Mader, Elke
2008 Anthropologie der Mythen. Wien: Facultas.

Mesenhöller, Peter
1999 Tatau – Tätowierungen aus Polynesien. *Kölner Museums-Bulletin* 3: 4–23.

[Peter, Hanns]
1980 Australien und Ozeanien. In: Museum für Völkerkunde (Hrsg.), Das Museum für Völkerkunde in Wien; pp. 180–213, 280–282. Salzburg: Residenz Verlag.

Robley, Horatio G.
1896 Moko. Or Maori Tattooing. London: Chapman and Hall.
1998 Moko. The Art and History of Maori Tattooing. Twickenham: Senate.

Schifko, Georg
2004 Kritische Anmerkungen zu einem Kupferstich aus James Cooks Reiseberichten und zur Rezeption bei Jules Verne. *Anthropos* 99: 580–585.
2005a Das Moko im Spiegel von Jules Vernes Romanen – Ein Beitrag zur ethnographischen Rezeption und Imagologie der Maori in der Literatur. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 134/135: 177–190.
2005b Die *mokomokai* im Spiegel von Jules Vernes Werken – Eine Untersuchung zur europäischen Rezeption der mumifizierten Menschenköpfe aus Neuseeland. *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 46/2: 379–389.
2007 Anmerkungen zur Vereinnahmung von Maori-Tätowierungen in einem europäischen Spielfilm. Eine ethnologische Kritik. *Anthropos* 102: 561–565.
2008 Anmerkungen zu einer tätowierten Bärenskulptur als Ausdruck eines bikulturellen Neuseelands. *Anthropos* 103: 545–549.

Simmons, David R.
1999 Ta Moko. The Art of Maori Tattoo. Auckland: Reed. [3rd rev. ed.]

Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia
2007 Mau Moko. The World of Māori Tattoo. North Shore: Penguin Viking.

Te Hiroa, Rangi [Peter Henry Buck]
1962 The Coming of the Maori. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs. [5th rev. ed.]

Te Riria, Ko, and **David Simmons**
1989 Maori Tattoo. Auckland: Gordon Ell, The Bush Press.

Wolfe, Richard
1987 Well Made New Zealand. A Century of Trademarks. Auckland: Reed Methuen.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Framework for the Educational Uplift of the Indian Muslims during British Raj

Belkacem Belmekki

By general consensus among many scholars and contemporaries of nineteenth-century British India, it is argued that the events of 1857, or the Great Revolt,[1] delivered a deathblow to the Muslim community there, which had already been suffering as a result of the imposition of British hegemony. In fact, in the wake of this uprising, the British Colonial Government decided to point an accusing finger at the Indian Muslims alone as the *bona fide* fomenters, and consequently, they were subjected to a discriminatory policy that disfavoured them in every walk of life. This wreaked havoc on the whole Muslim community, which was reduced to a state of degradation and hopelessness.

It was in that unfavourable atmosphere that some reform-minded Muslim figures in the South Asian subcontinent took the initiative to save their coreligionists from further disgrace and deterioration, and took upon themselves the task of shouldering the burden of modernization amongst their fellow Muslims. The aim here is to set out the case of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) – one of the greatest Muslim educationists, writers, and reformers during the British Raj – who was deeply concerned by the sociocultural and economic *malaise* that the post-1857 Muslim community in South Asia was experiencing.

After assessing the circumstances in the subcontinent, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan realized the urgent need to come up with a plan to modernize, as well as energize, the hitherto comatose Muslim community. Towards that end, he launched a vigorous reformist movement, referred to as the Aligarh[2] Movement, which affected every aspect of Muslim life, namely social, economic, political, cultural, and religious (Khan 2004: 61). This article is devoted to his project of educational uplifting of his coreligionists.

1 The Great Revolt of 1857 is usually referred to as the "First War of Independence" by most historians from the Indian subcontinent, and as the "Great Mutiny" by most of Western historians, particularly British.

2 'Aligarh' was a town in India which served as a centre for Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's revivalist movement.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was well aware of the fact that the post-Great Revolt era was perhaps the darkest one, culturally as well as politically, in the history of the Muslim community in India. He attributed this situation first and foremost to the fact that Indian Muslims, unlike their Hindu counterparts, had shied away from Western education. In his opinion, had his fellow Muslims imbibed the progressive new ideas and culture carried on through the education that the British had introduced in the subcontinent, they would have been much better off now (Desai 1959: 365).

