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## Editorial

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WE ARE PLEASED TO PRESENT THE SEVENTH ISSUE of the *IRCICA Journal* as a leading peer-reviewed journal on Islamic history and civilization to the attention of academic and scholarly community. As ever, the current issue contains results of latest scholarly research on various aspects of Islamic history, civilization, architecture, arts and culture. Scholarly articles in Arabic and English contained in this volume of the *IRCICA Journal* reflect the broad geographical scope of the journal which encompasses the Balkans, Middle East and North Africa, South and Southeast Asia and Central, Western and Eastern Africa.

As far as the contents of this issue are concerned, six original articles are presented to the attention of scholars and researchers concentrating on the study of Islamic history and civilization. All written by erudite authors distinguished in their respective fields, three of these articles are written in English and three in Arabic. The wide scope and depth of the articles selected for this issue of the journal reflects the strong commitment of our center to contribute world-class research within our institutional mandate.

The first article of this issue entitled "State of Awadh: A Study of Splendid Culture and Pluralist Society" is written by Dr. Naumana Kiran from the University of the Punjab in Lahore, Pakistan. The study underlines the great range of cultural developments and diversity in the society of Awadh during the second-half of the eighteenth and first-half of nineteenth centuries in India. In this regard, the article evaluates the internal administrative system, interstate relations, and main cultural and architectural achievements. The study also assesses the status of royal woman who enjoyed a powerful position in state matters unlike many other states at the time in India.

The second article is titled "The Struggle to Deliver Utilitarian Education to Muslims in East Africa since 1900" and is written by Prof. Abdu B. K. Kasozi. For a long time during the colonial and postcolonial periods, Muslims in East Africa were the least

trained in terms of practical life skills, due to lack of utilitarian education. Although Muslims were educated in Islamic religious schools they lacked the specialized skills to participate in the mainstream of their society's professions. The skills to participate in the emerging colonial East African society were obtained in a number of elite schools that gave both a secular and a Christian religious curriculum. Muslims shunned these schools for fear of conversion to Christianity and so missed out in obtaining these skills. The article explores this dichotomy in detail, highlights its contribution to the Muslim's low status in East African society and proposes a new road map for developing the demanded skills among the Muslim community.

The third article of the volume by Dr. Aladin Husic from the University of Sarajevo is entitled "Pilgrimage Practice in Bosnia during the Classical Era". Dr. Husic investigates the multifaceted connections between Bosnia and Islamic world with a focus on the pilgrimage practice. Bosnia along with Albania were two provinces of the Ottoman Empire where Islam has left its strongest impact. But the respective connection of Bosnia with the Islamic civilization was much stronger according to the author in comparison to other neighboring provinces and regions in the Balkans. Mass conversions to Islam that occurred in Bosnia enabled the region to distinguish itself from its immediate environs and supplied a comparatively larger number of pilgrims which indicated a more dynamic relationship with Makkah al-Mukarramah and al-Madinah al-Munawwarah.

The first article of the Arabic section is written by Dr. Saleh Ali al Shoura from the World Islamic Sciences and Education University in Amman. Dr. al-Shoura's article is titled "Contribution of Sultan Suleiman the Lawgiver in the new urban development of al-Quds (1520-1566 AD)" and deals with the construction of the city walls and castle of al-Quds as a defense system for the protection of the city during the reign of the Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. The article focuses on the construction and restoration of water channels and public fountains of al-Quds during the same era. The second article in Arabic written by Dr. Abdullah Saeed from the Lebanese

University in Lebanon and entitled "Ottoman Khans in Lebanon in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: An Economic and Social Interaction Station Par Excellence" focuses on the Ottomans khans (caravanserais) in Lebanon in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a kind of trade structures intended for traders to rest and sell their goods. By describing the most important Ottoman khans in the big cities the author portrays their functions and what kind of services they provided for merchants and traders. Dr. Saeed concludes his article by explaining how these khans function today as houses for the Palestinian refugees.

The next article entitled "Aspects of the Islamic Civilization in the Kingdom of Kanem: Lake Chad Basin", prepared by Dr. Ibn Omar Omar Obaidullah from the International University of Africa, Khartoum, Sudan examines the advent of Islam into the region of Lake Chad Basin, which was known to medieval historians and geographers under the name of Central Sudan, the establishment of the Islamic Kanem Kingdom in this region and the emergence of Islamic culture and civilization there.

We hope that this issue of *IRCICA Journal* will spark scholarly attention and promote further research into various aspects of Islamic history and civilization by scholars from all over the world. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all the respected authors for their valuable contributions.

