth Burke's, V. Turner's, E. Goffman's, J.L. Austin's and J. Searle's output.[26]

At the core of this theory some sort of common human "collective intentionality" can be found, which allows people to create a commonly shared reality. In case of religion as an institution, for example, an idea of "Master of the Universe" and the person that is his incarnation appears. The primary function of religion becomes a structuralisation of human life. This process, on one hand, fills people with hope and, on the other, with fear.[27]

In this convention, language not only serves to recognize and describe reality, but is also is a form of participation. So, the participants of the ritual create a community and each new ritual which is the next scene creates a relatively new community. The spectacle or ritual is rather being participated[28] than watched as we have an effect on other participants. First of all, people are impacted by the body language, gesture and, of course, "speech acts". Hierarchies and the strength of relations in a specified time and place are confirmed in the ritual. Due to the ritual we experience what is other, different from "ours". The rituals are the keystone of the presence and tradition, and in the context of religion and culture, they become sacred. From the perspective of the study on religion – and in particular on the ritual, the latter is not the work of God, but human using language as a fundamental tool to create the social (including religious) world.

At the core of the performative theory a fundamental assumption can be found that people think in terms of their own cultural "discrete" performances. The latter are some concrete entireties formed as a set of activities within a specified time, while they are transmitted by particular media. Some theoreticians[29] explicitly abandon such dichotomies as: public vs private, primordial vs modern, the sacred vs the profane[30], claiming that these dichotomies do not allow to answer the question: how does the ritual works? How is a language transmitted via the way of performances?

Conclusion

Anneliese Michel was born on 21 September 1952 in Leiblfing (Lower Bavaria). She was christened in the Catholic Church. She woke up one night with the impression that enormous force keeps an iron grip on her.[31] The experience she had blocked out returned to her one year later, during the night of 23 to 24 August 1969. However, Annelise gradually has come to the view that she might be tormented by Satan.[32] At the same time, she said that she could not deal with some internal chaos. On 16 September 1975 Bishop Josef Stangl licensed Pastor Ernst Alt on paper to exorcise[33] her by Father Arnold Renz, who was a Salvatorian and the superior in Ruck–Schippach. In these difficult times she was often accompanied by Pastor Alt, who recalled one of the meetings during which Anneliese said: "Father, I am sinful, I am begging for absolution". "I gave it to her immediately, Pastor said, and her condition has changed rapidly. She sighed deeply, looked calmly and normally at each of us".[34]

Another time she mentioned a meeting with the Mother of God, the fruit of which was her aware decision to offer her suffering for the sinners. The last exorcism was held on 30 June 1976. And on 1 July, at approximately 8 am Anneliese's mother called her husband and informed him that their daughter was dead.

From the point of view of Eliade's phenomenology the figures of Satan and the Mother of God were the signs of the Sacred Power in the consciousness of the student mentioned above and they might have provided proof for Its ambivalence. Such read was/is possible within a particular semantic frame, what was

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[26] Bell, *Ritual Perspectives...*, p. 38.
[27] Jensen, *What...*, p. 135.
[28] Bell, *Ritual Perspectives...*, pp. 40, 42.
[29] It seems that Jensen does not belong to that group.
[30] Bell, *Ritual Perspectives....*, p. 38.
[31] See 'Catalepsy', in *Słownik wyrazów obcych* [Dictionary of Foreign Words], Warsaw: State Publishing Institute PIW, 1965, p. 331.
[32] Felicitas D. Goodman, *The Exorcism of Anneliese Michel*, New York: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2005, p. 82.
[33] Hillary Rodrigues, John S. Harding, *Introduction to the Study of Religion*, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 157.
[34] Goodman, *The Exorcism...*, p. 225.

said above. But from the point of view of Jensen's "constructivist" phenomenology, which was a world of "arbitrary signs or symbols", these symbols are only human "products". They are "things" which, as we recall, Jensen tried to explain by a reference to the counter–intuitive thinking. It might give the impression that only a contemporary anthropologist knows "how things stand". It seems that C. Geertz's proposal in this respect, who said that to talk as it is, is very risky because things stand most differently is much more convincing. Leszek Kołakowski considers "in the age when physicists discuss quanta of time [...] the reversibility of time, the emergence of particles *ex nihilo*, how to define the impossible".[35]

The researchers of different cultures indicate precisely to the ritual in which things happen that are not impossible (if we accept the perspective of contemporary probabilistic science), but embarrassing for man. We shall not expect to get the definitive response from an anthropologist, but if we do, then rather from a theologian. And even if the anthropologist attempts to decide definitively on the object of the ritual, he is exceeding his competences.

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[35] Leszek Kołakowski, *Jezus ośmieszony. Esej apologetyczny i sceptyczny* [Jesus Ridiculed: An Apologetic and Sceptical Essay], trans. D. Zańko, Cracow: the Znak Publishing House, 2014, p. 63.

Necmettin Gökkir[*]

Has Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan* Ever Been Lost?
Rethinking the Historiography of Tafsir in the Light of Ottoman Documents

Abstract

This article re-evaluates the historiography of Tafsir, focusing particularly on modern studies of Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan*. The article is based on a new historiography formulated by Western scholarship and neglects Ottoman references. This is true particularly in the sayings and comments of Theodor Nöldeke and Ignaz Goldzhier on Tabari's book, *Jami' al-Bayan*, as these two prominent figures' arguments have been accepted as unquestionable and absolute by successive scholars, both in the western and Islamic world. Providing detailed information about the claims of Nöldeke that Tabari's book was lost and, after Goldziher, that it was then discovered and published in Egypt, the article quotes Muslim scholars. In the second part, the claims of Nöldeke and Goldziher are questioned. Library catalogues and some Ottoman official documents prove that Tabari's Tafsir was never lost. On the contrary, it was used and printed first in Istanbul. The article suggests that the historiography of Tafsir should be revised and rewritten in the light of such Ottoman bureaucratic documents.

Introduction

Scholarly evaluation of academic studies on Ottoman Tafsir literature has generally been quite unfavourable. Historians in the field often imply that the Ottomans, despite their influence on Islamic civilisation, left no legacy in the study of the Qur'an worth mentioning.[1] Recent research challenges this conclusion. The Ottomans established Qur'an centres (Dar al-Qurra) and Madrasas in various cities, including Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Konya, Damascus, and Bosnia, and they handed over the legacy of traditional Islamic sciences from the Saljuks and Mamluks. It seems unlikely, then, that they have produced no work in Qur'anic studies that is worth mentioning. Indeed, this scholarly neglect and marginalisation of Ottoman Tafsir studies is still continued by Western and Arab scholars. This omission arises from more than innocent neglect, but rather is rooted in historiography. The historiography of Tafsir in the current time was established first by western scholars, including Nöldeke, Goldziher, Baljon, and Jomier. They were followed by Arab scholars such as Husayn al-Dhahabi, Salah al-Khalidi etc. These scholars tended to be dismissive of the Ottoman Tafsir tradition, suggesting that Ottoman scholars showed little originality and that Ottoman Tafsir mostly takes the form of Hashiya (i.e. textual explanation of tafsir books) and therefore makes no significant contribution to the history of Tafsir.[2]

However, the main reason behind this neglect seems to be a paradigm shift from a traditional to a new historiography of Tafsir in the colonial era. Traditional Muslim tafsir historians used to use a chronological system called *Tabaqat* in Muslim literature and usually classifies Muslim exegetes (*mufassirs*) in a chronological order (*tabaqat*) starting with the first generation, Companions (*Sahaba*) of the Prophet, and finishing with the last person in the link to indicate the existence of a chain and unity in the literature. This kind of historiography is commonly called as *tabaqat al-mufassirin*. The genre of *tabaqat* recalls the general name of historiography in other Islamic sciences such

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[1] Many researchers have already drawn attention to the fact that Ottoman Tafsir works have not gained the academic attention that they deserve in the history of Tafsir. Dücane Cündioğlu is one of the earliest researchers whose article "Çağdaş Tefsir Tarihi Tasavvurunun Kayıp Halkası: Osmanlı Tefsir Mirası" [Missing Link in the Contemporary History of Tafsir Thought: The Ottoman Exegetical Heritage] (in *Islâmiyât*, v: 2/ 4, 1999, pp. 51–75) brought the issue to debate in Turkish scholarship.

[2] See Bilal Gökkir, et al., *Osmanlı Toplumunda Kur'an Kültürü ve Tefsir Çalışmaları*, v. 1, p. 8.

as Hadith (*Tabaqat al-Muhaddisin*), Philosophy (*Tabaqat al-Hukama*), Literature (*Tabaqat al-Udeba* and *al-Shu'ara*) etc. Muslims have differentiated between two fields, Politics and Science in regard to writing their histories. The term "*Tarikh*" (history) is generally used for political events in specific dynasties but the term of "*Tabaqat*" is a kind of literature used only for science and arts and was coined and applied by Muslims themselves to collect the biographical data of the successive generations in the same field. To write a history on Islamic civilisation in this pattern has some advantages, as Gibb says:

> "The early dictionaries themselves give no reasons for their composition, but plunge directly into their subjects. Further, these subjects themselves are in no instance limited to political personalities, nor are political figures and events given special attention. On the contrary, political history is entirely incidental to the main structure of the works. Thus it is clear that the conception that underlines the oldest biographical dictionaries is that the history of the Islamic Community is essentially the contribution of individual men and women to the building up and transmission of its specific culture; that is these persons (rather than the political governors) who represent or reflect the active forces in Muslim society in their respective spheres; and that their individual contributions are worthy of being recorded for future generations".[3]

That is to say that in this kind of historiography, it seems to be claimed that the main figure in the history of Islamic civilisation is not the politicians or leaders but the scholars educated in traditional patterns and handed down Islamic knowledge over the succeeding generations. In these kinds of books, the personal aspects of the biography of any mufassirs such as names of the author, dates of his death, schools he belongs to (for instance, *hanafi, shafii, mu'tazili, ash'ari* etc.), his main proficiencies (for instance, *mufassir, muhaddith, faqih* etc.) are given in connection with the intellectual and social context and in the chain of master-pupil (in other words, teacher–student or giver–receiver) that goes to Prophet Muhammed, who is accepted as the first receiver the *Wahy* – Revelation and the first giver of knowledge to his Companions.[4] In this perspective, analysis of the entire literature chronologically in a dynamic structure – that is all stages and individuals have a connection with each other.

However, when it comes to the modern day, this perspective has changed and this unity and interconnection has disappeared. The mufassir-centred and chronological historiography (*Tabaqat al-Mufassirin*) has been replaced by a new form, which categorises the literature of Tafsir according to its methodology and epistemology. The new historiography conceptualises the whole history of genre within the terms that reflect only one aspect of the literature, such as linguistic, sectarian, rational etc. The new perspective became more effective particularly after Goldziher's work *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden 1920) was translated into Arabic in 1944.[5] The new perspective triggered by Goldziher and more effectively applied by Muslims such as Husayn al-Dhahabi (1961) in his *Al-Tafsir wa'l-Mufassirun*; 'Abd al-'Azim Ahmad al-Ghubâshi (1971) in his *Tarikh al-Tafsir;* Abu Yaqzân 'Atiyya al-Gabûri (1971) in his *Dirâsât fî Tafsir wa Risâlih;* Ismail Cerrahoglu (1988) in his two volumes of *Tefsir Tarihi* and Ali Turgut (1994) in his *Tefsir Usulu ve Tarihi*.

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[3] Sir Hamilton Gibb, 'Islamic Biographical Literature,' in *Historians of the Middle East*, Bernard Lewis, Peter M. Holt (eds), London: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 54.

[4] The first book of *Tabakat al-Mufassirin* belongs to Suyuti (d. 911) and his pupil Shamsaddin al-Davudi (d. 929). Suyuti's book published in 1977 and Davudi's book was published in 1972 both by Ali Muhammed Omer in Cairo. However, the first publication on the genre belongs to Giritli Sırrı Pasha. It was published in 1897 in Istanbul under the title of *Tabakat al-Mufassirin wa Adabuhu*. For more information on the literature of *Tabakat al-Mufassirin* see: Heffenning, 'Tabakat,' in *Encyclopeadia of Islam*, Leiden New York Kobenhavn Köln: E. J. Brill, 1987, v. 9, pp. 214–215 .

[5] Translated by Abd al-Halim al-Najjar, *al-Madhâhib al-Islâmiyya fî Tafsir al-Qur'an*, Cairo 1955. Mustafa Islamoglu more recently, translated the Golziher's book from Arabic version to Turkish in 1997.

Moreover, Goldziher is also the first scholar who draws attention to the modern period of Tafsir literature. He gives details about the works of the Egyptian scholar, Muhammad Abduh (1905), and his discipline Rashid Rida (1935) but not as the representative of a modern interpretation of the Qur'an. Following Goldziher in studying only modern Egyptian scholars, Jomier's book, *Le commentaire coranique du Manār. Tendences modernes de l'exégèse coranique en Egypte*,[6] focuses unexclusively on *Manār* by Muhammad Abduh (1905) and Rashid Rida (1935). It offers a virtually complete summary of these scholars' thought. Baljon, in addition to this, brought modern Indian scholars to the attention of Western observers in his book *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880–1960).*[7] While Jomier and Baljon pay attention only to Egyptian scholars, Jansen also follows Goldziher in his stuck to Egyptian literature adding the Indian scholar Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The question "why the other Muslim scholars in other countries have not been introduced" arises. Can we simply think that the Qur'anic studies in other parts of the Muslim world, especially Ottoman Turkey, Iran, North Africa, Malaysia and Indonesia, were noticeably omitted and ignored? Additionally, Turkish scholars themselves,[8] who study the history of Tafsir, being loyal to Goldzhier also focus only on modern Egyptian scholars, Muhammed Abduh and Rashid Rida, as if they were the only two representatives of modern Muslim interpreters (*mufassir*). Is it true that the Ottomans and other countries have not contributed to modern Tafsir literature?

In *Tabaqat* literature the link of the mufassirs has not been halted in its historical chain, whereas in the new perspective all history has been revised in a different perspective with no historical link, but in a pattern. The new perspective starts to categorise Tafsir literature in ontological and epistemological patterns, namely *traditional, rational, sectarian, legal* etc. Nevertheless, dealing with the modern period, the pattern has been given up on and instead it focuses on names and figures, as it was in *Tabaqat* system. The classical period has been categorised, but the modern time has been evaluated name by name. This could be considered an application problem in the new perspective on the one hand. On the other hand, the problem is not only one of shifting the perspective; there is also the issue of name selection. Why only these limited names, Muhammed Abduh and Rashid Rida etc? Why are the names more important than methodological patterns and why only these names? However, we know that the mufassir-centred approach was used in *Tabaqat* literature to introduce the names as the real representative of the culture and civilisation of Islam. Is it possible to say that the same pattern has been intentionally applied by Western scholars to modern figures in order to show that they are the real represents of modern Islam? In fact, the selected names are not as important to the West as to Muslim world. However, they are known by their untraditional thoughts and even by their critical thinking against traditional Islamic values. Is it deserved to be in a different mentality from his/her culture or to be marginal as a representative of his/her culture? It can be clearly claimed now that the new historiography of Tafsir is mostly influenced by this mentality and formulated in this pattern. Consequently, Ottoman scholars who are well educated in the traditional pattern and produced many works in the field had no place in the new categorisation. It is possible to say that the orientalist perspective that turned back to names and figures is, indeed, seeking its own representatives who are Western-oriented, reformist, liberal and even feminist, rather than traditional or authentic figures of Islamic culture in its entirety in the modern era. Additionally they seem to choose the representatives as role-models to be intellectually reconstructed in the modern world and not to understand the structure of Islamic intellectuality.[9] It can be clearly claimed that the new historiography of Tafsir is mostly influenced by this mentality and formulated in this pattern.

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[6] Jacques Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manār. Tendences moderns l'exégèse coranique en Egypte,* Paris: Maisonneuve, 1954.

[7] Johannes M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880–1960),* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961.

[8] See for these works in Turkish, Ismail Cerrahoglu, *Tefsir Tarihi* (2 vols), Ankara 1988; Ali Turgut, *Tefsir Usulu ve Tarihi,* Istanbul 1994.

Consequently, Ottoman scholars who are well educated in the traditional pattern had no place in this new historiography. Now, it seems to be obvious that the main reason for the omission of Ottoman Tafsir studies is just because of this orientalist perspective. The Ottomans were omitted, but Egyptians and Indians were considered as representatives of modern intellectuality. This obviously indicates that the modern historiography of Tafsir has not gone on the right direction and has a Western orientation and manipulation in reading the overall picture of the Islamic intellectual world. Instead, this orientation has been constructed to portray particularly Egypt and India in the centre. It seems that the modern historiography in the Tafsir genre began, not due to academic problems but also due to colonial affairs in the Middle East. The article, hence, stands critically on the Euro-centric colonial framework of Western scholars on the historiography in the Tafsir genre in particular. In the euro-centric outlook, the West has portrayed itself as having a total presence in all individuals and collective attempts at stressing Western perception and reception of "society" and "intellectuality" in the Muslim world. This point of view may be useful for the colonialised region, such as in Egypt and India, but not being entirely applicable to all cultural maps of Islam, particularly the Ottomans. As such, this article theoretically argues that without the Ottomans an accurate history of Tafsir is not possible to be written and from now on the history of Qur'anic studies should be rewritten while avoiding, as much as possible, the influence of Western orientalist classification and perspective.