Indeed, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan regretted that his coreligionists did not take advantage of Western education in the way the Hindu community did in the past under the leadership of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833).[3] In fact, by being apathetic, and in some instances antagonistic, towards the language and literature of the British rulers, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan opined, the Indian Muslims only hurt themselves (Muhammad 1978: xii). In this respect, K. K. Aziz (1967: 130) observed:

> The Muslims did not take to the English language, and thus denied themselves opportunities of material as well as intellectual progress. Material, because Government jobs were open only to English-knowing persons; intellectual, because the entire corpus of Western knowledge and learning was shut out from them.

In addition to that, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan declared that this anti-Western education attitude on the part of his coreligionists contributed to their being in total ignorance of the British way of life and their principles of administration (Muhammad 1978: xii).

Moreover, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan went a step further and attributed the happenings of 1857 to the ignorance of Indians concerning the British might. He believed that if the native regiments of the Bengal army had learnt about such a "powerful empire" and what it stood for, they would not have thought of rising against their masters and would have averted that catastrophe (Muhammad 1978: xii); as he put it in the following passage:

> If in 1856, the natives of India had known anything of the mighty power which England possessed, a power which would have impressed the misguided men of the Bengal army with the knowledge how futile their efforts to subvert the Empire of Her Majesty in the East would be – there is little doubt that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred (Muhammad 1978: xii f.).

Meanwhile, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan urged his coreligionists to learn the language of the rulers. He believed that by failing to learn the English language, the Indian Muslims "self-excluded" themselves from the mainstream society in the subcontinent. According to G. Ali Khan, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan warned his fellow Muslims of the worsening conditions that would result if they continued to keep aloof from the English language and told them that "there was no option for the subject nations but to learn the language of their rulers" (Khan 2004: 63). Stephen Hay quoted Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan addressing Muslims as saying:

> Today there are no Muslim rulers to patronize those who are well versed in the old Arabic and Persian learning. The new rulers insist upon a knowledge of their language for all advancement in their services and in some of the independent professions like practising law as well. If Muslims do not take to the system of education introduced by the British, they will not only remain a backward community but will sink lower and lower until there will be no hope of recovery left to them (Hay 1992: 188).

Then, he asked himself (quoted in Hay 1992: 188 f.):

> Is this at all a pleasing prospect? Can we serve the cause of Islam in this way? Shall we then be able to ward off the obliteration of all that we hold dear for any length of time?

As an illustration Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan gave the example of the Hindu community who was in a relatively good condition under the previous rulers, the Mughals, as well as the current rulers, the British, and that was because they were wise enough to learn the "language of the rulers of the day" (Khan 2004: 63). Then, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan wondered why Muslims should not learn the English language since nothing in the Islamic religion objected to that. In this regard, he stated (quoted in Muhammad 1978: xiii):

> No religious prejudices interfere with our learning any language spoken by any of the many nations of the world. From remote antiquity have we studied Persian,

3 By the first half of the nineteenth century, Raja Ram Mohan Roy launched a revivalist movement called "Brahmo Samaj" (meaning Sacred Society). Through this movement, he sought to reform and modernize his society, that is, his Hindu community. He launched a crusade against polytheistic aspects of medieval Hinduism which sanctioned superstitions and meaningless religious rites that kept his coreligionists at a degraded level (Row 1987: 175).

and no prejudice has ever interfered with the study of that language. How, then can any religious objection be raised against our learning and perfecting ourselves in English?

Hence, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was of the opinion that if Indian Muslims got familiarized with the Western arts and sciences, they would perhaps be able to improve their social and political conditions (Khan 2004: 63). In fact, for him Western education was the only key to future prosperity (Alavi 2002). This, he thought, could be efficiently done through the translation of some of the most important books from English into Urdu (Muhammad 1978: xiii). Nonetheless, this project was by no means intended to serve as a way to discourage the Muslim community from learning the English language but only to, as Shun Muhammad put it, "bring Western knowledge within the reach of the people of India" (1978: xiii).