Halit Eren, Dr.  
Director General, IRCICA



# State of Awadh, A Study of Splendid Culture and Pluralist Society

Dr. Naumana Kiran\*

## ABSTRACT

This article focuses on great cultural development and diversity in Awadhi society during the second-half of eighteenth and the first-half of nineteenth century India. It evaluates what was the internal system of government, what kind of relations were developed by the rulers with the neighboring states, and how high-level cultural and architectural achievements had been accomplished by the state. It further assesses the status of royal women and finds that royal women of Awadh enjoyed a powerful position in the state-matters unlike many other states of the time in India. Starting with the establishment of the state and a short discussion on various rulers, it reaches to the conclusion that although political standing of Awadh was weak, cultural and literary development had left unforgettable marks on the history of the Muslims of India. The growth of Urdu poetry, prose, drama and music was the hallmark of that advancement. The other unforgettable element of the history of Awadh was its existence as a pluralist society, which was unique in the Indian states of the time. The article has been produced on the basis of primary and secondary sources. It includes historical accounts written by contemporary historians as well as cultural writings penned by poets and literary figures of the time besides letters and other writings of the rulers of Awadh. Furthermore, accounts of the British travelers and others add a particular dimension to the study at hand.

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## Introduction

Eighteenth century India was passing through an age of transformation, in a way that Mughal empire was experiencing a downfall and various small states were emerging on the map of India. Awadh was one of those states, which was established by Mir Muhammad Amin, an Iranian governor. He was appointed as governor of Awadh on 15 September 1722 by the Mughal emperor, where he established an independent dynasty gradually under Mughal sovereignty and adopted the title of Sada'at Khan Bahadur. This article evaluates the state-structure, established by the new rulers, its relations with the neighboring states and excessive involvement of the British in the internal matters of the state. The memorable aspect of the public life was high standard of literary and cultural activities, architectural achievements and policy of tolerance. This resulted in the emergence of a pluralist society. Pluralism was visible in every field of life: in economic opportunity or literary activities, in musical or architectural development, in matrimonial alliances or religious tolerance. It was due to liberal policy and tolerant attitude of the rulers that, inspite of weak political standings, very strong traditions in terms of etiquettes, manners, development of Urdu and progress of multiple fields of art and architecture had been established. In this process, royal women were equal participants.

### 1. The State's Internal Structure and Foreign Policy

Awadh, also known as Avadh or Oudh, is located in north-eastern part of Uttar Pradesh, which is the heart of the Indo-Gangetic plain. The origin of its name is traced back to Ayodhya, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Kosala.<sup>1</sup> The region was conquered by Muslims in the twelfth century and was incorporated

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<sup>1</sup> Maulana Mohammad Najam ul-Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Oudh*, Vol. 1 (*History of Oudh*), Udupur, 1910, pp. 33-34 and Munshi Ram Sahai, *Ahsan-ut Tawareekh: Tarikh-i-Subah Oudh (The Best of the Histories: History of the Province of Oudh)*, Munshi Puran Chand Tamannai Press, Lucknow, p. 7.

into the Mughal Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the population of the region was Hindu and Muslims always remained as a minority<sup>2</sup> until the annexation of the state by British East India Company.

The state's life in Awadh can be divided into three periods; first under Mughal sovereignty from 1722 to 1764, second under the influence of the British East India Company (BEIC) besides Mughal sovereignty from 1764 to 1819 and third under the influence of BEIC from 1819 to 1856. During the first and second phases, rulers of Awadh adopted the title of *nawab* and in the third phase, they adopted the title of *padshah* (king). Awadh enjoyed autonomy in matters of execution of power at the local level during the first phase. However, during the second and more specifically during the third phase, independence was largely symbolic as the British authority exercised great influence in the significant matters of the state. The British resident was powerful enough to advice on the appointment of ministers. State army also included a large number of British officers.

Sada'at Khan Bahadur, the founder of the state, established the capital of his state in Faizabad, but later in 1775 it was shifted to Lucknow. In 1740, he was succeeded by his nephew and son in law Mirza Muhammad Muqem entitled as Safdar Jang. Shujaad-Daulah succeeded Safdar Jang in 1754. Asif ud Daula took over in January 1775 and ruled until September 1797.<sup>3</sup> Wazir Ali could only rule for a year and was replaced by Sa'adat Ali Khan. The BEIC also cancelled the recognition of Wazir Ali and recognized Sa'adat Ali Khan.<sup>4</sup>

Early *nawabs* of the state were capable rulers and resisted against BEIC. However, last five rulers of the dynasty including

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<sup>2</sup> Veena Talwar Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989, p. 263 and Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, The Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1933, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Maulana Mohammad Najam ul Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Oudh*, Vol. II, p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> Sir W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, revised by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1973 (reprint), pp. 473-74.