Hence, I will pursue this argument by suggesting a new reading to the history of Tafsir with Ottoman documents related to Tafsir, including such bureaucratic activities as the encouragement, banning and printing of Tafsir works, giving special attention to the printing of Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan*, which leading orientalists claimed was lost for four centuries, from the 1500s until 1901, until it was finally found and reprinted in Egypt. At the end, it will be clearly shown that the new historiography of Tafsir both in the Western and in the Islamic world should have been revised in the light of the Ottoman legacy.

The claim of Nöldeke: Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan* was lost

Tabari (d. 310/923) has been referred to as the head of Mufassirs (*Ra's al-Mufassirin*) and his work is considered to be the master book of Tafsir literature.[10] Tabari has gained this reputation with his monumental Qur'an commentary entitled *Jami' al-Bayan 'an Taw'il al-Qur'an* (Collection of Explanations for the Interpretation of the Qur'an). Tafsir has mainly collected the ample material from narrations about every verse of the Qur'an including almost everything that was said before him.

According to Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), the German Orientalist,[11] Tabari's Tafsir suddenly disappeared. For Nöldeke, Suyuti (d. 911/1506) was the last person who mentions Tabari's Tafsir and its content. Nöldeke triggered this theory about the absence of Tafsir in his influential work *Geschichte des Qorans* in its first edition in 1860 by saying that:

"Everything that was done before him in this branch was summed up together under the general judgment of the famous al-Tabari, whose book is rightly known as the most crucial and the biggest book for al-Suyuti. If we had this book that was written after him we would probably

[9] For further discussion and the review see: Bilal Gökkır, 'Modern Muslim Intellectuals and The Qur'an,' edited by Suha Taji-Farouki, *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2007/18, pp. 153-156; Necmettin Gökkır, 'Modern Muslim Intellectuals and The Qur'an,' edited by Suha Taji-Farouki, *İstanbul Universitesi Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi*, 2006/14, pp. 283–285.

[10] Suyuti, *Tabakat al-Mufassirin*, Qahira 1977, v. 1, p. 264; Suyuti, *Al-Itqan*, Dimashk Bayrut 1987, v. 2, p. 12-35; Davudi, *Tabakat al-Mufassirin*, Qahira 1972, v. 2, p.106; A. Erenevi, *Tabakat al-Mufassirin*, al-Madina al-Munawwara 1997, p. 48–51; H. Zahabi, *al-Tafsir wa al-Mufassisrun*, Qahira 1971, v. 1, p. 206.

[11] Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans,* Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1860.

not need the other books, but unfortunately it seems to be completely lost".[12] [author's translation]

The claim of Goldziher: Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan* was discovered and printed first in Egypt

Otto Loth (1844–1881), another orientalist, found a copy in Egypt and published a study[13] in 1881. However, most Western scholars continued to follow Nöldeke's claim. Goldziher, for example, in his *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung,* strongly repeats that *Jami' al-Bayan* was missing for a while. Additionally, Goldziher calls attention to its rediscovery and publication in Egypt by Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi in 1901 and later again in 1911 as follows:

"Abu Hamid al-Isfarayini (d. 406/1015) for example, said "if someone travels to China to get the book of Muhammad b. Jarir it would not be too much for him". And Nöldeke wrote in 1860 about his failure to find it and quoting from it as saying: "If we had this book that was written after him we would probably not need the other books, but unfortunately it seems to be completely lost"... and suddenly the full printed version of this huge book appeared in Cairo in thirty volumes (approx. 5200 pages) from a full manuscript found in the Amir Hail Library and also printed in 1911".[14] [author's translation]

Although Otto Loth already found one copy of *Jami' al-Bayan* and published his study in 1881, Goldziher seems still to continue to repeat that it was lost. Not only have Western orientalist scholars, but also almost all Muslim Tafsir historians, have unhesitatingly accepted Goldziher's claim after his book *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* translated into Arabic[15] and Turkish.[16] They repeat and continue to assert that Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan* suddenly disappeared in the 15th century and was rediscovered in 1901 in Egypt where it was first printed by the company Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi then again in 1910. Husayn al-Dhahabi (1977), an Egyptian scholar, says as follows:

"The Tafsir of Ibn Jarir is a huge book in thirty volumes. It was lost and there was no existing copy of it until recent decades. And then Allah ordained its appearance and discovery. A full manuscript copy of this book was suddenly to be handed by scholars of East and West from the store of Amir Hail, Amir Hammud b. el-Amir abd al-Rashid, one of the kings of Najd. The book, which is very rich in traditional comments, has been recently printed and became circulated in our hands'. [17] [author's translation]

It seems that Nöldeke and Goldziher are very influential in Tafsir studies in Muslim lands too. No one needed to check their claims. Indeed, showing remarkable loyalty to Nöldeke and Goldziher,

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[12] Ibid., v. 1, p. XXVII.

[13] Otto Loth, 'Tabari's Korancommentar', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (*ZDMG*), 35, 1881, pp. 588–628.

[14] Ignac Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden: Brill, 1920, p. 87.

[15] See: *Mazahib el-Islamiyye*, (translated by Abd al-Halim al-Najjar), Kahire 1955, p.108.

[16] See: *İslam Tefsir Ekolleri*, (translated by Mustafa Islamoglu), İstanbul 1997, p.112

[17] Husayn Dhahabi, *al-Tafsir wa al-Mufassirun*, Qahira 1971, v. 1 p. 207–208. Also see: S. al-Khalidi, *Ta'rif al-Darisin bi manahij al-Mufassirin*, Jidde: Dar al-Bashir, 2008, p. 354.

Arab[18] and Turkish[19] historians[20] in the field have repeated these two claims:

      (1)   Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan*, had been lost for almost 4 centuries.

      (2)   It was rediscovered and printed first in Egypt in 1901.

The scientific values of the claims

Dealing with the first claim, the following list of the manuscripts of Tabari's Tafsir in Ottoman libraries, particularly the Süleymaniye Library, shows that Tabari's Tafsir was never lost, at least to Ottoman scholars:

    (1)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 100 (Volume: 1, Year: unknown)

    (2)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 101 (Volume: 1, Year: 1144/1732)

    (3)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 102 (Volume: 1, Year: unknown)

    (4)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 103 (Volume: 1, Year: 1144/1732)

    (5)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 104 (Volume: 1, Year unknown)

    (6)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 105–106 (Volume: 2, Year: unknown)

    (7)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 107–109 (Volume: 3, Year: unknown)

    (8)   Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 110 (Volume: 1, Year: 1148/1736)

    (9)   Süleymaniye Library Feyzullah Efendi, 39–42 (Volume: 4, Year: 1112/1700)

    (10)   Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla, 111–114 (Volume: 4, Year: 1115/1704)

    (11)   Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla, 115–119 (Volume: Year: 1114/1703)

    (12)   Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla, 120–121 (Volume: 2, Year: 1162/1749)

    (13)   Süleymaniye Library, Atıf Efendi, 186–190 (Volume: 5, Year: 1140/1728)[21]

    (14)   Süleymaniye Library, Damad İbrahim, 30–32 (Volume: 3, Year: 1221/1710)

    (15)   Süleymaniye Library, Damad İbrahim, 33–36 (Volume: 4, Year: 1133/1721)

    (16)   Süleymaniye Library, Damad İbrahim, 28–29 (Volume: 2, Year: 1132/1720)

    (17)   Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye, 150–151 (Volume: 2, Year: unknown)

    (18)   Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye, 152–153 (Volume: 2, Year: unknown

    (19)   Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye, 154–156 (Volume: 3 Year: 1144/1732)

    (20)   Süleymaniye Library, Fatih, 169–172 (Volume: 3, Year: 1140/1728)

    (21)   Süleymaniye Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 85–88 (Volume: 4, Year: 1083/1673)[22]

    (22)   Süleymaniye Library, Hekimoğlu, 19–20 (Volume: 2, Year: 1138/1726–1141/1729)

    (23)   Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye, 35 (Volume: 1, Year: 1156/1744)

    (24)   Süleymaniye Library, Hacıbeşirağa, 15 (Volume: 1, Year: 1125/1714)

In addition to Istanbul Library some Anatolian Libraries have also some copies of Tabari's Tafsir as follow:

    (25)   Nevşehir, Damad İbrahim, 50 Damad 25/1–2 (Volume: 2, Year unknown)

    (26)   Çorum, Hasan Paşa, 19 Hk 3 (Volume: 1, Year: 1152/1740)

Moreover, the Persian translations of *Jami' al-Bayan*[23] are also common in Turkish libraries, such as:

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[18] For instance see: Dhahabi, *al-Tafsir*, v. 1, p. 207–208; al-Khalidi, *Ta'rif,* p. 354; Abu al-Yakzan Atiyye el-Jaburi, *Dirasat fi al-Tafsir wa Rijaluhu*, Beyrut 1987, p. 89.

[19] For instance see: Ismail Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsir Tarihi*, Ankara 1988, v. 2, p. 145.

[20] On the contrary the *Tabaqat* writers did not mention anything about the disappearance of Tabari's Tafsir at all. For example see: Ömer N., Bilmen, *Büyük Tefsir Tarihi: Tabakatu'l-Mufessirin*, İstanbul 1974, v. 1, pp. 363–369. The reason would be that this kind of literature was not influenced by Orientalist perspective and sources.

[21] This is the full version of the Tabari Tafsir, from Surah 'Fatiha' to Surah 'Nas'.

[22] This manuscript seems to be the oldest within the collection of the Suleymaniye Library.

(27)   Süleymaniye Library, Hekimoğlu, 21 (Volume: 1, Year: 946/1540)[24]

(28)   Samsun, Public Library, 55 Hk 863 (Volume: 1, Year: 975/1568)

(29)   Bursa, İnebey Library, 16 Ha 131 (Volume: 1, Year: 1163/1750)

As this list demonstrates, almost all of the 29 manuscripts and translations were inscribed between 1540 and 1750, the period exactly when the Tafsir was supposed to have been lost according to Nöldeke. Yet, Tafsir was still in common use during this period and was clearly added as one of the most useful Tafsir sources.

Such documents shed further light on the history of the *Jami' al-Bayan* in Istanbul before its printing in Egypt in 1901. According to an archival record, permission for its publication was given in Istanbul on 14 September 1313 (26 September 1897) by Sheik al-Islam Mehmet Cemaluddin.[25]
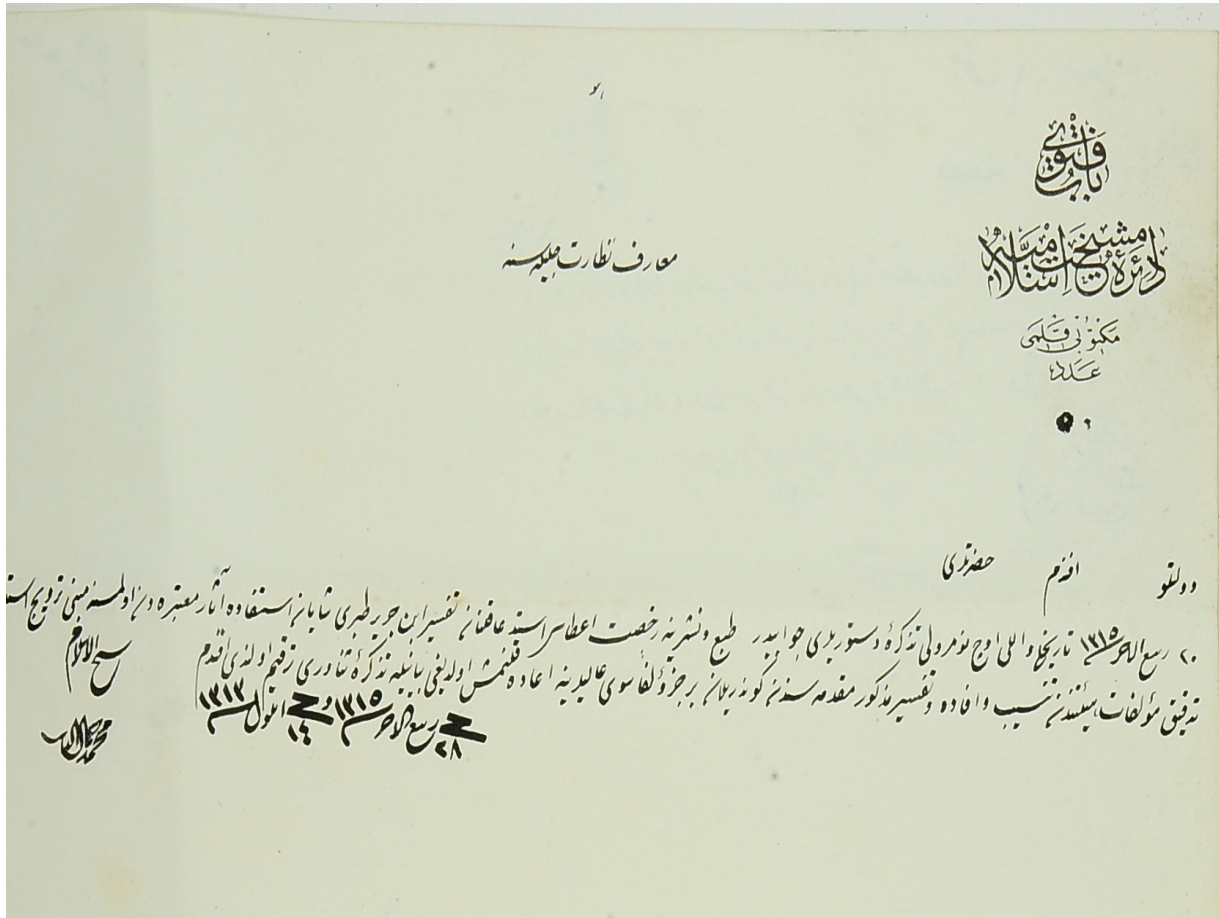
The document can be transliterated as follows:

"Bâb-ı Fetva

Daire-i Meşihat-ı İslâmiye

Mektubî Kalemi

Aded: 50

Maârif Nezâret-i Celîlesine

Devletli efendim hazretleri

20 Rebîülâhir sene 1315 tarihli ve elli üç numaralı tezkire-i düstûrileri cevabıdır. Tabʻ ve

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[23] Tabari's Tafsir was translated into Persian by a group of scholars from Khorasan during the reign of Samanid king, Mansur b. Nuh (387/976). This translation is known as the first Islamic book in non-Arabic language. See for more information: Ömer N. Bilmen, *Büyük Tefsir Tarihi: Tabakatu'l-Mufessirin*, Istanbul, 1974, v. 1, p. 368.

[24] This manuscript seems to be the oldest Persian translation in the collection of the Suleymaniye Library.

[25] BOA (Ottoman Archives in Prime Ministry of Turkey): MF. MKT, 324/48–9a.

neşrine ruhsat i'tâsı istid'â kılınan tefsir-i ibn-i Cerir-i Taberi şâyân-ı istifade âsâr-ı mu'tebereden olmasına mebnî tervîc-i istid'â Tedkik-i Müellifât Hey'eti'nden tensîb ve ifade ve tefsir-i mezkûr mukaddimesinden gönderilen bir cüz leffen sûy-i âlîlerine iade kılınmış olduğu beyânıyla tezkire-i senâverî terkîm olundu efendim.

   Fî 28 Rebîülâhir sene 1315 ve fî 14 Eylül sene 1313

   Şeyhülislâm

   Mehmed Cemaleddin"

The document can be translated into English as follows:

   "Bab al-Fatwa

   Department of Mashikhat al-Islamiyya

    Secretary

   Number 50

   To His Honour Ministry of Education

   Your Majesty

   As a response referring to your honoured letter, the date of 20 Rabi' al-Awwal 1315 and with number fifty-three. The Tafsir of Ibn Jarir al-Tabari, which asked permission for its publication, based on the fact that it is one of the most significant and beneficial works, it is considered affirmatively by the Council of Book Investigation. With the expression that a fragment from its introduction has been attached and presented to your honour, the certificate has been registered.