To concretize this objective, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers founded the Scientific Society on July 9th, 1864, at Ghazipur, a town in northern India. According to G. Ali Khan (2004: 63), in addition to the translation of English works into Urdu, the Scientific Society was also intended as a means to "provide a basis for mutual understanding and friendship between the British and the Muslims." Besides that, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan also wanted this Society to serve as a channel through which the much-needed historical knowledge and learning could be disseminated, and that would equip the Muslim community in India with the necessary tools that could enable them to compete with other communities. This was clearly reflected in the following passage excerpted from his inaugural address to the Scientific Society:

> Looking at the state of my fellow countrymen's minds, I find that, from their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present – from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world – they are unable to take lessons and profit by their experience. Through this ignorance, also, they are not aware of the causes which have undermined the foundations of those nations once the most wealthy, the most civilized, and the most powerful in the history of their time, and which have since gradually gone to decay or remained stationary instead of advancing with the age . . . For the above reasons, I am strongly in favour of disseminating knowledge of history, ancient and modern, for the improvement of my fellow countrymen.[4]

From the above quotation, one can deduce the fact that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan gave great importance to history which he believed was a "must-know" subject that would save nations a lot of trouble. In other words, by learning history nations would, on the one hand, get familiarized with their past mistakes, and hence avoid repeating them; and on the other hand, they would acquaint themselves with the means and methods that they should adopt in order to flourish (Muhammad 1978: 14). In the same respect, according to Hafeez Malik, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was very concerned with the mystery of the rise and fall of civilizations. He regretted the fact that Asian scholars never illuminated the birth and development of world civilizations in their works on history, but they merely "chronicled the kings' ascension to power and their deaths" (Malik 1980: 86). What he really wanted was a work that would analyse in detail specific character of nations as well as their virtues and vices (86).

With this opinion in mind, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan advised the members of the Scientific Society, in a meeting held on March 12th, 1864, to undertake the task of translating into Urdu some of the most outstanding works on the history of India. In this regard, Shun Muhammad quoted him as recommending James Mill's[5] "History of India," which he described as an "excellent work":

> No good comprehensive History of India has yet been published in Oordoo. Those hitherto published have not had the details well arranged, have been too brief and their style has not been good. In my opinion Mill's History of India is an excellent work. It is in several volumes and if not too expensive ought to be gradually published by our Society.[6]

Two years after its foundation, the Scientific Society launched a journal called *The Scientific Society Paper*, which later became known as the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. This journal's primary objective was to familiarize the British Colonial Govern-

4 "Sir Syed's Speech at Scientific Society," quoted in Muhammad (1978: 14).

5 James Mill was a British historian who undertook the task of writing the history of British India by the end of 1806. This he completed in 1818 and his work was published in three volumes. According to Shun Muhammad, James Mill was very critical of the British rule in India (1978: 29).

6 "Proceedings of the Scientific Society," quoted in Muhammad (1978: 29).

ment with the thoughts and points of view of the inhabitants of India, regardless of their creed,[7] as well as keep the latter informed about the methods and policies of British rule.[8] This was done by publishing the contents of the journal in Urdu as well as in English, that is, on each page one could find an Urdu text immediately followed by its English version (Shabir and Khakan 2005: 70).

Within a short period of time after its foundation, the fruits of the efforts of the Scientific Society members could be seen on the ground. According to Muhammad Y. Abbasi (1987: 19), about 25 books on various subjects, ranging from electricity to agriculture, were translated into Urdu. Furthermore, membership to the Society, which initially did not exceed 227 members, passed on to 433 by 1866 (Muhammad 1978: xiv).

With this increase in activity and staff, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan thought it unwise to confine the work of the Scientific Society to the diffusion of modern knowledge by means of translation. Thus, a new objective was to be adopted by the members of the Society which included, among others, the improvement of agriculture in the South Asian subcontinent. This, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan thought, could be fulfilled by introducing the recently invented agricultural tools and instruments used in Europe (Muhammad 1978: xiv). Indeed, in Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's opinion, Indian farmers had to acquaint themselves with the new methods and modern innovations in agronomy, and hence, towards this end, by September 1866, he asked the Colonial Government for a grant of land that the Society could use as an experimental farm (Malik 1980: 88). In this respect, H. Malik quoted Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1980: 88) as saying that the Scientific Society would use the land in order to:

> improve the operations of husbandry and to introduce the European agricultural implements and machinery into India ... to set up and arrange those implements so as publicly to show their working to the people.