   Date: 28 Rabi' al-Ahir, year 1315 [Hijra] and 14 September, Year 1313 [Rumi]

   Sheikh al-Islam

   Mehmed Cemaleddin"

   The document indicates that an unnamed person requested permission to print Tabari's Tafsir and that the response was affirmative in light of its importance. Although this document does not prove that Tabari's Tafsir was in fact printed in Istanbul in 1897,[26] it provides further evidence that it was not lost, and that it was well known by Ottoman scholars. Mehmet Cemaleddin Efendi (1848–1919), who gave permission for the printing, was Sheikh al-Islam in the time of Abdülhamid the Second, between 1891–1909.[27] The period is well-known for the dominance of the bureaucracy over other institutions of the state, beginning with the Tanzimat. Economic growth further strengthened the Ottoman state bureaucracy. With the establishment of control systems over printing and publications in the Tanzimat era, the government provides valuable documentary evidence of the development of printed-Tafsir and these documents also shed light on the relationship of printing to Ottoman political institutions.[28]

   However, the controlling of the print houses established by minorities in the Ottoman Empire dates far back. Allowing a non-Arabic alphabet book means there was no interference with foreign broadcasts and also indicates the presence of control in the printing of Islamic books. In addition to strict domestic control over printing, books brought from abroad were also being controlled in customs. In particular, translations of the Quran and Tafsirs brought from Europe and Iran were naturally prohibited. It is clear, then, that inspection and control of printing was one part of a wider government policy. In light of such apparently intense Ottoman interest in the writing, printing,

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[26] However, from other documents we also learn that the publisher's name was Hayret Efendi and someone asked for permission to print the Tafsir of Abu al-Lays al-Samarkandi referring to the printing manner given to the publisher Hayet Efendi who published Tabari's Tafsir in small portions of fragments. However, I could not find any copies of this Tafsir in Istanbul libraries to date.

[27] Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi took over the same duty after the second constitutional period between 1912–1913 and was finally deported to Egypt by the CUP. For further information see: Mehmet İpşirli, 'Cemaleddin Efendi,' in *Turkiye Diyanet Vakfi Islam Ansiklopedisi* [Turkish Diyanet Foundation's Encyclopaedia of Islam], İstanbul 1993, v. 7, pp. 309–310.

[28] Fatmagül, Demirel, *Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, Istanbul 2007, p. 23.

translating, banning and controlling of the Tafsir works, the neglect of the Ottoman Tafsir tradition in the field of Qur'anic studies is puzzling.

Library catalogues and official bureaucratic documents[29] seem to be very useful tools to reconstruct the history of Tafsir during this neglected-period. Such bureaucratic documents provide historical evidence that can be used not only by political historians but also by cultural historians to shed light on the situation and conditions behind the literature. Therefore, archive documents, court records and verdicts seem to be counted as some of the main sources for historiography in Tafsir studies as well, particularly if we are studying sources within a bureaucratic system that controls every element of cultural and intellectual life.

Conclusion

It is admittedly true that Qur'anic studies have long been dominated by Western epistemology and methodology. It is also true that Western scholars have ultimately established a "system of knowledge" by which Islamic intellectuality may be categorised, analysed and eventually dominated. It can be claimed that the identity of the Muslim world in this knowledge was not the result of its own efforts but rather a whole complex series of social and cultural influences from the West on other cultures. It seems that Muslims started to read their own cultural and intellectual history through the eyes of Western scholars. This has not just been a matter of a new approach or perspective, but also of fundamental shift in the framework for looking at history. Indeed, it is a matter of "who is the authority in historiography" and "which of the representatives of Muslims are to be given priority".

The article investigated the issue in two steps. The first is to explore the problem in terms of the main sources of history of Tafsir created by Orientalists and developed by loyal Muslim scholars on the Orientalist path. In this, it has been found that the modern period of Qur'anic studies have been produced with no mention of the Ottoman legacy. This is true particularly in the sayings and comments of Nöldeke and Goldzhier about Tafsir works (such as Tabari's book, *Jami' al-Bayan*) as these two prominent figures' commentaries have been accepted as unquestionable and absolute knowledge. Having given detailed information about the claims of Nöldeke that Tabari's book had been lost and repeated by Goldziher with him adding that it had been rediscovered and published in Egypt, the article has quoted the agreements of Muslim scholars. In the second step, the claims given by Nöldeke and Goldziher have been questioned. The manuscripts of Tabari's Tafsir have been listed in library catalogues and it has been discovered that these books were mostly copied between 1700-1800s – the period that Nöldeke claims it was missing – and more importantly, most of them are exist already in libraries in Ottoman districts such as Istanbul, Bursa, Samsun, Eskisehir, etc. One may ask why, even though both Nöldeke and Goldziher had no way to find these books, did Muslims and Turkish scholars trust them and not search for the book and been so loyal?

The study outstandingly noticed that, contrary to new historiography which is Western-oriented, the classical historiography, *Tabaqat* literature, has a more comprehensive approach to Islamic traditions either in sectarian denominations such as Sunni, Shite, Mutazila or geographical and ethical varieties, Arabs, Turks, Persians, etc. However, the new historiography simply changed this inclusivist character of modern historiography in Qur'anic studies and generally perceived it in the image of the "other" category, categorising them in various typologies in which they have strict borders and methodologies and each does not have any link to "the others". Muslim scholars have

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[29] For more information and some sample about the documents dealing with the Qur'an and Tafsir studies see: Necmettin Gökkır and Necdet Yılmaz, 'Osmanlı Arsivlerinde Kur'an ve Tefsir Konulu Belgeler,' [Documents dealing with the Qur'an and Tafsir in Ottoman Archives], in *Osmanlı Toplumunda Kur'an Kültürü ve Tefsir Çalışmaları* [The Culture of Qur'an and Tafsir Works in Ottoman Society] edited by B. Gökkır, et al., Ankara 2011, v. 1, pp. 31–42.

perceived this Western-oriented knowledge as rational, mature, normal and progressive. This perception would be the simple answer of this dominant character of Western-oriented historiography to the question of why modern Muslim historians trusted Nöldeke and Goldziher's unproven hypothesis and simply repeated it for more than a century, while the library catalogues simply prove that Tabari's Tafsir had never been lost. To reach this conclusion, historical evidence such as official documents, letters, court records and verdicts may be more useful. Dealing with the printing of Tabari's Tafsir, *Jami' al-Bayan*, the article stated that the official decision, given by Sheikh al-Islam Cemaleddin Efendi, as an example to prove two things: one is that Tabari's Tafsir had never been lost; rather, it was tried to be printed in Istanbul in 1893 before Egypt. The second is that instead of relying on and quoting someone's claims, the real historical evidence, library catalogues, bureaucratic documents that reflect the activities such as encouragement, banning, printing etc., may be more useful for writing such history.

Jerzy Zdanowski[*]

Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī (1286–1332/1869–1914) – an Ūmānī Islamic Thinker and Reformer. A Preliminary Study

Abstract

Islamic Modernism represents a complex phenomenon and combines various trends focused on multitude of goals and methods starting from education and missionary work to reinforce the concept of *Tawḥīd* and the rejection of any religious innovation (*bid'ah*). In the legal matters, these trends can be divided into two groups: those who opt for independent legal judgement (*ijtihād*), and those who oppose using rational disputation (*kalām*). Founded and developed in Egypt, Islamic Modernism as an idea of religious and legal reform is widespread and can be traced in various Islamic countries such as Turkey, Pakistan, Sudan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Iran, or Saudi Arabia. This article refers to the tendency of reforming the religious sphere and political relations in Oman and to the question of how the Ibāḍīs look at the reform. The article also exposes Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd b. Sullūm al-Sālimī, who is generally known in the West as an Omani historian but who played a leading role in the Ibāḍī Imāmat restoration movement in 1913. He put a lot of efforts in the field of education and the reconstruction of modern Omani identity but he was also a jurist and his works refer to the Islamic law and jurisprudence. This preliminary study introduced al-Sālimī as a thinker who developed *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *furūʿ al-fiḳh*.

Ūmān and the Ibāḍī movement

In the middle of the 19th century several Islamic movements emerged as a response to the rapid social change provoked by the confrontation with Western civilization and the politics of colonialism. This first modern Muslim response attempted to combine Islamic faith with the Western concepts of nationalism, rationality, civil rights and democracy. The attempt of reconciliation of Islam with the modern Western values went through "critical reexamination of the classical conceptions and methods of jurisprudence"[1] that combined new approaches to Islamic theology and the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān (*tafsīr*). This Islamic Modernism or Islamic Salafism is commonly associated with Egypt and such outstanding jurists as Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. The tendency founded by ʿAbduh is referred to as Neo-Mutʾazilism after the Medieval Islamic school of theology based on rationalism (*al-muʿatazilah*). The disciples of this school denied the concept of the Ḳurʾān as eternal and uncreated, and declared that it was reason but not "sacred words" as a toll of determining what was obligatory in religion.[2] ʿAbduh himself appealed for a good religious education; he criticized superstition and broke the rigidity of Muslim rituals and dogma.[3]

Evolved predominantly as a rationalist movement, Islamic Modernism has developed into another, ultra-conservative tendency often described as one synonymous with Wahhabism, especially when discussed as Islamic Salafism, or a movement devoted to the beliefs of the first three generations of Muslims. This movement has been characterized by strict and literalist approaches to Islam and is considered as a mixture of Wahhabism and other 20th-century movements with an idea of offensive *jihād* against enemies of Islam.[4]

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[1] See Mansoor Moaddel, *Islamic Modernism, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism: Episode and Discourse*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 2.

[2] See Abdullah Saeed, *The Qur'an: an introduction*, London: Routledge, 2008, p. 203; Majid Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (second ed.), New York: Columbia University Press, 1983, p. 46.

[3] See Malcolm H. Kerr, 'Abduh Muhammad,' in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (15th ed.), Dale H. Hoiberg (ed.), Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., pp. 20–21.

[4] See Bernard Haykel, 'Chapter 1: On the Nature of Salafi Thought and Action,' in *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*, Roel Meijer (ed.), New York: Columbia University Press, p. 34; Quintan Wiktorowicz, 'Anatomy of the Salafi Movement,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, May 2006, pp. 207–239.

Thus, Islamic Modernism represents a complex phenomenon and combines various trends focused on multitude goals and methods starting from education and missionary work to reinforce the concept of *Tawḥīd* and the rejection of any religious innovation (*bid'ah*) to political reform based on the idea of a caliphate re-established through the means of evolution or violence. In the legal matters, these trends can be divided into two groups: those who opt for independent legal judgement (*ijtihād*), and those who oppose using rational disputation (*kalām*) and stress a strict adherence (*taḳlīd*) to the classical four schools of law.[5]

Founded and developed in Egypt, Islamic Modernism as an idea of religious and legal reform is widespread and can be traced in various Islamic countries such as Pakistan, Sudan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Iran, or Saudi Arabia. At the turn of the 20th century, Ūmān became one of the countries that witnessed a tendency of reforming religious sphere and political relations.[6] In this country, it was the Ibāḍī rite which has been closely bound to this reform. Notwithstanding the existence of other schools of Islamic law, such as the Shafi'i in the south, the Hanafi in some northern coastal areas and Hanbali on the desert fringes, the Ibāḍī doctrine remained the religious authority in the country and became a constant engine of political dynamics. However, as Abdulrahman al-Salimi stressed, "despite the long history of Ibadi control, no research was conducted into the theological aspect of this school, but rather just into the political aspect of the Ibadi Imamate. Scholars rarely devoted their attention to Oman's oral and doctrinal heritage prior to the last forty years."[7] Consequently, the question of the nature of this religious reform tendency and the role of its leading personalities is still opened to study.

Ūmān was a place where the Ibāḍī Imāmat was established as a religious ideal of Islamic community within a particular political shape. This ideal goes back to the first two decades after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and the so-called Khawāridj (Muḥakkimah) movement based on the concept of the elected Imām. The election of Imām was a contract and the community was obliged to support its leader as long as he was lawful and observed the *sharī'a*. The Ibāḍī Imāmat has existed for more than 1200 years in Ūmān in the opposition to any temporal government. In the 17th century the Imāms from Ya'āriba (1624–1743) reunited with the Ūmānis and expelled the Portuguese from their forts in Ūmān. The Ya'āriba dynasty controlled the Imāmat till 1743 when it was transferred to the coastal Āl Bū Sa'īd dynasty. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd was elected Imām in 1749 not because of his religious qualifications but in gratitude for his leadership in the resistance against the Persian invasion. Āl Bū Sa'īd established the capital in al-Rustāq and in 1784 discarded the office but retained the title of Imām. In 1792, Sultan Ḥamad b. Sa'īd moved the centre of his power from Rustāq to Muscat to be more independent on the politics in the interior. After the death of Imām Sa'īd b. Aḥmad in 1811 the problem of the succession of the title of Imām became extremely complicated because of rival claimants. However, "the succession dispute itself was a very much minor affairs in its immediate effects /…/, for the claimants had relatively small followings."[8]

In the 19th century the Sultans of Āl Bū Sa'īd signed several agreements with the British and Muscat became a major trading centre in the Gulf region. Āl Bū Sa'īd Sultans used the title of *Sayyid* to stress their rank of Princes as descendents of Imām Aḥmad b. Sa'īd but nevertheless, the title of Imām was never

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[5] See Clinton Bennett, *The Bloomsbury Companion to Islamic Studies*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, p.174; Richard Gauvain, *Salafi Ritual Purity: In the Presence of God*, London: Routledge, 2012, p. 9; Jeffry R. Halverson, *Theology and Creed in Sunni Islam: The Muslim Brotherhood, Ash'arism, and Political Sunnism*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 38–48.

[6] The Ibāḍī reform movements can also be traced in the first half of the 19th century. They were known as *nahḍah*, or the 'risings' and aimed at the restoration of the Ibāḍī Imāmat. M. Reda Bhacker mentions that in 1833, Hamud b. Azzan, an opponent to Sa'id b. Sultan, joined "the Ibadi *nahda* movement" – M. Reda Bhacker, *Trade and Empire in Muscat and Zanzibar. The roots of British domination*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 108–109.

[7] Abdulrahman al-Salimi, 'Trends in Religious Reform on the Arabian Peninsula,' *Hemispheres. Studies on Cultures and Societies*, Vol. 27, 2012, p. 163. On this subject see John C. Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; idem, 'The Origins of the Omani State,' in *The Arabian Peninsula: Society and Politics*, Derek Hopwood (ed.), London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972, pp. 67–88; Abdulrahman al-Salimi, 'Modern Religious Learning in Oman,' in *Modern Oman: Studies on Political. Economy, Environment and Culture of the Sultanate*, Andrzej Kapiszewski & others (eds.), Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2006, pp. 177–184; Dale Eickelman, 'Religious Knowledge in Inner Oman,' *Journal of Oman Studies*, Vol. 6, 1983; John E. Peterson, *Oman in the Twentieth Century. Political Foundation of an Emerging State*, London: Croom Helm, 1978; idem, 'The Revival of the Ibadi Imâmate in Oman and the Threat to Muscat 1913–20,' *Arabian Studies*, Vol. 3, 1976, pp. 165–188.

[8] See Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition…*, pp. 225–9.

dropped and Āl Bū Saʿīds used in the correspondence with Europeans. In the middle of the 19ᵗʰ century, the major reason of division between Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty and the *ulama* became the treaty that Sultan Thuwaynī b. Saʿīd (ruled 1856–1866) concluded with the Wahhabi leader Fayṣal b. Turkī (r. 1843–1865) in which the Sultan waivered a part of his authority in the north of Oman. Particularly, Wahhabis occupied Buraimi in 1853. The leading *ulama* and the tribal leaders considered this fact as an insult, and as an interference of an external power in the Omani internal affairs. As a result, an alliance of the leaders of tribes and the Ibāḍī religious scholars developed to support ʿAzzān b. Qays Āl Bū Saʿīd. The join forces entered the capital and on October 1868 ʿAzzān was proclaimed an Imām. He evicted the Wahhabis from Buraimi and brought the whole Oman under unified rule. However, his rule extended for less than three years and the main reason of his downfall was the failure to establish good relations with the British Indian Government. As a result, the British supported Turkī b. Saʿīd who became the Sultan in 1871.[9]

The Ibāḍī religious leaders did not accept the policies of the Sultans and several uprisings which were suppressed with the assistance of the British troops took place in the late 19ᵗʰ and early 20ᵗʰ century. However, in 1913, a new insurrection succeeded in the a renewal of the Imāmat and after a 7-years war the Treaty of Sib was concluded, officially separating the Imāmat from the Sultanate. The Sultans left the traditional centres of power from al-Rustāq and Nizwā, leaving the interior for the Imāms. The reunification came in 1955 when the troops of the Sultan entered the interior and occupied its main towns.[10]

The leading role in the restoration of the Ibāḍī Imāmat in 1913 was played by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah b. Ḥamayd b. Salūm b. ʿUbayd b. Khalfān b. Khamīs al-Sālimī, who is generally known in the West as an Ūmāni historian but J.C. Wilkinson, the author of the only article on al-Sālimī written in English, considers him as *ra'īs al-nahḍa*, or the leader of the insurrection.[11] However, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah b. Ḥamayd al-Sālimī was not only a historian and the leader of the Ibāḍī Imāmat restoration movement. He was also a jurist, and the list of his works of Islamic jurisprudence is quite long. These aspects of his activity make him a thinker of a great importance for the history of Ūmān and an interesting question arises: (1) how his views on the Islamic jurisprudence determined his vision of the political structure of his country, and (2) what reform of Islamic law he opted for?

Life

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah b. Ḥamayd b. Salūm b. ʿUbayd b. Khalfān b. Khamīs al-Sālimī was born in a noble Ūmānī family that traces its origin to ʿAdnān, the traditional ancestor of the Adnanite Arabs of Northern, Western and Central Arabia, who according to tradition, was a descendent of Ishmael, son of Abraham. He was born in the town of al-Ḥuḳayn, the hometown of his father, Sheikh Ḥamayd b. Salūm al-Sālimī, who was his first teacher and who taught him to read and understand the Ḳur'ān. The mother of the Imām al-Sālimī came from the tribe of Banū Kāsab and her name was Mawza.[12]

There is no certainty as to the date of his birth. As reported in some sources he was born in the year 1283 from *Hijrah* (1866/1867), according to others in 1284/1867 or 1868, or even in 1286 (1869/1870), 1287 (1870/1871) or 1288 (1871/1872). He lived to the age of 49 or 50. His son Muḥammad in his book *Nahḍat al-ʿayān bi-ḥuriyyat Ūmān* states that his father was 48 when he died, which would mean that he was born in 1867; however, the opinions as to the length of his life are also divided and according to some he could have been 42, while according to others – 50 years old. In the introduction to his fundamental work on the

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[9] Ibid., pp. 236–237.

[10] See Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition…*; idem, 'The Oman Question: The Background to the Political Geography of South-East Arabia,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 137, No. 3, Sept. 1971, p. 368; J.E. Peterson, 'Tribes and Politics in Eastern Arabia,' *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Summer), 1977, p. 310; idem, *Historical Muscat. An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer*, Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007, pp. 11–16.

[11] John C. Wilkinson, 'al-Sālimi, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd b. Sullūm al-Salimi, Nūr al-Dīn,' in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995, vol. VIII, p. 993.

[12] See Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah al-Sālimī, *Nahḍat al-ʿAyān bi-ḥuriyyat Ūmān*, Bayrūt: Dar al-Jīl, 1998, pp. 89–103.

history of Ūmān titled *Tuḥfat al-ʿayān bi-sīrat ahl Ūmān* it is written that he lived in the years 1286–1332, therefore he lived to be 46 years old.[13]

In his life there were a few distinctive phases. The first one falls on the years 1284–1314 and may be called the period of searching for knowledge. After having learned Qur'an by heart, he left for al-Rustāq, where he studied in a well-known school by the White Mosque (*Masjid al-Bayāḍah*). At the school traditional Koranic instruction was carried out – it taught grammar, law basics (*fiḵḥ*), and basics of faith (*aḵīdah*); there al-Sālimī studied comments to the law, law lexis, rhetoric; he was then 17 years old. In the year 1306 from *Hijrah* (1888/1889) he travelled to Nizwā, where Sheikh Muḥammad b. Khamīs al-Sayfī became his master. Then he went to the settlement of al-Fīḵīn (nowadays wilaya Manāh Umm al-Fīḵīn in the Governorate al-Dakiliyyah) to Sheikh Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Būsaʿīdī. From there he moved to the region of al-Maḍībī. Next he travelled to the settlement of al-Ḵābil in the region of al-Sharqiyyah, because he wanted to hear the teachings of the theologian Sheikh Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Hārithī who lived there. In the settlements he visited he was offered to become a teacher but he refused due to the fact that he wanted to learn even more and he was looking for the right teacher.[14]

When al-Sālimī arrived to and settled in al-Ḵābil in 1314 (1896/1897), he was 24 years old. This is when under the guidance of Sheikh al-Hārithī the second phase of his life started – the phase of critical analysis of existing texts and formulating his own views on various aspects of Islamic law in general, and particularly the Ibadi law. Al-Ḵābil was a wealthy agricultural settlement, whose inhabitants were also engaged in trade with the settlement of al-Sharqiyya. This region had become flourishing at that time thanks to the development of the agriculture system. There were many schools here in which theologians and jurists taught. This created fertile ground for creative debates on academic topics. During such debates al-Sālimī possessed a deep knowledge of the language, about the interpretation of sacred texts, about Ḥadīth, *fiḵḥ*, law basics and the rules of rhetoric. Due to his deep knowledge in these areas he gained *laḵab* Nūr al-Dīn, or the Light of the Faith. Al-Hārithī had the greatest impact on al-Sālimī – on his knowledge as well as personality. The death of this teacher in 1314 (1896/1897) was very painful for him.[15]

The next very important event in the life of Imām al-Sālimī at that time was the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1323 (1905/1906). It offered an opportunity to visit Muscat, where al-Sālimī met with Sulṭān Fayṣal b. Turkī (r. 1864–1913) and from where he sailed to Jeddah. In Mecca he met preachers from many Muslim countries representing views different than the Ibāḍī school of Islamic law. This inspired him to study their interpretations of Islamic law. With the study of other schools of law he gained the ability to compare and deduce. The knowledge of other directions of thinking about law as the basis of social organization and different interpretations of legal texts led him to thinking about the need to adapt the law to new forms of social life and social changes (*mutaghayyarāt*) occurring over time as well as to new circumstances, the necessity for renewal of interpretations (*tajdīd*).[16]

It can be considered that a breakthrough in the formation of personality and the independence of the Imām al-Sālimī as a preacher, in shaping his views and in his maturation was a dispute with another, widely respected preacher – and to some extent teacher of al-Sālimī – Sheikh Mājid b. Khamīs al-ʿAbrī from the settlement of Ḥamrāʾ al-ʿAbriyyīn. The dispute concerned the possibility of passing the tombs as donations to the religious foundations (*awḵāf al-ḵubūr*). Fencing of family tombs from other tombs with a shaft and treating them as a kind of real estate became a widespread phenomenon. Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī was against entering tombs in the testament as donations to the foundations, because he believed that such a practice was fundamentally wrong; tombs should not be regarded as a kind of material goods used for trade

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[13] See Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Tuḥfat al-ʿayān bi-sīrat ahl Ūmān*, Part 1–2, Badiyah: Maktabat al-Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimi, 2000, part 1, p. 2; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Ṭalʿat al-Shams. Shirḥ shams al-uṣūl*, Parts 1–2, Badiyah: Maktabat al-Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimi, 2010, Part 1, pp. 13–14.

[14] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Ṭalʿat al-Shams*, pp. 17–18; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Jawābāt al-Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimi (1286–1332)*, ed. by Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abd Allāh al-Sālimi, Parts 1–5, Badiyah: Maktabat al-Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimi, 2010, Part 1, pp. 14–15.

[15] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Ṭalʿat al-Shams*, p. 18.

[16] Ibid., p. 19.

and therefore they should remain in the hands of the family of the person writing the will or, if there is no such family, be transferred to the ownership of the Treasury. Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī issued a fatwa on the matter, which further aggravated the conflict with al-ʿAbrī. In order to ease the situation al-Sālimī went to Ḥamrāʾ al-ʿAbriyyīn and had a conversation with the preacher.[17]

Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī spent his last years in the settlement of al-Ẓahir in Bidiya, and later on after he restored the Imamate went to Tanūf situated in Wadī Tanūf north from Nizwā. There he died on the 5th day of the month of *Rabiʿ al-Awwal* in the year 1332 from *Hijrah*, which is equivalent to 21 January 1914.[18] That is also where his grave is.

A large group of students gathered around Imām al-Sālimī. More than a dozen of them became widely known preachers and were appointment as judges.

A few of the Ibāḍī preachers from whom he received education, played an important role in the formation of the views of Imām al-Sālimī as the theologian and expert on *fiḳh*. They were local theologians who interpreted the Ḳurʾān, the literature of Ḥadīth and were often at the same time local judges, whom the population has asked for a legal and religious opinion or for settlement of disputes in accordance with the principles of religion. One of them was Sheikh Ṣāliḥ b. ʾAlī al-Ḥārithī, who was a recognized authority on family law matters, particularly divorce proceedings. He was born in 1250 and died in 1314 (1834/1835–1896/1897) from a gunshot wound he suffered during the fights with the tribes hostile to the Ibāḍī. It was therefore concluded that he died defending the faith. The second teacher was Shaikh Mādjd b. Khamīs al-ʿAbrī, who was born in 1252 (1836/1837) in the region of Ḥamrāʿ and died in 1346 (1927/1928). He was one of the most well-known experts in theology and law of his time. Another teacher of al-Sālimī was Sheikh Rāshid b. Sayf al-Lamkī, who served as Muftī in al-Rustāḳ. He came from that city and there he spent his entire life (1262–1333, or 1845/1846 – 1914/1915). Imām al-Sālimī also received education from Sheikh ʾAbd Allah b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimī from al-Rustāḳ, who was a judge in the city. He was the same age as another well-known Ibāḍī preacher Sheikh Rāshid b. Sayf al-Lamkī. In Nizwā, where Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī resided, one of the most well-known preachers and judges was Sheikh Muḥammad b. Khamīs al-Sayfī, who lived in 1241–1333 (1825/1826–1914/1915). During his long life this man gathered around himself a circle of people who deeply knew the principles of faith and the Ibāḍī law. Among them were: Sheikh Saʾīd b. Khalfān al-Khalīlī (1230/1287–1815/1870) and Sheikh ʿAbī Nabḫān Nāṣir b. Jāʾid al-Kharūṣī (1192–1263/1847–1887). Another preacher who had an impact on al-Sālimī was Sheikh Muḥammad b. Masʾūd al-Bū Saʾīdī (d. 1320/1902), who was teaching in the settlement of al-Fīḳīn in the region of Manaḫ.

Imām al-Sālimī spent the early years of his intellectual activity in al-Rustāḳ – a region where the only 19th century Imām Azzān b. Qays Āl Bū Saʿīd was elected in 1868–1871. The pro-Imāmat sentiments were quite strong here after 1871 but when Āl Bū Saʿīd established their capital there, the centre of the Ibāḍī movement shifted to the Sharḳiyyah. Al-Ḳābil was located in the Sharḳiyyah which explains why Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī went to that settlement. Al-Sālimī became an ardent supporter of the Ibāḍī Imāmat. He was becoming more and more well-known as a theologian and jurist, and the local notables took his opinions into account. He could thus influence the formation of tribal alliances, from which depended the strength of the supporters of the Ibāḍī Imāmat. Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī became involved in local political activities and played an important role in connecting usually warring tribes in a strong confederation which could confront the forces of the Sulṭān and even defeat them. Due to the fact that the leader of the Hināwi tribes in the Sharḳiyyah felt personal antipathy toward al-Sālimī and for that reason he refused to support the forces of the Ibāḍī movement, al-Sālimī swore loyalty to the leader of the al-Ghāfirī tribes Ḥimyar b. Nāṣir al-Nabhanī (d. 1914), even though he did not think that man was the right candidate to lead the Ibāḍī. That happened in the Tanūf settlement, where – as we can read in the biographies – al-Sālimī went in search for legal knowledge. This was – as it transpires – only one of the aims of the journey to that settlement.

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[17] See Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Jawābāt*, Part 1, p. 17.
[18] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Ṭalʿat al-Shams*, p. 20.

The other one was the formation of an alliance with the leader of the al-Ghāfirī tribes. With this measure the Ibāḍī movement strengthened and in May–June 1913 the Ibāḍīs seized the Izkī fortress. On hearing the news the Sheikh of the Hināwi tribes joined the Ibāḍī movement, which ultimately determined the restoration of the Ibāḍī Imāmat in the interior.[19]

The dispute with Sheikh Mājid b. Khamīs al-ʿAbrī from the Ḥamrāʾ al-ʿAbriyyīn settlement was also not a purely theological one, too. It also concerned the financial resources needed for the Ibāḍī movement. On one hand al-Sālimī stood against treating family tombs as real estate (*awḳāf al-ḳubūr*) and donating them to religious foundations as a traditional real estate, i.e. houses and farmland. On the other hand, al-Sālimī stated that the areas adjacent to the tombs and other immovable property that had been donated to the foundations already together with the tombs at which families gathered to worship the dead and by which the Ḳurʾān was read for the dead, should be confiscated by the authorities as this practice was, according to al-Sālimī, against the principles of monotheism.[20]

Activity and works

Imām al-Sālimī left a vast legacy of literary works. He worked in many areas out of which the most important may be the analysis of lexis, phraseology and poetic rhythm as well as grammar rules in the work it based on poet lines with a commentary and names *Blugh al-Amal*. Al-Sālimī completed that work in 1301 (1883/1884), and next he supplemented it in 1310 (1892/1893). Another important position in his work was a critical elaboration on theological treatises against Wahhabis preachers, including Ḥamad b. Rāshid b. Sālim al-Rāsbī. Later on al-Sālimī wrote theological treatises himself. Some of them are: *ʿAnwār al-uḳūl* (The Lights of Reason), a 200-line poem on theology, written in 1312 (1894/1895); *Baḥdjat al-anwār* (The Beauty of Light) from 1314 (1896/1897), which is an abbreviated commentary (*sharḥ*) to his work *ʿAnwār al-uḳūl*, also issued in 1314. The commentary to one of the *ḳaṣīd* written by Shaikh Saʾīd b. Ḥamad al-Rāshdī, one of his disciples, in which Imām al-Sālimī argued with those who questioned the eternity of Ḳurʾān, especially with the Ibāḍī school in the Mashriq which was arguing against the Ibāḍī scholar Ibn al-Naẓr's poem of the 12th century. In this commentary al-Sālimī stressed that the poem did not belong to Ibn al-Naẓr and might be added later by someone to his poem anthology. This remark is also regarded as an important one. The work was written in 1313 (1895/1896), and issued in 1995 by ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Sulaymān al-Sālimī. The treatise *Shams al-ʿuṣūl* (The Light Source of the Basis of Faith) on the basis of *fiḳh*, was written in verse, has approximately one thousand lines, and was finished in 1314 (1896/1897). Another treatise – *Ṭalʾat al-shams* (literally "Sunrise", in the meaning of a source of knowledge) containing comments to *Shams al-ʿuṣūl* was also written in the form of a poem and finished in 1314. The treatise *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* (Letter of Monotheism) also known as *Ṣawāb al-ʾaḳīda* (The Wisdom of Faith), was written at request of a disciple who was close to him Shaikh Saʾīd b. Ḥamad al-Rāshdī, and who died in 1314. In turn *Jawḥar al-niẓām fī ʾilmā al-ʿadīn wa-l-ʿḥukām* (The Essence of Order of Knowledge about Religions and Reign) is a study of theology, law and literature. This work counting 14 000 lines was written in 1323–1329 (1905/1906–1911/1912).[21]

In juristic written works of al-Sālimī two main topics can be isolated: *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *furūʿ al-fiḳh*.

Uṣūl, or principles of Islamic jurisprudence otherwise known as *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is the study and critical analysis of the origins, sources, and principles upon which Islamic jurisprudence is based. *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, or "roots of law", was universally recognized as one of the components of academic knowledge of Islam. The basic component of this knowledge was theology i.e. *ʾilm al-kalām*. According to al-Ghazālī, it was the most general knowledge about religion referring to the essence of God, the nature of the revelation, and the sense of prophecy. This knowledge determined the basic principles concerning the existence and the essence

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[19] See Wilkinson, *ʿal-Sālimi*.

[20] Ibidem.

[21] See Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Jawābāt*, Part 1, pp. 20–24; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Ṭalʾat al-Shams*, Part 1, pp. 22–26.

of God, the existence of prophets and the contents of their revelations. Al-Ghazali listed six academic articulations of Islam. Aside *'ilm al-kalām*, the others were: *furu' al-fiḳh, uṣūl al-fiḳh, 'ilm al-ḥadīth, 'ilm al-tafsīr*, and *i'lm al-bāṭin*. The last one occupied a special place as it wasn't a part of scholastic Islamic tradition but combined the whole tradition of Ṣūfīsm, or mysticism. The *uṣūlī*, or the scholars of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* have to accept the results of the science of *'ilm al-kalām* and *'ilm al-ḥadīth*.[22]

Besides *uṣūl al-fiḳh* another academic discipline called *furū' al-fiḳh* has been known indicating "branches" of law. Both, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *furū' al-fiḳh*, combine academic discipline and literary genre. This latter form of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is represented by the 4th/10th century scholars of the Ḥanafī school, such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāshī, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Jaṣṣāṣ.[23] Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī evidently continued this tradition of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* as a literary genre but the question of sources of his inspirations still remains opened to study.

Imām al-Salimī himself writes about the sources he used: books on Islamic jurisprudence, e.g. *Minhadj al-uṣūl* (Path, Program, Method) written by al-Imām al-Murtaḍī al-Zaydī and the works on *Muḫtaṣarah* (the outline of Islamic jurisprudence) penned by al-Badr al-Shammāḫī, and *al-Talwīḥ 'alā al-tawḍīḥ* (Comments to the interpretation) by *al-Taftāzānī*. Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī referred in his writing also to the *Mustaṣfā fī 'ilm* (The Clarified in Legal Theory) work by al-Ghazālī, who represented the Shāfiʿī school of law. This school distinguished *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the knowledge of the sources of law, from *'ilm al-khilāf* (the science of divergence), that is the knowledge of specific standards of law and their organic ties with the sacred texts. The knowledge of the sources of law was connected to the knowledge and formulation of hermeneutical principles of extrapolation of the standards of sacred texts and was the domain of theologians, while *'ilm al-khilāf* was the area of activity of jurists. The Shāfiʿī school treated this division more in principle than the Ḥanafī school, which concentrated more on the protection of norms that were already known, seeing them in the context of already existing legal tradition.