These achievements were going to produce a good return for the Society. In fact, to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's satisfaction, the Scientific Society received a very positive welcome from the British authorities as well as from some local magnates, Muslims and Hindus alike. For instance, as a token of recognition, the Colonial Government offered a piece of land to the Scientific Society so that the latter could set up its premises (Abbasi 1987: 19). Moreover, even the Duke of Argyll, the then first Secretary of State for India, extended his patronage to the Society (19). With regard to local support, probably the most significant contribution came from Raja Jeykishen Dass, a local Hindu of high standing and influence who shared the same views with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. About Raja Jeykishen Dass, Shun Muhammad stated that "it would be no exaggeration to say that much of the success of the movement (i.e., the Scientific Society) was due to his indefatigable efforts" (1978: xiv).

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's positive opinion about Western education was further reinforced after the trip that he had made to Britain in 1869, which had a great impact on him. During his stay in London, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was fascinated by the greatness and considerable refinement of the British social life which, he believed, was a result of the education of both men and women (Hay 1992: 186). This can be found in one of the letters that he sent home, in which he declared:

> All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England ... This is entirely due to the education of the men and women ... (quoted in Hay 1992: 187).

He then added that "unless the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here, it is impossible for a native to become civilized and honoured" (Hay 1992: 187).

Upon his return to the South Asian subcontinent in 1870, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan wanted to determine the root reasons behind the disproportionately small number of Indian Muslims in Government schools and colleges, compared to their Hindu fellow countrymen. Towards this end, he organized a committee whose task was to find out, objectively, why his coreligionists adopted a negative attitude towards the Government sponsored system of education, and to suggest ways and means to popularise the study of Western sciences among the Muslim community (Muhammad 1978: xix). According to Sanjay Seth (2006: 58), this committee, whose name was the "Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Muhammadans of India" (in Urdu: Khwastgaran-i-Talim-i-Musalman), invited essayists throughout

7 It should be noted that the Scientific Society was non-communal in its character (Abbasi 1987: 19).

8 G. Ali Khan (2004: 63). Describing this journal, Ghulam Shabir and Baber Khakan stated that it was not "a newspaper for bringing news of everyday occurrences to its readers," but rather, it "reflected Muslim sentiments and point of view on religious, social and political aspects of their lives" (2005: 70).

India to write investigative reports about the just mentioned points; in return, the top three reports would be honoured by awards.[9]

Hafeez Malik (1980: 126) asserted that 32 essays in total were submitted to the Select Committee, which was composed of 19 members, with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan as its secretary. After carefully scrutinizing the submissions, the Select Committee ended up with a set of findings that were very similar to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's views (126).

To begin with, most of the essayists agreed on the fact that the Indian Muslims objected to sending their sons to British sponsored schools due to the failure of the latter to dispense religious instructions, particularly in the elementary education (Malik 1980: 128). As a matter of fact, in pre-British India, Muslim children always started their learning process with the Holy Quran and some other rituals for prayers (128). Nevertheless, under the British rule, this was discontinued in public schools in favour of the introduction of Christian scriptures, a move that worried Indian Muslims a great deal (Muhammad 1978: xix).

Meanwhile, the majority of the essayists were against the idea of introducing religious instruction in Government-maintained schools for fear of distorting Islam and thus producing "false notions" (Malik 1980: 128). However, they deemed it necessary to make private arrangements for the study of Islam, given the fact that the English education could produce disbelief in this religion among young Muslim boys (Seth 2006: 59). Commenting on this point, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan stated that "he had never yet met a man who knew English and who had still full respect for all the religious beliefs and venerations" (quoted in Malik 1980: 128). To back up his statement, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan quoted Sir William Wilson Hunter as saying: "The luxurious religions of Asia shrivel into dry sticks when brought into contact with the icy realities of Western sciences" (128).

Furthermore, it was commonly assumed among the majority of those who had submitted their essays to the Select Committee that the kind of education brought by the British would corrupt the morals and behaviour of the young Muslim students as well as bring about the absence of traditional politeness and courtesy among them (Malik 1980: 128). In this respect, Hafeez Malik remarked that "humility, good breeding, and respect for the elders and superiors were replaced by pride, haughtiness, and impudence" (1980: 129). The essayists attributed this change in the comportment of the Indian Muslim students to the fact that teachers could hardly manage to have enough time to inculcate good manners and moral principles in their students. As a means for this purpose, the essayists suggested the appointment of good-mannered teachers (Malik 1980: 129).