Works of Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī on *furū' al-fiḳh* contain extensive material referring to different schools of law (*maẕāhib*), the norms of law and polemics on already established rules. They contain arguments of varying quantities to defend detailed norms of greater or lesser importance. In this respect, the importance of the *Tal'at al-shams* book needs to be mentioned. It is a study in the field of the knowledge of the Ibāḍī school with reference to and analysis of issues raised by jurists *uṣūlīyyin* and by the Ḥanafī school of Islamic jurisprudence (*al-ḥanafijjah*). It also relates to the *non-uṣūlīyyīin* view. The discussion of *ijtiḥad* takes a special place. Imām al-Sālimī does not negate the possibility of existing of differences in interpretation of texts but only such differences that do not go beyond the foundations of faith. But the major contribution of this work to the discussion of *furū' al-fiḳh* is in showing dialectical link between norms of law and standards of law and the sources of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). From this point of view, the the *Tal'at al-shams* is considered as one of the most important work on Islamic reform.[24]

Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī enormously contributed to the systematization of the sources on the Islamic religious and legal thought. He has prepared: the index of Quranic poems, the index of Ḥadith (*fihris al-aḥādīs al-nabawiyya*), the index of Ḥadith cited in court decisions (*al-shawāhid al-shaʿariyya*), the index of law schools (*al-mahāhib*), theological courses in Islam and religious communities (*firāḳ* and *milāl*), the index of published theological and legal works constituting the canon of individual schools of Muslim law, the index of names of the most well-known Muslim jurists, and the index of issues that were the subject of jurisdiction of Muslim courts. But first of all, works of Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* refer to the Ibāḍī law. They were issued in a 6-volume book titled *Ma'ārij al-amāl 'alā madārij al-kāmal bi-najm mukhtaṣir al-khiṣāl*. Muḥmūd Muṣṭafā ʿUbbūd Āl Harmūsh, in his fundamental work on the Ibāḍī law, refers often to the works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī and especially to *Ṭal'at al-Shams*.[25]

[22] See N. Calder, 'Uṣūl al-fiḳh,' in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000, Vol. X, pp. 931–934.

[23] Ibid., p. 931.

[24] The Alexandria Library re-edited this work within the series of the major contributions to the Modern Islamic Renaissance.

[25] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Salimi, *Ma'ārij al-amāl 'alā madārij al-kāmal bi-najm mukhtaṣir al-khiṣāl*, ed. by ed. by Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abd Allāh al-Sālimi, Parts 1–5, Badiyah: Maktabat al-Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimi, 2010, Part 1–6; Muḥmūd Muṣṭafā ʿUbbūd Āl Harmūsh, *al-Ḳaw ā'id al-fiḳhiyyah al-ibāḍiyyqh*, Parts 1–2, Sulṭanat ʿŪmān: Wizārat al-Awḳāf wa-l-Shūʾūn al-Dīniyyah, no date of publication.

As a historian al-Salimī is an author of the fundamental work on the history of Islam titled *Tuḥfat al-ʻaʼayān bi-sīrat ʻahl ʼumān* (A Gift of the Nobles to History of the People of Ūmān). The two-part work was written in 1331 (1912/1913). A separate volume with comments to this work was also finished in the same year.

Conclusion

The meaning of the activities of Imām al-Salimī has many aspects. One of them is connected to the fact that in his works he popularized the Ibāḍī law, introducing names of such Ibāḍī jurists as al-Badr al-Shammāḵẖī, Ibn Baraka, al-Kadimī, Ibn Maḥbūb, al-Wāradjilānī, or another known Zaydī jurist – al-Imām al-Murtaḍī al-Zaydī.

However, the most important fact is that the activity of Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī as a theologian and jurist should be seen in the context of the formation of Islamic science of roots of law and jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiḳh*) and reformation of not only the knowledge of religious law – its sources and methodology of implementing rules from a revelation, but also the methods of its teaching in the departments of Sharia law and Muslim theology. For centuries this science was very traditionalist, limited to the study of the earliest works dealing with the sources of law that were written in the mid-4th/10th century by Ḥanafīs jurists, as well as classical texts written by the creators of Muslim law schools. It was only in the 20th century, that the attempts were made to the new approach (*tajdīd*) to the knowledge of the basis of law, in particular the art of formulating evidence (*ʻadilla*), as well as introducing new terminology to the science of religious law, knowledge about power (*ḥukm*) and duties (*taklīf*). The role of Imām al-Salimī was in commenting (*sharḥ*) the verses (*arjuza*) of sacred texts relating to the basics of faith (*usūl*) and creating his own. These texts were written at the beginning of the 20th century. Their value is enhanced by the fact that – even though they concern the Ibāḍī law – their author makes comparisons with other schools of law (*madhāhib al-fiḳhiyya*). Due to the fact that he studied works of jurists from different schools of Muslim law (*madhāhib*), he also dealt with knowledge which in Islam is called *furūʻ al-fiḳh*, that is the knowledge of the branches of law. In this way, Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī has his place not only in the study of the Ibāḍī jurisprudence (*al-fiḳh*), but also in a wider range of research on new interpretations of Muslim law in general. He conducted studies on classical texts and traditional basis of Islamic law, and at the same time he demonstrated great ability of proving thesis, consequence in reasoning and showing errors in reasoning.[26] We can hope that new research will be undertaken on the intellectual legacy of Imām Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī, as it most definitely deserves that.

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[26] See *Introduction* by Sheikh Abdallah b. Muhammad al-Salimi, the Minister of al-Awqaf, in Nūr al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimi, *Ṭalʼat al-Shams*, p. 1.

Karolina Rak[*]

Ğawdat Saʿīd's Thought within the Discourse of Muslim Revival

Abstract

The complex perspective of the discourse of revival allows one to introduce the work of the intellectual Ğawdat Saʿīd, who is predominantly known for being a champion of the idea of the philosophy of non-violence in the Arab world. He strongly opposed the idea of using force in the name of religion and stressed the need for a clear distinction between Islam understood as religion and its practice. The recurring category in Saʿīd's thought is knowledge, which is not only vital for the progress of the Muslim community, but may also be a factor in creating a society based on non-violent relations.

Introduction

One of the main topics under discussion is the Muslim community and the spiritual and moral condition of the Arabs during the 20th and in the wake of the 21st century. These debates have resulted in an extensive oeuvre of religious and educational writings dealing with the decline of the Muslim community. A multitude of authors have suggested different ideas on what an Islamic programme of renewal to recreate a real spiritual *ummah* of Muslims means. There has also been a possibility to evaluate the national programmes realised by particular Arab countries after their gaining of independence. The post-colonial period has tended to be assessed critically, as greatly ineffective, its climax being reached in 1967 with the Six-Day War and the defeat of the Arabs. There has been a profound need to come to terms with the period of intellectual failure. The *ḥazīma* (defeat) became the starting point for the ongoing discussion of contemporary intellectual thought within the religious discourse in the Arab world.[1]

In the Islamic world there has been a growing interest in publications related to the issue of revival, which is aimed at presenting the need to create an independent Muslim society, fully conscious of its own religion and the compatibility of its message with all conditions of life. The image of Islam that emerges in this literature showcases it as an active religion. The fall of Muslim civilisation was connected to issues such as the lack of innovation, rigidity in jurisprudence, specifically stupor in the field of Islamic law, mental paralysis, apathy and political rupture.[2]

It is striking how much discussion on topics which, as mentioned, were present in twentieth century works and continue to be assessed. From this one can see that certain maladies remain valid in today's Muslim thought. The problems that the Islamic world still needs to face, such as the approach to the tradition, sacralisation of Muslim jurisprudence and the impact of such activities on the petrification of Islamic thought are still present in the discussion on the necessity of renewal – *tağdīd*, which is seen as a way to stretch the influence of religion and its rules to other areas of life.[3]

One vividly discussed subject in the literature on revival includes the issue of the Muslim mind and the problem behind the idea of *taqlīd*, understood first and foremost as following blindly the injunctions of Islamic jurisprudence. The issue of imitation has been vehemently criticised by Muslim thinkers from both modernist and fundamentalist currents.[4] The process of imitation has been presented in various spheres

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[1] Ibrahim Abu-Rabiʿ, *Contemporary Arab Thought. Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History*, London: Pluto Press, 2004, p. 43–44. See also: Muḥammadal-Ġarbāwī, *Iškāliyyāt at-tağdīd* [The Problems of Revival], Bayrūt: Dār al-hādī, 2001, p. 114–118.

[2] Johannes Jansen, *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 48.

[3] Muḥammad ʿImāra, *Mustaqbalunabayna at-tağdīd al-islāmīwa al-ḥadāṯa al-*ġarbiyya [Our Future: Between Islamic Renewal and Western Modernity], al-Qāhira 2003, p. 20.

[4] Reza Aslan, *No god but God. The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam*, New York: Random House, 2006, p. 145; Ahmad K. Al-Maǧd, *Ruʾyaislāmiyamuʿāṣira* [Contemporary Islamic Worldview], al-Qāhira 1992, p. 41–42; Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Modernist Islam. A sourcebook 1840–1940*, p. 9–10.

of Muslim life. The *taqlīd* of jurisprudence has had its most visible effect in the loss of spiritual values and the importance of Islam in the lives of the individual. Islam was becoming more a set of rituals, followed crudely by its adherents rather than a programme of life, regulating each sphere of Muslim existence.[5] These interpretations began to be treated as a special tool reserved for specific, specialized groups of scholars of the *Qur'ān* and *Šarī'a*, sentencing common believers for centuries of *taqlīd* – according to which the doctrine should be accepted without undermining its foundations.

These and other debates have created a strong current among Muslim intellectuals trying to cope with modernity and issues of stagnation. The Syrian Ǧawdat Saʿīd is best known for his interesting concept of Islam as a violence-free religion. His works propose an open-minded and peaceful presentation of the religion. In today's world, shattered by the vehement and brutal actions of movements such as ISIS, his vision of peaceful coexistence might seem utopian, but it seems vital to prove Islam is not a monolith and to listen to moderate propositions of dealing with the world.

The Life and Work of Ǧawdat Saʿīd[6]

Ǧawdat Saʿīd was born in 1931 in the Syrian Governate of Quneitra in the village BirAjam located at the Golan Heights in a family of Circassian. His father sent him to Egypt to grant him further education possibilities. There Saʿīd studied at Al-Azhar university and graduated with a diploma in Arabic language. In 1956 he was introduced to the writings and later encountered in person the great Algerian thinker Mālik Bin Nabī, who had an immense influence on Saʿīd's thought.[7]

Upon his return to Syria, Saʿīd worked as a teacher up to the 1960s. In 1966 he published *Maḏhab Ibn Adam* [The Doctrine of the First Son of Adam]. This book is seen as a reply to the views of the Egyptian thinker Saʿīd Quṭb (1906–1966) and the rise of radical rhetoric among the Muslim Brotherhood.[8]

Ǧawdat Saʿīd, who was not an adherent of the Al-Assad regime in Syria, proposed non-violent forms of opposition towards the ruling family and party, whereas the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood decided to fight. These events ended in bloodshed in Hama in 1982.[9]

In 2005, Saʿīd co-signed the Damascene Declaration.[10] With the rise of the Syrian revolution he played an important role among younger people with his proposal of non-violent opposition. Many view the beginning of the movement as being held in the spirit of his teaching, later on taking a predominantly violent character. He had a particularly strong influence on the Daraya Youth Movement.[11] At the beginning of the 21st century he worked on establishing a citizens movement, concentrating on such practical issues as sanitary solutions, alongside creating a blossoming cultural environment. Up to today he has worked both intellectually and physically as a beekeeper on his family farm.[12] His writings, as well as public lectures and interviews, can be found on his personal website.[13] His uniqueness is based on his usage of the Qur'anic teaching, historical references and scientific findings at the same time.[14]

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[5] Muḥammad Asad, *This Law of Ours and other Essays*, Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus, 1985, p. 58. See also: Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 149–150, Moṭahhari Morteza, *At-Taǧdīdwa al-iǧtihādfī al-islām* [Renewal and Interpretation in Islam], Teheran: Al-Ballāǧ, 1998, p. 31.

[6] Yahya Alous, *Who's who: Jawdat Said*, http://syrianobserver.com/EN/Who/26448/Whos+who+Jawdat+Said, (accessed 9 November 2014).

[7] Bin Nabī also wrote a forward to Saʿīd's book *Ḥattáyuǧayyirumā bi anfusihim* [Until they change what is in themselves].

[8] Bashar Humeid, *Islam as a non-violence religion*, http://en.qantara.de/content/jawdat-said-islam-as-a-violence-free-religion (accessed 9 October 2012). Quṭb represented the view that to achieve a goal, especially in the political domain Muslims are allowed to use force, presenting the idea of *ǧihād*and giving a start for a radical fraction among the Muslim Brotherhood.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Alous, *Who's who: Jawdat Said…*This declaration criticized the Syrian regime, and was signed by different figures of the country's opposition.

[11] Ibid. The movement was created around 1999.

[12] Humeid, *Islam as a non-violence religion…*

[13] www.jawdatsaid.com (accessed 9 November 2014).

[14] Ken Burtigan, *The next phase of Sheikh Jawdat Said's non-violence journey*, 7 June 2012, http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/the-next-phase-of-sheik-jawdat-saids-nonviolent-journey/ (accessed 9 November 2014).

Saʿīd's writing carrier began with the aforementioned book *Maḏhab Ibn Adam* [The Doctrine of the First Son of Adam], which evolves around non-violence and the eventual practice of such a stance within current Muslim societies. In 1972, Saʿīd published a book *Ḥattáyuġayyirumā bi anfusihim* [Until they change what is in themselves]. The starting point for this book is a widely used Quranic passage "God does not change a people until they change what is in themselves". This verse is understood as a reflection on the need of a priority shift to people themselves. His work *Iqra' warabbuka al-akram* [Read! and your Lord is the most generous] published in Arabic in 1987 makes the vital role of knowledge its main hallmark. The idea of knowledge and its influence on the eventual progress of societies is one of the most important issues discussed by Saʿīd in his work. In 1996 Saʿīd published *Kun ka ibn Adam* [Be as Adam's son] in which he discusses key worldview topics ranging from the European Union, the biggest maladies of the modern world, and in 2001 published another publication, entitled *Law, Religion, and the Prophetic Method of the Social Change*.[15]

Ǧawdat Saʿīd was strongly influenced by several thinkers of the 20th century, who took part in the intellectual debate on the condition of the Muslim *ummah* and proposed programmes of renewal from within. He names in particular the great philosopher and poet Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877–1938). Another thinker who deeply inspired the philosophy and writings of Saʿīd was Mālik Ben Nabī (1905–1973). This prominent Algerian thinker discussed some of the main maladies of the contemporary Arab world, which in his opinion stemmed from the people themselves. In his books he concentrated on presenting to his Arab readers their own weaknesses. He introduced a number of terms which he used to denote the specific situation of the Arab world in the wake of the socio-political changes that swept through this part of the world after they gained independence from colonial rule. Drawing upon their thought, he considers the need to reform Muslim societies as such and not Islam as a religious system. According to those thinkers, social problems are caused by the ineffective or faulty internal changes that have been undertaken in Muslim countries. In their opinion, factors such as the influence of colonialism and the imperial powers' strategies in the East were vital factors, but it is the Muslims themselves who bear responsibility for the lack of change and progress after eventually given independence. It was the spiritual and intellectual state of Muslim societies that enabled the imperial powers to colonise them in such a successful manner, so it seems evident that one should discuss the reasons behind the regression of the Islamic community and debate the possible solutions.[16]

For Ǧawdat Saʿīd, the relationship between the two vital factors of the Muslim community, namely law and religion, should be of a constructive nature. This relationship has been hotly debated among Muslim thinkers, in accordance with the problem of imitation. This imitating was very tightly bound together with the sphere of Islamic jurisprudence and, according to several intellectuals, led directly to the era of decline in Muslim thought, invention and civilisation as a whole. In this case Saʿīd was strongly influenced by another great Muslim thinker of Jewish descent Muḥammad Asad (1900–1992), who commented in his highly acclaimed book *Islam at the Crossroads*, that whereas Islam was a perfect system for mankind, it was its believers who failed to live according to its message.

One recurring theme in Saʿīd's thought is the need to observe laws, which constitute a profound part of knowledge, he believes. He particularly strongly stresses the notion of change which needs to occur, quoting the *Qur'ān*: *Verily never will God change the condition of a people until they change that what is in their souls*. Law allows duties, obligations and freedoms to be established, but it is injustice that destroys societies. It is humans that are faulty, not the law itself. Law is supposed to protect everyone. In the cycle of history people relinquish their right to protection and leave it to the law. Saʿīd warns that when a person gets his right to self-protection, by which he means any kind of violent means, the individual once again becomes part of the law of the jungle, force. Law on the other hand is opposed to violence.[17] The question

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[15] In Arabic entitled simply Ad-dinwa al-qānūn.