Some of the essayists attributed the almost total absence of the Muslim students from the Government-maintained schools to the economic backwardness and widespread poverty among the Muslim community (Seth 2006: 59 f.). However, the Select Committee cast doubt on this idea and commented that "'if Muslims could lavish large sums in the celebration of absurd and unreasonable ceremonies connected with their children,' then why could they not 'lay aside only one half of such sums for the education of their children?'" (Malik 1980: 130).

Actually, this opinion of the Select Committee was backed up by other essayists who assumed that Muslim aloofness towards Government educational institutions was a matter of mentality. In other words, some Muslim parents, particularly the rich ones, were reluctant to send their sons to schools as they could afford their schooling at home. Others believed that Muslim upper classes were generally inclined to luxury and regarded it as a degrading behaviour to send their sons to schools. Still others believed that the excessive love of Muslim parents towards their sons made them unwilling to send them to school (Muhammad 1978: xix).

Apart from that, it is interesting to note that a very few essayists, apparently applying the norm of population ratio, denied the assumption that the Indian Muslims were at all underrepresented in Government schools (Seth 2006: 58), on the grounds that the Muslim community constituted only a quarter of the inhabitants of the South Asian subcontinent. As a matter of fact, this statement was supported by some members of the Colonial Government. For instance, Kempson, the then Director of Public Instruction in colonial India, considered normal the paucity of Muslims in Government-maintained schools when compared to the Hindu attendance because of the fact that the Muslim community was largely outnumbered by the Hindus (Malik 1980: 138). In order to substantiate his opinion, Kempson based his argument on the data provided by the 1870 census. Referring to the Northwest Provinces as an illustration, he stated that the proportion of Muslims

9 The committee offered cash prizes of Rs. 500, Rs. 300, and Rs. 150 for the three best essays (Malik 1980: 126).

to Hindus in this region was 14 percent, whereas in Government schools they constituted between 15 and 16 percent of the total number. Moreover, at other non governmental schools, Muslims represented 32 percent of the total number of students (Malik 1980: 138). Nonetheless, the Select Committee was swift in discarding these essayists' views based on Muslim-Hindu ratio and revealed that "Government itself admits the fact and is in search of a remedy" (*Report of the Members* 1978: 339).

Thus, having recognized the main reasons behind the Muslims' objection to the Western educational system, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers, determined more than ever to reconcile their coreligionists with modern education, came up with a programme whereby Muslim students could acquire Western education without detriment to Islamic teachings (Symond 1949: 29). This led them, initially, to embark on a nationwide campaign to collect funds in order to set up a modern educational institution,[10] where, in the words of G. Ali Khan (2004: 64), "Muslims might acquire an English education without prejudice to their religion." To Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's satisfaction, this goal was attained by 1875 in Aligarh, where a Muslim college, known as the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, was founded.[11] In this college, both Islamic and Western studies were to be offered (Hay 1992: 182). About this institution, Sharif al-Mujahid (2006) wrote:

> The College was designed to give the Muslim youth the benefits of modern education without impairing their faith, to meet their prejudice against missionary schools, and to redress their complaint of the absence of a steadying moral code in the universities.

According to Ruswan (1997: 35 f.) the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was made up of two departments: English and Oriental. In the first department all subjects were taught in the English language, whereas Arabic and Persian were taught as a second language. On the other hand, in the second department, some subjects like literature and history were taught in Arabic and Persian, while other subjects, like geography, mathematics, arts, and sciences, were taught in Urdu. In this department, English was only taught as a second language.

Meanwhile, in the religious sphere, Muslim students in this new college were required to perform the five prayers on a daily basis and to fast the whole month of Ramadan. In addition, they were also involved in Islamic festivities such as the celebration of the Prophet Mohammed's birthday and both holy feasts, namely Eid ul-Fitr and Eid ul-Adha (Ruswan 1997: 36 f.). It is obvious therefore that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers, while conceiving the blueprint for this college, had in mind the idea of reinculcating Islamic fundamentals into the Muslim students. Commenting on this statement, Ruswan (1997: 37) stated that:

> All of the academic and religious instruction was geared to providing students with a sense of Muslim identity, something which had deteriorated under British rule.