[16] M. Bin Nabī, *Šurūṭ an-nahḍa*, Dimašq: Dār al-fikr, 1986, p. 66.

[17] Jawdat Said, *Law, Religion, and the Prophetic Method of the Social Change*, http://www.karamah.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Law-Religion-and-the-Prophetic-Method-of-Social-Change.pdf, p. 120.

one needs to ask is when exactly did the shift between the law of violence and dialogue take place? Ǧawdat Saʿīd presents an interesting theory, basing it on the holy texts of both Christianity and Islam.

The story of Adam's Sons as part of a historical shift in Non-Violence

Ǧawdat Saʿīd in his aforementioned book looks at the Biblical and Quranic story of the two sons of Adam, who presented a sacrifice to God. In the fifth surah of the *Qur'ān* we read that God accepted only one of them, which later led to manslaughter.

"And recite to them the story of Adam's two sons, in truth, when they both offered a sacrifice [to God], and it was accepted from one of them but was not accepted from the other. Said [the Latter] I will surely kill you. Said [the former], 'Indeed, God only accepts from those who are righteous [who fear Him]. If you should raise your hand against me to kill me – I shall not raise my hand against you to kill you. Indeed, I fear God, Lord of the worlds. Indeed, I want you to obtain [thereby] my sin and your sin, so you will be among the companions of the Fire. And that is the recompense of wrongdoers'. And his soul permitted him to murder his brother, so he killed him and became among the losers. Then God sent a crow searching [i.e., scratching] in the ground to show him how to hide the private parts of his brother's body. He said, 'O woe to me! Have I failed to be like this crow and hide the private parts of my brother's body?' And he became of the regretful".[18]

Saʿīd concentrates on the moment when Qabil, known as the Biblical Cain, says to his brother: *I will kill you*. It is Habil's (Biblical Abel's) response that brings the historical shift in humanity's behaviour. Abel, by saying: *I will not stretch my hand to kill you* brings a notion of the need to use one's mind, reason debating the use of violence and it is seen even more widely in the latter words *I will not defend myself so you won't believe in the effectiveness of killing*. It is these words that carry the philosophy of non-violence that are so precious for Ǧawdat Saʿīd.[19] He then goes on to show the ultimate result of violent actions highlighting the grief and despair of Cain, who grew aware of his sin.[20] The story shows how the ways of Muslims should be. Most importantly, they should not call for murder and assassination and they should not present their opinions to others' use of force or the threat of such behaviour.[21]

Humanity arises from violence, the period of muscles – as Saʿīd states – to the period of mind and comprehension, leading it to grant moral values a growing presence in one's actions. The choice between the right and wrong actions is still voluntary, but in Abel's choice to act against violent methods one can notice the introduction of the law of dialogue, openness to the Other that is visible in acts of moral responsibility, which is one of the key factors driving human nature in its decisions. A different decision, that made by Abel, would only bring human regression.[22] God by creating people and granting them the role of being His vice-regents on earth expects that humankind will finally start acting according to the role that is presented to them.

The shift in authority, first based on violence, later leads to comprehension. Saʿīd sees this as an evolution from the law of the jungle to the law of understanding. This behaviour is full of trust in human evolution. Violent actions are perceived as a form of regression understood as blasphemy, which is considered a major crime in Islam because it means acting against nature and God's order.[23] In this case one needs to keep in mind that Islam teaches progress, so a counteraction would mean behaving against the

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[18] Ǧawdat Saʿīd, *Maḏhab Ibn Adam al-Awwal* [The Doctrine of the First Son of Adam], Dimašq: Dār al-fikr al-muʿāṣir, 1997, p. 77; the Sahih International translation.

[19] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 121.

[20] Ibid., p. 124.

[21] Saʿīd, *Maḏhab…*, p. 93.

[22] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 122.

[23] Ibidem.

religion as such. Saʿīd views any forms of tyranny as polytheism. His specific way of writing means putting stress on some issues by additionally highlighting the negative.

For Saʿīd, an important lesson on the meaning of laws can be drawn from the words of the philosopher Muḥammad Iqbāl, who perceived *Qurʾān* as an opening of a new era, a life built on laws and not on stories of wonders and symbols.[24]

Introducing the category of knowledge as a human ability and gift and as a means of non-violent action

Ğawdat Saʿīd presents his views basing his thought on Quranic examples. Non-violence for him is a commandment for humankind. The idea of non-violence in Saʿīd's thought stems from some basic factors and keywords understood from the Quranic perspective. One of the main issues stirring controversy among Muslim critics of his thought is his particular view on reading and interpreting the holy text of *Qurʾān*. ʿĀdil at-Tal accused Saʿīd of being a materialist in Muslim disguise.[25]

Saʿīd concentrates on knowledge that builds mankind's humane perspective. He uses an example from the II Surah:

"And when Thy Lord said unto the angels: Lo! I am about to place a viceroy on the earth, they said: Wilt Thou place therein one who will do harm therein and will shed blood, while we, we hymn Thy praise and sanctify Thee? He said: Surely I know that which ye know not. And He taught Adam all the names, then showed them to the angels, saying: inform me of the names of these, if ye are truthful. They said: Be glorified! We have no knowledge saving that which Thou hast taught us. Lo! Thou, only Thou, art the Knower, the Wise. He said: O Adam! Inform them of their names, and when he had informed them of their names, He said: Did I not tell you that I know the secret of the heavens and the earth? And I know that which ye disclose and which ye hide".[26]

This ability is one of the focal points of his works. He highlights the uniqueness of humanity as compared to the rest of God's creation, which he sees in the abilities to distinguish good from evil, obedience from disobedience and knowledge of harm and benefits. It is the knowledge that humans gain that is their specific ability and allows them to stand out from all of God's creation.[27] Human as God's vice-regents means having the ability to discern between right and wrong and given the choice to be obedient or disobedient in one's actions and being able to admit truth.

For Saʿīd, one should seek the truth outside of the realm of the text but rather in human experience and history.[28] For him the calling to *Wander the world* is to be interpreted in a more figurative way of grasping one's knowledge and insights not based on the written word but expanding it to the reality surrounding us.[29] Wander and Read move the emphasis from the text and illustrate the complex idea of understanding. According to Saʿīd, prophecy at one point becomes merged with knowledge – our knowledge of God is rooted in this ability. Saʿīd seems to call for a responsible and thoughtful approach towards religion where history is understood more as an example than a reality that needs to be copied in a narrow-minded way somehow reflecting the words set to mankind in the Qurʾan: *and such are the parables We set for mankind, but only those understand them who have knowledge.*[30]

Dwelling on Muḥammad Iqbal's thought, Saʿīd points out to the need to combine science and faith to overcome the dilemmas of the Muslim community. Following this course of thought Said sees a need for

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[24] Jawdat Said, *Be as Adam's Son*, tr. A. al-Khaiat, Beirut: Dār al-fikr al-muʿāṣir, 1996.
[25] It is a popular accusation among Islamic thinkers who are against the idea of unorthodox hermeneutics of the *Qurʾān*.
[26] *Qurʾān* 2:30-33. In this quotation Marmaduke Pickthall's translation was used.
[27] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 84.
[28] Saʿīd, *Maḏhab…*, p. 208.
[29] Humeid, *Islam as violence free religion…*
[30] *Qurʾān* 29:43.

a new Islamic theory, merely because the world is an example of continuous creation and evolution, stating *a community which was dominated by disciplinarian ways would result in the individual's completely dissolving*[31] and its main effect would be an unrealistic veneration of past history.

In Ğawdat Saʿīd's thought humankind not pertaining to fulfill knowledge, or the nervous system as he calls it; concentrating on the muscles[32] – or the impulse sphere can be compared to the process of natural impulses presented in Bin Nabī's thought, a topic discussed in detail further in the paper. *In today's world, relying on science, we concern ourselves with preventing germ warfare while sheltering the intellectual viruses that destroy us; our intellectual foods are still polluted.*[33]

For Saʿīd, there is a moment were there comes a change, meaning a replacement of the prophets by people calling for knowledge and justice, equity etc. Thus this historical move gives ground to a reality based more on observation than supernatural experience. Social life becomes based on laws. People receive the word *through observation of historic events and the results of history.*[34] His understanding of the seal of prophecy *is a departure from a style of receiving knowledge through transcendent means to a scientific method of historical knowledge based on evidence.*[35] *Qurʾān,* in concentrating on the role of intellect and exploring the laws of the universe – on the basis of other sources of human knowledge, namely nature and history – puts an end to the idea of prophethood. In Saʿīd's view Muḥammad Iqbāl presented a deep understanding and appreciation of the idea of the seal of prophethood. In an interview for *Current Islamic Issues* from 1998 Saʿīd says straightforwardly *Now prophethood, as it is perceived in Islam, reaches its perfection, by realising the need for its termination. And that perception indicates the deep realisation of the impossibility of having man led forever with a harness*.

The feeling of insecurity about one's knowledge results in a lack of responsibility for others – the reality of history is absent from our judgment. Yet the nihilistic shift is connected with ones awareness of the fact that the human mind is not flawless. His concept of non-violence could be extended further on issues such as the problem of misconception, and the question of fallacy of human interpretation. He states quite controversially that the revealed book, as well as the person receiving prophecy, are subject to the same misconceptions.[36] What Saʿīd seems to be saying is that people in general are prone to misunderstanding, misjudgment etc. which many a time in history has led them to aggressive and persistent actions but one needs to remember that *Yet the objective reality, the truth that the holy texts and our reality tell us does not change because we are mistaken, for the laws that govern our world do not change to fit our misconceptions (…) for the laws of existence do not err, no matter how mistaken we are in understanding or interpreting them.*[37] With regard to the problem of interpretation, Saʿīd discusses the need for a multiplicity of readings. He sees the following of ancestors as one of the major obstacles to intellectual progress, because of human proneness to mistakes and yet the vision of tradition as infallible led to ages of *taqlīd* and resulted in a lack of openness to diversity and progress in Muslim thought. Saʿīd points to Iqbāl's notion that a Muslim should comprehend the difference between religion and a human's understanding of it.[38]

Saʿīd points to the ability to symbolize, which allows people to differentiate between the surrounding entities and the way one perceives them.[39] Vital to understanding symbols is experience. Without it knowledge is incomplete and prone even more to fallacy.

Religion addresses the individual in two ways: via the language of laws ruling our existence as well as by the language of symbols, illustrating the world in an interpretative manner.[40] Saʿīd bases his theories

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[31] Jawdat Said, An interview given to the journal *Current Islamic Issues* in April 1998. Said answered several questions from the editor Abdul-Jabbar al-Rif'ee. The interview can be accessed on J. Said's website.
[32] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 118.
[33] Ibid., p. 83.
[34] Ibid., p. 96.
[35] Ibid., p. 99.
[36] Ibid., p. 87.
[37] Ibid, p. 86.
[38] Saʿīd, *Maḏhab…*, p. 201.
[39] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 86.
[40] Ibid., p. 87.

on the signified/signifier methodology of Ferdinand de Saussure. For Saʿīd, forsaking the message of the prophets is one of the main reasons for the worsening condition of humanity. In his thought on prophecy, Saʿīd draws some controversial points within the Muslim orthodoxy. According to him, such negative attitudes as racism or ethnocentrism stem from the denying of the possibility of prophecy to other religious and cultural figures.[41] It is interesting to note the many quotations he himself uses throughout his writings from other than Islamic sources.

Equity and justice as two factors of non-violent existence

The great message of equity is the perfect realisation of monotheism and unity so highlighted in the idea of *tauḥīd*[42], but it is a very narrow path as Saʿīd shows, quoting from the Gospel of Matthew.[43]

The realisation of justice is illustrated by Ǧawdat Saʿīd in the words *There is no compulsion in religion*.[44] Equity for him means no more than the process of denunciation of tyranny and the act of prohibiting religious coercion. It is interesting to note that Saʿīd sees tyranny as a specific case of breaching the teachings of Islam – and calls it an example of polytheism, an unforgivable sin.

According to Saʿīd, the call for equality is vital for human prosperity. The main problem of mankind is connected to the rejection of the need for equality, or equity, which can give some people the feeling of superiority, a nearly godlike position among others.[45] This superiority is embedded in the arrogance of people, which is an obstacle not only in building everyday relations but, in the believers' eyes, may also prevent one from entering paradise in the hereafter. Being a part of the rift of history one cannot take the stance he somehow rules over it, but he needs to remember that he is only a particle in its flow. Saʿīd refers to the ancient history of Pharaoh writing that modern day oppressors haven't changed much even in the method which enslaves people by making them submit to the system in exchange for guaranteeing them basic life survival such as food and clothing yet diminishing any freedoms which could lead them to rebel.[46]

Saʿīd stresses that the major problem of humanity is of a social type and is based on dichotomies such as oppression-justice, equality-privilege, the oppressor as a divine figure and slaves oppressed by their own ignorance.[47] This last dichotomy throws up a very interesting notion to the ongoing debate and this can be very clearly seen in the writings of other aforementioned thinkers, especially Mālik Bin Nabī, who wrote about the idea of *colonisabilite* concentrating on the of state of Muslims on the wake of colonial events. According to Saʿīd, Mālik Bin Nabī's greatest thought was the definition of the state of *colonisability*. Bin Nabī surely stirred the colonial and postcolonial debate by refraining from blaming others and turning to one's own responsibility for the condition of Muslim states even prior to the colonial era.

The origins of Mālik Bin Nabī's thought can be found in Ibn Ḫaldūn's theory of the civilisational cycle. According to it, Bedouins saw themselves as stronger than the urban population, as they had to deal with the burden of life in the desert and the prevailing conditions, while the settled population enjoyed a stable life and the pleasures coming from that. Ibn Ḫaldūn saw here a cycle, a passage of time. First, the Bedouins would conquer the city, and would start gradually settling themselves. With time they would become rich and enjoy comfort, which led to their defeat by the next nomadic group. The cycle of civilisation would look as follows: society goes through cycles of conquest, satisfaction with strength

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[41] Ibid., p. 93.

[42] Tauḥīd is the oneness of God in Islam.

[43] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 100: *Enter by the narrow gate. Wide is the gate, and broad the road that leads to destruction, and many enter that way. Narrow is the gate and constricted that road that leads to life, and those who find them are few*, Matt 7:13-14 doctrine.

[44] Saʿīd, *Maḏhab…*, p. 93. See also Jawdat Said, *Be Like Adam's Son…*, p. 20.

[45] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 109.

[46] Said, *Be Like…*, p. 20.

[47] Said, *Law, Religion…*, p. 109.

and influence and later a moment of decline.[48] Bin Nabī's proposition was more complex and concentrated more on the processes of any civilisation.

According to Bin Nabī, history is created by the human community, which is constituted by the following factors: the reality of people (man as the centre of the civilisation equation); the reality of ideas and the reality of objects. Only if there is a good balance and harmony between these factors is civilisationable to function properly.[49] The main cause of the crisis is an excessive focus on the area of human products, the multiplication of wealth and riches, collecting objects. Instead of focusing on the production of thoughts and ideas, people prefer to buy and to copy. The individual is becoming primarily a consumer, not working for the development of his environment. That focus on the object inevitably led to the formation of a *civilisation of things* (*Haḍārašay'iyya*), which is characterised by the attitudes of materialism, relativism, apathy. The society that does not shape its ideas is not progressing forward and is slowly succumbing to the decline of thought, creativity and effectiveness.[50]

For Mālik Bin Nabī the starting point of Muslim civilisation is the year 610, when the Prophet Muhammad received his first revelation. At that point the spiritual development of the rising ummah Muslim civilisation reached its peak during the battle of Ṣiffīn in 657. This interval is described by Bin Nabī as the spiritual period. From the moment of that battle Muslim civilization started undergoing a period of reason. According to Bin Nabī this moment of history is characterised by horizontal progress. The decline of the Muslims comes in his opinion during the fall of the Almohad dynasty in 1269.[51] For the Middle East that moment would come with the conquering of Baghdad in 1258. Man at that point began following his instincts, natural needs, which resulted in the constant diminishing of the role of spirituality and reason. This human condition, labelled by Bin Nabī as the *Postalmohad man,* led somehow to a certain state, called *colonisabilite.*[52] This term is understood by Bin Nabī as a tendency to be colonised.[53] It is a specific state of mind and soul presented by the individual, which implies that the conditions are created for colonisation, resulting primarily from weakness, and the apathy that society is going through.

From this point of view it is important to highlight that the vital element of the story of Abel presented by Saʿīd is the proof that an individual can set himself free from the oppressor-oppressed game, which might enable people to build their relations on equal rights,[54] but also consciously examine their relations in regard to the values, which constitute the basics of their civilisation. It is worth noting that for Muslim thinkers the idea of revival is positioned in the claim of the urging need of reestablishing Islam as a life guide in every possible sphere of human existence.

Non-violence then as a shift from the muscles to the nervous system is the epitome of change and progress. Human economy declines when it is bereft of human values. Saʿīd uses prophets as an example. In their mission they addressed human minds and not people's bodies, claiming physical actions are not needed.[55] Pacifism is presented as an idea of freedom and in this context one of the biggest ironies, according to Saʿīd, can be traced from the fact that the roots of pacifism come from disobedience, the negation of the need to take harmful action against another. A disobedience to the *culture of muscles* as he calls it.

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[48] Caroline Stone, 'Ibn Khaldun and the rise and fall of empires', *Saudi Aramco World*, Vol. 57, No. 5, 2006; Halim Barakat, *The Arab World. Society, Culture and State*, Berkeley 1993, p. 48.

[49] Zahra Boussalah, *Malek Bennabi: An analytical study of his theory of civilisation*, p. 12, http://www.amss.net/pdfs/34/ finalpapers/ ZahraBoussalah.pdf (accessed 22 June 2010).

[50] For more information see: Karolina Rak, 'Malek Bennabi. Wokół teorii cywilizacji', in *Zachód a świat islamu. Zrozumieć Innego* [The West and the world of Islam. Understanding the Other], Izabela Kończak, Marta Woźniak (eds), Łódź 2012, http://kbwipa.uni.lodz.pl/download/zachod_a_swiat_islamu.pdf.

[51] Mālik Bin Nabī, *Šurūṭ an-nahḍa*, p. 66. In political terms, but in the intellectual terms at the time of Ibn Ḫaldūn's death in 1406.

[52] Sebastian J. Walsh, 'Killing Post-Almohad Man. Malek Bennabi, Algerian Islamism and the Search for a Liberal Governance', *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, June 2007, p. 237, http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a778104039&db=all (accessed 22 June 2010).

[53] See Marek M. Dziekan, *Złote stolice Arabów* [Golden capitals of Arabs], Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2011, p. 199–201.

[54] Said, *Be like Adam's Son*, p. 20.

[55] Said, *Law Religion…*, p. 122.

For Saʿīd it is especially important to tackle the question of intellectual freedom. He states that the answer to the problem seems particularly easy, whereas the practice may turn to be excruciating for, in his opinion, one can achieve intellectual freedom by practicing one's opinion and bearing the consequences without engaging in violence. Oppression then is a major obstacle to human progress.

The question one might need to ask is why would the Muslim community be in such a state. For Saʿīd, one of the answers seems to lie in the state of intellectual man, whom he very biblically calls the salt of the earth. Intellectuals are insecure about what they actually know, and because of this, completely lack responsibility, which leads them into manufacturing silence and avoiding debating key issues concerning human existence.[56] Religion for them has begun to present a problematic topic. *The reason for the perceived death of God and humanity (or man) is that the reality of history is absent from our judgments.*[57] The intellectual cannot any longer distinguish between the original message and its interpretation. Ideas such as Fukuyama's *End of History* or Huntington's *Clash of Civilisations* are nihilistic and do nothing towards the progress of humanity.[58]

When violence is an option

There remains one last question that needs to be answered in accordance to the views presented by Saʿīd on the issue of violence: Is there any specific situation that could need to be handled with the use of force?

According to Saʿīd, there are two conditions for starting a legal war:

1. if one of the sides breaches the law, stating "there is no compulsion in religion" – understood by Saʿīd slightly wider as breaching one's right to freedom of thought and speech, which are determined by his understanding of the truth and infallibility. One has to remember that Saʿīd proclaims in his thought the flawed character of humanity and the need for openness.

2. The other situation in which the possibility of using force is explainable is connected with a condition for the side proclaiming/waging war to hold itself firmly to the right of freedom, for in other cases we could ask what right does it have to wage war.[59]

Conclusion

In the discourse of the need of a general revival of the Muslim community Saʿīd adds an interesting voice to the ongoing debate, presenting some creative points on the idea of non-violence and its role in the progress of humanity.

Saʿīd built his non-violence philosophy on examples from the *Qur'ān* itself, stating in his book *The Doctrine of the First Son of Adam* that one should take an example of the approach presented by Adam's son who, when attacked by his brother, did not answer with force. In his works Saʿīd stresses the need for a clear distinction between Islam understood as religion and its practice, that can be breached by its believers. His approach toward the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* brought him severe criticism in some Islamic circles. In his works he proposes a wider view. He reaches outside of the literal understanding of the sacred texts. For him it is vital to take human experience into consideration. This experience is a God-given ability which can be reached by pursuing knowledge. In Saʿīd's view, this would allow the creation of a better understanding of the teachings of Islam. A more conscious entity of believers could reach to the *Qur'ān* as a basic prescript of the laws of coexistence, whereas expanding their observations of historical dealings of past civilisations, laws of nature and an understanding of the world order would allow an enrichment

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[56] Said, *Law, Religion…,* p. 109.
[57] Ibidem.
[58] Ibid., p. 110.
[59] Ibid., p. 133.

and possibly, in a perspective of time, the development of a society that shuns the violent factor as a means of existence.

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Around the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival – Cultural Aspects of Festival Tourism

Abstract

The main reason for the establishment of the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival in Samarkand by the government of Uzbekistan in 1997 was to preserve the cultural heritage of the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The aim of this study is to analyse the motivations, assessments and opinions connected with the artists' participation in the festival in order to understand the nature of the impact exerted by the festival on the artists. The findings enabled a deeper exploration of the artists' need to discuss more widely the practical dimensions of the identity of the peoples involved and their spiritual heritage.

Introduction

The largest and the most important Central Asian festival is held in Samarkand, Uzbekistan: the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival, established by a ministerial resolution in 1997.[1] The festival was established with two important objectives in mind. The first was to undertake special activities to rediscover and preserve lost cultural traditions (especially in the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus); and among other things, to present the melodies and songs of this intangible cultural heritage of countries from all continents. Secondly, the festival was designed to develop intercultural dialogue between all communities in the world over any language or cultural barriers and initiate a meeting and cooperation of musicians at the international level. The festival takes place every two years. In 2011, a special edition of the festival was organised, celebrating the 20th anniversary of Uzbekistan's independence, while the 8th edition of the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival was held in the same year.

Samarkand, a city of significant symbols for Eastern culture, was selected as the festival location. It is one of the oldest cities in the world, situated on the ancient Great Silk Road. For many centuries, Samarkand was an oasis of dialogue among various nations and cultures. Numerous languages, traditions and cultural experiences of nations from all over Asia met in this gem of the East.[2]

The organisers of the music tournament are the following: the President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, the Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Republic of Uzbekistan, national television, the Union of Composers of Uzbekistan, Samarkand regional authorities and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), as the patron of the project. The primary qualifier in evaluating artists' participation in the festival was a reference to national traditions and an ability to recapture the musical heritage constituting a cultural value of a particular ethnic group. An international jury was formed (comprising leading musicologists, art directors and directors of international festivals from countries such as Singapore, Belgium, South Korea, Indonesia, Morocco, Canada, Japan, India and China, Israel and Uzbekistan). The prizes for winners are designed to support their activities for the benefit of culture: the Grand Prix – 10,000 dollars, 1st place – 7,000 dollars, 2nd place – 5,000 dollars, 3rd place – 3,000 dollars.[3]

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[1] Legal acts: *Resolution of the Cabinet of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On the Organisation of the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival"*, No. 132, Tashkent, 11 March 1997; *Resolution of the Cabinet of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Further Development of the Stage Musical Arts"*, No. 272, Tashkent, 26 June 2001.

[2] *Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival. Sharq Taronalari: xalqaro musiqa festivali,* Samarkand: Zarafshon, 2009.

[3] www.sharqtaronalari.uz (accessed 20 November 2012).

During the festival, special additional tourist events are organised for the visitors, promoting the material and non-material cultural heritage of Uzbekistan. Apart from the main festival stage in Registan in Samarkand, performances are held in parks and amphitheatres: Mujiza, Yoshlik and Sogdiana, and outside Samarkand centre – in Taylak, Urgut, Jambay, Akdarya and Payariq. Exhibitions presenting the history of Uzbekistan and the cultural heritage of prior generations are also organised. Festival guests are in addition offered trips to museums and to historic and holy places.

Each Sharq Taronalari festival is considered so important for the Asian region that a very solemn opening celebration takes place (with a speech delivered by the president of Uzbekistan and a great opening performance). Television and radio stations broadcast the whole festival in prime time. The last day of the festival, rounded off by a music feast, is a day for the spiritual culture of all nations of Asia.

Within a short time, the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival has become one of the most popular festivals in Asia and a highly valued one in other parts of the world. Year after year the number of people interested in active contribution increases. The geographic scope of the festival's musical influence also expands and competition increases. As readily admitted by, among others the students of Education and Research Institutes in Samarkand (volunteers assisting the organisation of the musical event), the festival "allows you to get to know other nations of the world with their beautiful cultural heritage, to explore this diversity that you do not think about every day and which does not tear us apart, but makes us different. The shared experience of musical meetings makes you proud of your nationality, but also helps you gain respect for people other than you".[4] Safar Ostonov, the organisational director, stresses the outstanding role of the festival, pointing out that it "has become a platform for new international integration, open to the heterogeneity of tradition, diversity of values and multiplicity of cultures. The idea of meetings for sharing intercultural singing has gained widespread support. All countries that face similar problems concerning the necessity to protect their national identity, often buried in the face of tradition, culture and folklore, have found their foothold here".[5] The president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, when initiating the concept of the festival, described its central message as an act of unity in diversity: "to unite mankind over the nationalities and religions that divide it".[6]

The aim of this study

In a broader sense, this study is aimed at understanding the characteristics of the festival's impact on the participating artists in sociocultural terms. More specifically, its goal was to determine the cultural determinants of the participation of a selected population of artists at the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival. The subject of the study comprised their motivations, aims and opinions. The particular goals were to study the motivating factors of the artists who participated at the festival, to analyse their perception of it and its assumptions, to understand their opinions on the organisation of the festival and to assess the impact of the festival on the attractiveness of festival tourism.

The paper is merely an introduction to research issues. The area of research related to the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival is still poorly explored and requires deepening both in terms of theoretical knowledge and empirical studies. This paper is the first attempt to present the findings of studies aimed at broadening current knowledge in the field; the author has also tried to formulate postulates for further studies on the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival.

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[4] Interview with Shaxrioza, Nargiza, Dilnoza, Elvira, students of Institute of Philology in Samarkand, volunteers assisting the organisation of the musical event, Samarkand, 28 July 2011.

[5] Interview with Ostonov Safar, director of Sharq Taronalari festival, editor in chief of "O'Zbekiston Ovozi" ["Golos Uzbekistana", "The Voice of Uzbekistan"], Samarkand, 25 July 2011.

[6] Islam Karimov, *Welcoming address by Islam Karimov at Sharq Taronalari opening ceremony, Sharq Taronalari.* [Edition of the VIII International Music Festival], VIII Xalqaro Musiqa Festivali Nashri, 25 August 2011.

Material and research methods

Individuals to be polled in the survey were selected with the use of a systematic sampling method. In practice, this meant that every fifth festival participant in a designated area was picked. The polling schedule ensured the representativeness of the whole population. The survey was conducted during the 8th Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival in Samarkand on 25–28 August 2011 in two locations: at the Afrosiyob Palace Hotel (2 Registanskaya St), where only artists and musicians taking part in the Sharq Taronalari were accommodated for the duration of the festival, and on the Three Madrasahs of the Registan Square (Registon ko'chasi St), where major festival performances were held. About 307 guests from 53 countries from all continents took part in the festival. The study involved 57 festival participants (artists) from 37 countries (Turkmenistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Russia, Uzbekistan, Latvia, Nigeria, Cuba, Bangladesh, Mongolia, Senegal, Iran, Indonesia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Brunei, India, Madagascar, Singapore, Germany, Japan, Israel, China, Poland, Italy, Ireland, England, France, Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic). All the respondents were active participants of the Samarkand Festival. Each of them had musical experience and had taken part in a variety of other forms of cultural performances (festivals, concerts and other cultural events).

The survey was carried out with the use of a paper form of a questionnaire. Bilingual survey questionnaires were employed in Russian and English. The questionnaire included questions related mainly to the participation in the Sharq Taronalari festival (among others, to motivating factors, goals, assessment of the festival's assumptions and execution of the festival, its reception, assessment of its attractiveness, declarations concerning future participation in the festival and interest in festival tourism). Also, questions about the music - and festival-related experience of the respondents and their socio-demographic profile - were included, although these are not the subject of this study.

The impact of the festival on the development of festival tourism among the artists

Among the artistic circles of Uzbekistan, Sharq Taronalari has become a peculiar driving force in the development of festival tourism. It attracts mainly people associated with music and culture. The 1st Festival, in 1997, was attended by 31 performers. With each Festival edition the number of participants has increased. The 2nd Festival, in 1999, gathered representatives from as many as 36 countries. In the 3rd edition, in 2001, there were 257 guests from 32 countries. For the 4th Festival, in 2003, 285 artists came from nearly 40 countries – among others, from Austria, Armenia, Afghanistan, the United Kingdom, Bangladesh, Germany, Greece, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Italy, Spain, Indonesia, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Romania, Turkey, Ukraine, China, India, Iran, Estonia, Japan, South Korea, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. The 5th Festival edition, in 2005, was attended by musicians from 51 countries. The 7th Festival gathered artists from 47 countries. In the 8th Festival, in 2011, there were delegations from 50 countries; representatives from some new regions of the world came for the first time – namely, from Brunei, the Republic of the Gambia, Ireland, Cuba, Lithuania, Madagascar, Poland, Senegal, Croatia, and the Czech Republic.[7]

In the first tournament, still relatively modest, Asia had the strongest representation – with 22 countries, i.e. almost 50% of all the countries in Asia. In the 8th edition, Asian countries were represented by a similar group – 24 representatives (soloists and ensembles). Their attendance remained at the level of about half of all Asian countries. But over 14 years, artists and ensembles from as many as 38 countries in the Middle and Far East have appeared on the stage. Such a wide interest and active participation probably results from the concept of the festival, which was established primarily to promote the intangible heritage of Asia and the Caucasus. The relatively small geographical distance between most Asian countries and the festival site is undoubtedly not without significance (Samarkand is situated in the central part

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[7] www.sharqtaronalari.uz (accessed 20 November 2012).

of Central Asia). The countries that took part in all the editions are: India, Iran, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, South Korea, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan. In turn, Brunei, Cyprus, Palestine, Iraq, Oman, and Syria have been represented only once.[8]

In the 1st competition, only six teams from Europe took part. In 2011, there were 18 European teams (three times more), and in all editions (8), Europe was represented by artists from 28 countries (slightly more than a half of European countries). Artists from Austria, France, Germany and the United Kingdom have performed in all festival editions. However, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia have been represented only once at the festival. This group chiefly includes those ensembles that joined the festival only in 2011.

In the 1997 edition there was only one team from the African region. After 14 years, the number of representatives from African countries at Sharq Taronalari has increased to seven. Together, artists from 15 African countries have taken part in the festival. Only musicians from Egypt have been present at all the eight festival editions. Burkina Faso, Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Namibia, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Tunisia, and Zambia have been represented at least once. A low level of representation can be observed for countries from both Americas. In the 1st edition, only artists from Mexico and the United States took part; in the 8th edition, musicians from Brazil, Canada and Cuba joined the festival, but, in turn, Mexican artists were not present. In all Samarkand Festival editions, a total of six ensembles performed, representing six countries from both Americas. There is also a poor representation of artists from Australia and Oceania. In 2007, during the 6th Festival, one musical group from New Zealand showed up.

When assessing artists' activity at the festival, the number of participants is increasing each year. The overall picture of artists' attendance at the festival speaks of its prestige. The surveyed respondents unanimously (100%) expressed their willingness to take part in the festival again. They learned about the festival primarily through their embassies (71.9%), from friends who had visited Samarkand (17.5%) and by references from their managers (10.5%). In the period of 1997–2011, 88 countries presented the beauty of their respective national cultures' intangible achievements at Registan in Samarkand. This means an increase in the number of participants by at least 60% from edition 1 to 8. Additionally, the attendance of 88 countries (performing at least once in the years 1997–2011), which is 44% of the total number of countries in the world, is a simple reflection of the demand for promoting national cultures in the world.

Such high participation of foreign visitors at the music competition has had measurable effects on Samarkand and for festival tourism. Tourism has had an impact on promoting the festival's ideas. However, from the perspective of the city of Samarkand, the country of Uzbekistan, and the region of Central Asia, the development of festival-related tourism is vital to the economy of the region and city – to meet the needs of visitors and tourists tourist infrastructure has been developed (hotel facilities) and historic and sacred places have been renovated. In Uzbekistan, the opening of a new line of high speed railways (Pendolino) between Tashkent and Samarkand a week before the 8th edition was a major event associated with the Sharq Taronalari festival. Tourism development has also changed national cultural policy in a broad sense. Investment in the popularisation of cultural goods has increased, alongside improvements in legal regulations concerning the protection of national heritage. Festival tourism has also helped finance activities to preserve and popularise the rich deposits of intangible culture.