By the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, which received the "blessings" of the Colonial Government,[12] Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's objectives were twofold: on the one hand, he wanted this college to produce candidates who would be able to compete with other communities in South Asia for higher positions in the Government service;[13] and on the other hand, he wanted to see future Muslim leaders who would be as capable as the Hindu majority and take the defence of the Muslim community (Symonds 1949: 29 f.). Be that as it may, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's ultimate ideal was to see in his community young people imbibed with European ideas and principles, and fervent believers in Islam at the same time. In this regard, M. Asaduddin (2003: 45) quoted him as saying:

> The aim of the [Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental] college was "to form a class of persons, Muhammadan in religion, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect.

At the same time, the college was to be a true replica of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. In other words, as he had seen that in Britain, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan intended this college to be

10 Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's fund-raising campaign was very fruitful. According to M. A. Karandikar, besides the Muslim and Hindu upper classes, the British as well as the local princes also contributed to the funds (1968: 143).

11 By the first quarter of the twentieth century, this College became known as the Aligarh University (Symonds 1949: 29).

12 As a token of recognition and appreciation of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's achievement, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy of British India, laid the foundation stone of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1877 (Hay 1992: 182).

13 Regarding this objective Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was reassured. In his opinion, the graduates of this college would be welcomed in Government positions because of the presence of the Viceroy and the Governor of the province at the college's annual ceremonies (Symonds 1949: 29).

a boarding school, according to the Oxford and Cambridge model, where students could study and live at the same time (Symonds 1949: 29). Ruswan (1997: 37) described this institution:

> . . . the college was equipped with dormitory-style accommodations, where hostel authorities provided all furniture, even bedding and servants, so that students did not need to bring anything from home.

Actually, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan insisted on students' remaining on campus, away from their homes, during the whole term. According to Shun Muhammad (1978: xix), the reason behind this was that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was convinced that "parental affection generally marred the progress of these boys." In the meantime, G. Ali Khan (2004: 64) pointed out that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan set up a boarding house on the premises of the college so that parents could be reassured that their children's conduct would be carefully supervised. Lending support to this statement, Ruswan (1997: 37) stated that:

> This residential system enabled authorities to monitor and isolate the student's daily activities from outside influences which might impede their studies.

Here, it is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that this College was initially conceived to help Indian Muslims to acquire modern education in order to keep pace with – or rather overtake – the other Indian communities, notably the Hindus, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan by no means intended it to be communal in character, that is, only catering to the Muslim community. In fact, according to Stephen Hay (1992: 182), this college was open to all Indian communities, including Hindus, whose caste-related dietary customs were duly respected. The rationale behind this was that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan could not refuse admission to non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, since the latter had significantly contributed, financially as well as materially, to the founding of this College (Ruswan 1997: 39).

It is also worth noting that not everybody could afford to enter this college due to the high registration fees that students were required to pay upon entrance. Indeed, only students from nobility and higher social classes could set foot there (Ruswan 1997: 38). According to Ruswan (38), this elitist approach was adopted by the College administration in order to, on the one hand, make education more valuable, and on the other hand, to create a Muslim elite. In Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's opinion, the aim of this institution was the creation of future leaders of the Muslim community, and this could only be achieved "if the Muslim aristocracy sent their sons to the college" (38). Corroborating this statement, Hafeez Malik (1980: 101) wrote:

> Sir Sayyid abandoned the Mughal India's concept of egalitarian mass education, and adopted instead Britain's pragmatic but aristocratic policy of advanced and elitist education.

To conclude, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was a monument that embodied Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's ideas with regard to Western education. In fact, he was wise enough to see the danger that the Muslims of India faced unless they took to education. For him, the only way to bridge the wide gap and thaw the icy relations that existed between his coreligionists and the colonizers was to acquire Western education. In his view, it would equip them with the necessary tools to communicate efficiently with the British as well as to make progress, as confirmed by the speech that he delivered on the occasion of the founding of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (1972: 129):

> I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of the community of feeling between the two races, was due to the absence of the community of ideas and the community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that so long as this state of things continued, the Mussalmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education.

References Cited

Abbasi, Muhammad Yusuf
1987 The Genesis of Muslim Fundamentalism in British India. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Applied Political Research.

Ahmad Khan, Sir Sayyid
1972 Speech at the Founding of the Anglo-Oriental College. In: S. Mohammad (ed.), Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; pp. 128–129. Bombay: Nachiketa Publications.

Alavi, Hamza
2002 On Religion and Secularism in the Making of Pakistan. *<http://www.sacw.net/2002/HamzaAlaviNov02.html>* [20.06.2008]

Asaduddin, M.
2003 The West in the Nineteenth-Century Imagination. Some Reflections on the Transition from a Persianate Know-

ledge System to the Template of Urdu and English. *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 18: 45–65. <*www.urdustudies.com/pdf/18/08AsaduddinPersianate.pdf*> [20.06.2008]

Aziz, Khursheed Kamal
1967 The Making of Pakistan. A Study in Nationalism. London: Chatto & Windus.

Desai, Akshayakumar Ramanlal
1959 Social Background of Indian Nationalism. Bombay: Popular Book Depot. [3rd ed.]

Hay, Stephen (ed.)
1992 Sources of Indian Tradition. Vol. 2: Modern India and Pakistan. London: Penguin Books. [2nd ed.]

Karandikar, M. A.
1968 Islam in India's Transition to Modernity. Karachi: Eastern Publishers.

Khan, Ghazanfar Ali
2004 Educational Conditions of Indian Muslims during 19th Century. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 52/1: 41–76.

Malik, Hafeez
1980 Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan. New York: Columbia University Press. (Studies in Oriental Culture, 15)

Muhammad, Shun (ed.)
1978 The Aligarh Movement. Basic Documents, 1864–1898. 3 Vols. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan.

al-Mujahid, Sharif
2006 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Muslim Renaissance. *Dawn – The Review*: December 30, 2006. <*http://www.dawn.com/events/pml/review39.htm*> [20.06.2008]

Report of the Members
1978 Report of the Members of the Select Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muhammadans of India. In: S. Muhammad (ed.), Vol. 2; pp. 337–380.

Row, B. G.
1987 Hinduism and Other World Religions. Tirupati: Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams.

Ruswan
1997 Colonial Experience and Muslim Educational Reforms. A Comparison of the Aligarh and the Muhammadiya Movements. Montreal. [Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies]

Seth, Sanjay
2006 Governmentality, Pedagogy, Identity. The Problem of the Backward Muslim in Colonial India. In: C. Bates (ed.), Beyond Representation. Colonial and Postcolonial Constructions of Indian Identity; pp. 55–76. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Shabir, Ghulam, and **Baber Khakan**
2005 Growth and Development of the Muslim Press in the Sub-Continent. *Journal of Research* (Faculty of Languages & Islamic Studies) 7: 69–75.

Symonds, Richard
1949 The Making of Pakistan. London: Faber and Faber.

Shi'i Institution of Temporary Marriage in Tehran

State Ideology and Practice

Paulina Niechciał

Introduction

During my stay in Iran in 2005, I carried out a fieldwork on Shi'i temporary marriage. The only anthropological book on the topic is "Law of Desire. Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran," which is based on a field research made by Shahla Haeri, an Iranian anthropologist, at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, mostly in pilgrimage centers of Mashhad and Qom. In 1981, Haeri foresaw a rapid comeback of temporary marriage, not only in the pilgrimage centers but in other cities as well (1989: 9). I was curious what happened to the institution of temporary marriage during the regime of the Islamic Republic, and how it currently exists in Tehran, the capital and the most modern of Iranian cities.

The main data-gathering technique I used was a qualitative interviews, and all of them were held in Persian.[1] The topic of temporary marriage is very controversial and there is no community of temporarily married people, so as Shahla Haeri did, I also relied mostly on a network of friends and acquaintances to find my informants. It was not easy because I am not Iranian and that is why the fieldwork I made in Tehran in summer 2005 was just a preliminary one. However, I believe, it helps to understand the place of temporary marriage and its significance in modern Iranian society.

Rules of Temporary Marriage

One of the most fundamental bases of social relations, rules of social organization, and social control in Islam is the *mahram/nāmahram*[2] paradigm. A *mahram* relation between a man and a woman is a lawful relation, which means that the rules

1 The Polish transcription of the interviews is enclosed in my Master's thesis "Temporary Marriage in Contemporary Iran. Theory and Practice" (2006: 125–153) defended in 2006 at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology of Culture, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland. It is also stored at the archives of the above-mentioned department.

2 *Mahram/nāmahram* is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic term.