Festival policy assumptions and objectives

An important aim of organising the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival, stemming out from the cultural policy of Uzbekistan and UNESCO, is to search for, discover, and promote traditional folk

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[8] Jabłonkowska Jolanta Barbara, 'Znaczenie Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzycznego Sharq Taronalari w promocji turystyki Orientu i dialogu kultur' ['Sharq Taronalari' The International Music Festival's Significance in the promotion Of Orient Tourism and Dialogue of Cultures], in *Etyczny wymiar podróży kulturowych* [The ethical dimension of cultural travel], Marek Kazimierczak (ed.), Poznań: Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego, 2014.

melodies of various ethnic groups and to awaken awareness of identity in individual countries: an awareness that in turn obliges the preservation of national heritage in a legal sense. This goal seems to be particularly important for the countries which were part of the Soviet Union for more than 70 years. The years of Soviet authority meant a loss of material and non-material heritage in traditional ethnic culture. Any forms of preserving the individual cultural identity were forbidden and people who promoted or even respected their national folklore were repressed.[9] This objective, however, is also significant for other countries affected by globalisation (especially in Europe and America), where a process of cultural homogenisation can be observed.

One of the foci of the research was to study the motivations of the artists arriving at the music festival and performing on the Registan stage. The intention was to verify if their motivation to attend the festival was consistent with the festival's assumptions and whether or not it was related to the artists' conscious desire to promote the values of their musical culture, constituting the heritage of their own ethnic group or of their national community. Therefore, questions were asked about the motivations accompanying festival tourism in artists coming to Samarkand and about the purpose of their performance (Table 1).

Table 1. Typology of motivators stimulating artists to come to the Festival

Motivating factors	Percentage
Get to know the musical diversity of the world	89.4%
Meet other people	85.9%
Initiate contacts with other musicians	71.9%
Take part in an international music competition	68.4%
Transfer national musical traditions that are perishing	66.6%
See Samarkand	63.1%
Contact with the cultural heritage of Samarkand	57.8%
Transfer the cultural heritage of one's own nation	54.3%
See historic and other attractive tourist sites	50.8

The majority of the respondents indicated the need to learn about the musical diversity of the world as the purpose of their arrival at the festival. The interest in cultural variety, opportunities to establish cooperation in the artistic field and participation in a prestigious competition were important motivators for participating in Sharq Taronalari for most respondents. A slightly different picture emerged when respondents were requested to indicate the aim of performing on the Registan music stage during the festival (Table 2).

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[9] UNESCO developed a catalogue of the necessary measures to rescue the ethnic cultures of Central Asia and the Caucasus *(Final report. Regional seminar on the application of UNESCO. Recommendation on the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore in the countries of Central Asia and Caucasus*, Tashkent: UNESCO, 1998, pp. 11–12). Many areas were covered by special protection, including: Armenian duduk music; the Azerbaijani mugam; the Georgian polyphonic singing; the Kyrgyz aqyn art; the Tajik nad Uzbek shashmaqam music; the Bojsun region cultural space in Uzbekistan; the art of Azerbaijani Ashiqs; the Novruz New Year's holiday (celebrated, among others, in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan); the katta ashula musical tradition in Uzbekistan; the Armenian art of stone crosses (the symbol and artistry of Armenian khachkars); the Azeri traditional art of carpet weaving in Azerbaijan; recitation of the Armenian epos *David of Sassoun* in Armenia; crafts and art associated with the tar musical instrument in Azerbaijan (Kurshida Mambetova, 'Report of the Countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus', in *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment*, Peter Seitel (ed.), Washington: Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 2001, p. 248–251; www.unesco.pl/no_cache/kultura/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/dziedzictwo-niematerialne/listy-dziedzictwa-niematerialnego/lista-reprezentatywna-niematerialnego-dziedzictwa-ludzkosci/?print=1 (accessed 20 November 2012).

Table 2. Typology of motivators stimulating artists to perform on the Registan music stage during the Festival.

Motivating factors	Percentage
Interest in music folklore	85.9%
Delight the audience with ethnic music	77.1%
Convey emotions: joy, pleasure, affection, religious experiences, delight	47.3%
Provide listeners with entertainment (fun)	75.4%
Share one's talent	57.8%
Let others know the musical heritage of one's nation	45.6%
Reconstruct the lost musical traditions	45.6%
Raise one's own musical competence	42.1%
Turn out to be a good artist	28%

The respondents chose answers related to the major festival assumptions. First of all, they indicated the need to promote the folklore of various ethnic groups. However, subsequent positions were occupied by goals not directly related to the concern to preserve national heritage – these exposed the social nature of the festival: conveying emotions, offering experience and bringing enjoyment.

The findings allow one to note a dependence between the visiting and artistic motivation of the respondents and the cultural area of their origin. The respondents' behaviour and declared values seem to reflect the level of expectations in the community they come from. For example, a respondent from Kyrgyzstan declaring a huge commitment to the national tradition hoped that coming to Samarkand would be an opportunity to share the Kyrgyz cultural heritage with a wider audience: "I want to present the heritage of my nation"; the aim of the festival performance was to promote the musical traditions of "The Epic of Manas": "During the festival, I want to show the tradition that I received and the sounds that I grew up among. In "The Epic of Manas" I will sing out the beauty of my nation." "The Epic of Manas" is the historical memory of the nation, passed orally in Kyrgyzstan from generation to generation in order to immortalise scenes from the nation's history. It is an oral encyclopaedia of Kyrgyz values and knowledge of the culture and history of this country, propagated over generations. The Kyrgyz also preserved over 40 "lesser" epics as cultural goods. The epics are presented with an accompaniment of a 3-string Kyrgyz lute (called a komuz). Each epic has its own distinctive theme, melody, and narrative style. Formerly, they were sung by aqyns, who travelled across the Kyrgyz lands and taught people the history of their country; they also participated in storytelling contests organised in the past centuries. They were admired mainly for the expression of gestures, intonation and lively facial expressions, perfectly matching the content of the work (filled with emotions). In Soviet times, performing and singing Kyrgyz songs was forbidden and the songs themselves were doomed to be forgotten. Today, only a fragment of the big trilogy exists ("Manas", "Semetei", and "Seitek"), which survived thanks to the efforts of an epic singer, Sagimbai. He stored the written parts of "Manas" in the 1920s. The rest is lost forever.[10] Similarly, for an artist from Tajikistan, coming to the festival in Samarkand opened up the prospect of presenting Tajik musical values that had been prohibited for many decades in her country: "Shashmaqam is the music of my nation. I came to Samarkand to show our culture". She determined the goal of her performance in an unusually simple way: "I will show you my commitment in performing shashmaqam". Shashmaqam is the national music of Tajikistan. For at least nine centuries, it was played in the cities of the current Tajik and Uzbek region. Shashmaqam

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[10] Samar Musaev, *The Epic of Manas: a popular scientific essay*, Ilim: Frunze, 1985; Tendik Askarov, *"Manas" Epos and the World's Epic Heritage*, Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, 1995.

is an unusual combination of instrumental and vocal sounds, rhythms and melodies and a variety of themes, constituting a form of inculturation of the pagan Sufism and the Arabic Islam. The historical and spiritual centre of this music genre's development was Bukhara (today a city in Uzbekistan). Numerous music schools were established there in which students could acquire the difficult shashmaqam skills. Education was based on oral transmission. Musicians were required to be fluent in shashmaqam techniques in order to perform musical interpretations of the genre. Since the written material contained only the basic notes of the composition, it was in the musician's hands to mark it with a unique beauty and wealth of additional (multicolour) musical and spiritual ornaments. In 1921, when Soviet Russia seized Tajik and Uzbek lands, shashmaqam schools were closed and the buildings turned into warehouses or state archives (until 1991).[11]

Artists from Georgia, Armenia, and Turkmenistan presented similar attitudes. However, artists from France, for example, reported a different purpose for their arrival: "Because of the mythic destination and the good musicians around this area"; they said the aim of performing on the Registan music stage was as follows: "To share my pleasure with others." For an Italian artist visiting Samarkand it was strongly related to cultural tourism: "I wanted to see the remarkably charming Samarkand," and the aim of the performance was a receptive pleasure: "I want to give some entertainment to listeners".

The view of the Sharq Taronalari festival as a place of conscious searching for the values of the intangible musical heritage of one's nation was particularly clearly confirmed by artists from the cultural circle of Central Asia and the Caucasus. Artists with other cultural backgrounds were to a significant degree motivated by enriching themselves through contact with art and festival tourism, by individualising their own musical experience and by conditioning it, to a certain extent, by the needs of the audience.

The vast majority of respondents said that the aim of the festival, i.e. the concern to preserve and promote the culture and musical identity of particular nations of the world, was well known to them (91.2%) and that it had been achieved during the festival events (87.7%). It was stressed that the aim was especially achieved by the following activities: the opportunity to present the music of one's own country (100%); transmitting the festival in the mass media, allowing to reach a broader audience (89.4%); inviting artists from various countries around the world to the festival (92.9%).

The weakest points in achieving the objective, as indicated by the respondents, were: promotion activities on an international scale (71.9%); limited capacity of Registan to accommodate the audience (57.8%); and the jury selection (31.5%).

The second assumption of the festival is the concept of depoliticising culture, as well as developing and strengthening – in an unstable and complex world – friendly relations and cooperation among nations and artists: "uniting all people, regardless of their language, nationality, religion, traditions, and customs".[12]

The respondents were also asked a question concerning another festival assumption, i.e. integrating the international artistic community: "Is your participation in the festival an opportunity to establish contacts with artists from other countries?". All respondents gave positive answers (100%). They said that the meetings in Samarkand allowed them to get to know people from different cultural circles better (68.4%), to become interested in various types of folklore and regional music (71.9%), to establish cooperation (63.1%), to make new friends (15.7%), to understand the traditions and customs of other nations (12.2%).

However, the respondents also felt somehow unsatisfied in the field of cultural exchange and cooperation (40.3%). They perceived the festival formula, in its essence a competition, as an impediment. "Competition does not favour building a good atmosphere", they wrote. "Guessing who is going to win and commenting on why somebody won raises suspicion and discontent"; "I don't like the fact that our performances are evaluated because I consider the assessments unfair and biased. For example, Korea gave a miserable performance (my poor ears) and was highly evaluated"; "I was very surprised when I saw the results. Lithuania, which in my opinion was very poor, ranked high, and Turkey, the best in my

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[11] *Niematerialne Dziedzictwo Kulturowe* [Intangible Cultural Heritage], Oxford: UNESCO, Sector for Culture, 2011, p. 103.
[12] Karimov, *Welcoming …*, p. 1.

opinion, did not win anything"; "The competition formula is unreliable". In order to strengthen and facilitate the establishment of intercultural relations, this group of respondents suggested enriching the festival with joint trips, events, workshops, various peace programmes and informal performances outside the competition. Other respondents (47.3%; 12.2% gave no answer) did not notice obstacles in establishing intercultural relations and cooperation during a festival held in the form of a contest. Here are a few of their explanations: "The competition helped continue the good quality of performances"; "Music and international friendship are above the competition"; "The competition formula does not hinder getting to know each other better or talking to each other"; "The most important thing was that almost the whole world could meet in one place, and what a place!".

According to the respondents, the festival goals were achieved; 10.5% of the respondents commented that it was "difficult to say", 21% – "rather yes", 68.4% – "definitely yes", although many of them stressed: "There is still much work to be done" ; "Musicians from many countries are missing"; "I wish there had been representations from many African or South American countries"; "It would be good to put even greater emphasis on cooperation".

The quality of the festival project in the participants' assessment

The respondents (75.4%) positively evaluated the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival (24.5% gave no answer). No one in the surveyed group marked the answers "bad" or "very bad". On a five-point scale, notes were issued in each analysed category related to the organisation and the course of the musical event:

- the attractiveness of the festival site: 4.9 points;
- the attractiveness of the festival: 4.8 points;
- the efficiency of the organisers: 4.7 points;
- catering services: 4.7 points;
- the clarity of the participation rules: 4.6 points;
- the atmosphere and setting of the festival: 4.5 points;
- accommodation base: 4.4 points;
- costs and prizes for participants: 4.1 points;
- technical facilities: 3.9 points;
- festival promotion: 3.4 points.

The festival location was placed highest in the ranking. It was emphasised that Samarkand was extraordinary and beautiful: "It was a great time and many meetings in a fabulous place"; "Samarkand enchanted and seduced me"; "Only here did I see what a city with a soul was"; "Samarkand and its residents are a little homeland of great culture"; "The hospitality of Samarkand and its people charmed me". The attractiveness of the festival itself was placed second in the ranking. The respondents highly evaluated the organisation of the event, the professional level of the contest and the atmosphere: "I liked the high level of the musical competition, the professional jury, and good organisation"; "One can learn the art of good organisation from Uzbeks. They prepared everything on a truly good professional level"; "Much hospitality, good hotels and catering". The promotion and technical background were rated lowest. One of the comments directed to the organisers was the lack of heating in Registan during the quite cold nights.

All the surveyed individuals, festival participants, declared that they wanted to take part in the musical event in Samarkand again. The range of reasons included mostly ones related to culture and festival tourism: "Because I still have much to present"; "I did not have enough time to stage all the wealth of my music"; "I want to meet interesting people"; "Here I started collaborating with other musicians, it is a good

place for musical meetings”; “I fell in love in Samarkand”; “I experienced many fantastic moments here”; “This is one of the few festivals of such a significance to world culture”.

Summary

The high assessment of the Sharq Taronalari International Music Festival in the respondents’ opinion proves that among people from the artistic world there is demand for a global discussion on the identity and spiritual heritage of nations in a practical dimension. The festival, which enables one to understand and learn the ethnic richness of national cultures, appears to meet this demand. It is not just a theoretical voice in the debate, but a real opportunity to develop the social and cultural competences of the participants, a celebration of multicultural meetings, as well as a possibility to establish international contacts, to deepen knowledge of world diversity, to promote cultures and to gather artists beyond borders.

Owing to the festival, a new dimension was reached by both Samarkand itself (it has become a capital of culture, the brand name of a significant event) and festival tourism (promoting a new type of an artist-tourist, who is characterised by awareness of the journey’s purpose, travelling experience, understanding the necessity to care for heritage, openness to other communities and empathy to the contemporary cultural environment).

The festival and the related festival tourism are in fact of enormous and invaluable importance to culture. Nevertheless, in the age of a new generation of culture recipients taking shape, one should be aware of the many dangers that may hinder the full and conscious realisation of the goals set by the Sharq Taronalari organisers:

(1) There is a serious risk of commercialisation of the intangible cultural properties by the tourist industry.

(2) Actions aimed at preserving the cultural identity of ethnic groups in Asia, Europe, America, Africa, and Australia may get lost in some form of “folklorisation”, understood as a selective treatment of folk culture elements, exposing them in a context detached from the original meanings, drawing folkloristic elements by people not bound with the particular cultural tradition.

(3) There is also a danger that the traditional culture, although it would indeed attract tourists, may merely leave a mark on the photograph, ceasing to be a living experience of meeting different cultures.

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Articles must be in English or French. The article should begin with an abstract of up to 100 words, followed by five keywords which should describe the article's main arguments and conclusions. Manuscript length should be between 30,000 and 40,000 characters (including the main text, footnotes, and spaces), and should be typed on A4 paper, in 12-point Times New Roman font, with ample margins on all sides.

The entire manuscript must be 1½-spaced and numbered consecutively. The title, the author's name and her/his institutional affiliation should be at the top of the first page (do not use headnotes). All titles in non-Roman alphabets must be transliterated. An English translation of other language titles should be provided in square brackets after the title.

Footnotes at the bottom of the text page are obligatory, and they should be typed in 10-point Times New Roman font and single spaced. Quotations must be numbered consecutively throughout the text and the style of note citation should conform with the following examples.

1. Ivor Wilks, *Wa and Wala. Islam and Polity in North-Western Ghana*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 70.
2. John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 23.
3. Giacomo Luciani (ed.), *The Arab State*, London: Routledge, 1990, p. 124.
4. Raymond Hinnebusch, 'Syria under Bashar: Between Economic Reform and Nationalist Realpolitik,' in *Syrian Foreign Policy and the United States: from Bush to Obama*, Raymond Hinnebusch, Marwan J. Kabalan, Bassma Kodmani and David Lesch (eds), St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews Centre for Syrian Studies, 2010, p. 20.
5. Zygmunt Komorowski, *Kultury Afryki Czarnej* [Cultures of Black Africa], Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1994, pp. 89–90.
6. Larry J. Dimond, 'Rethinking of Civil Society,' *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1994, p. 4.
7. 'Tunisia's al-Nahda to Form Party,' *Aljazeera*, 1 March 2011, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/%20middleeast/2011/03/201131132812266381.html (accessed 10 November 2011).
8. *Sudan Peace Act Report: 21 April 2003*, Washington DC: Department of State, 2003, www.state.gov/p/af/rls/rpt/2003/19790.htm (accessed 23 August 2013).

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9. Hinnebusch, 'Syria under Bashar…,' pp. 20, 22.
10. Ibid., p. 186.
11. Ibidem.

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