Ghazi al-Din Hydar (r. 1814-1827), Nasir al-Din Hydar (r. 1827-1837), Mohammad Ali Shah (1837-1842), Amjad Ali Shah (1842-1847) and Wajid Ali Shah (r. 1847-1856) were benevolent and humane, though were powerless due to 'increasing economic and political encroachment'<sup>5</sup> of the BEIC's officials. Finally, the company annexed the state in 1856 whereas Wajid Ali Shah was retired with stipend of fifteen lacs of rupees. King Wajid Ali Shah accepted it reluctantly and left for London to complaint against the act of the company. Unfortunately, he could not move away from Calcutta and spent last years of his life there.<sup>6</sup> During the War of Independence in 1857, freedom fighters appointed one of the sons of Wajid Ali Shah, who was only 10 years old, under supervision of Hazrat Mahal, as king of Awadh and ignited a rebellion. This situation continued for almost seven months. British forces diverted back to Awadh in 1858 and defeated the disorganized, disunited force of Awadh within two or three days.<sup>7</sup>

### **3. Internal System of Government**

Indian states during the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century were mostly based on military despotism. The government was expected to perform two duties: collection of revenue and maintenance of peace. Awadh was performing these two duties in the best way. Mughal administrative system was continued in Awadh except some changes in *foujdari* and *jagirdari* system.

In the initial years, Burhan ul-Mulk introduced reforms to

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<sup>5</sup> Nawab Husayn Ali Khan, *Tarikh-i-Husayniyyah* cited in Sajida Sultana Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India: Rulers, Historians, Ulama and Sufis*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2012, p.78.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Mohammad Baqir, ed., *Tarikh-i-Mumtaz (History of Mumtaz)*, Urdu Markaz, Lahore, 1952, pp. 3-4. He wrote many letters to his wife from there in which he had written about his hardships.

<sup>7</sup> Abdul Halim Sharar, *Hindustan Mein Mashriqi Tamadun Ka Akhri Namoonah (The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture in India)* Merkantil Press, Lahore, pp. 58-60.

improve *jagirdari* system. Lands were granted to the local elites and reasonably good flow of trade was continued. It resulted in the emergence of the new local elite, mostly Indian Muslims, Afghans and Hindus.<sup>8</sup> This group remained support-base of *nawabs* of Awadh. The size of *jagirs* could not be reduced by Burhan ul- Mulk but Safdar Jang gave big *jagirs* only to his close associates and trustworthy individuals. *Foujdars* were gradually abolished.<sup>9</sup> *Naibs* or *nazims* had taken place of *foujdars* under the new system, who had executive, military and fiscal power. Diwan was in charge of revenue and civil justice of the whole state. He was accountable to the deputy governor or *naib*. Later, in 1751 a separate *naib* was appointed to each province; Awadh and Allahabad. Besides the *naib* and *diwans*, there were a *bakhshi* (pay master), a *qazi* (Muslim judge), a *sadar* (head of religious endowments and charity) and a *buyutat* (registrar of deceased person's property).<sup>10</sup> Administration of each major city was in the hands of *kotwal*, military head of the city, who was supported by a number of military and civil servants. The state had a big army, stationed at garrisons in all districts, to face landlord's rebellious attitude.

Revenue policy was soft and people were enjoying maximum prosperity. The height was observed during Safdar Jang's period. He divided Awadh and Allahabad into larger districts for the collection of revenue. In each district a few of the *parganas* were grouped together and placed under an *amil* (revenue collector) who was assisted by *tehsildars* posted in each *pargana* or *mahal*.<sup>11</sup>

First three *nawabs* of Awadh ran the affairs of the state in an effective manner. However, Asif ud-Doula was not sufficiently concerned with the administrative matters. As a result, the company's

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<sup>8</sup> Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2004, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-1748*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1991, p. 242.

<sup>10</sup> Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, The Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1933, p. 261.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 261-62.

resident started taking more interest in maintenance of justice and peace in the state. The resident wrote many letters to *nawab* for improvement of administrative system besides system of justice. In one of the letters Cornwallis suggested to establish two courts in Lucknow; civil and criminal courts. He further advised to separate multiple offices instead of accumulating these into one person.<sup>12</sup> Besides, he convinced Asif ud-Daula to reduce the number of state's forces.<sup>13</sup> With the gradual increase of the British involvement in the state-affairs, the administrative structure turned out to be a 'curious hybrid-half Mughal and half English.'<sup>14</sup> Especially after the signing of a new treaty on 10 November 1801 between *nawab* Sada'at Ali Khan and the company, the company acquired occupancy rights and the right of administration of nine districts and its offices. The districts included Rohilkhand, Mainpuri, Etawa, Cawnpur, Allahabad, Azamgarh, Basti, Gorakhpur and Farrukhabad.<sup>15</sup> The *nawab's* authority was restricted to a great extent and resident was made so much powerful that he could override *nawab's* decisions.<sup>16</sup> The number of the British forces also increased in Awadh during his period and this happened without getting approval from the *nawab*.<sup>17</sup> The height was observed during Wajid Ali Shah's regime as he could not appoint chief minister of his choice. It was due to extra inclination of later rulers towards cultural activities and luxuries and less interest in administrative matters and military affairs that the British started interfering in the state affairs.

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<sup>12</sup> Purnendu Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801*, Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1943, p. 145.

<sup>13</sup> Abdul Halim Sharar, *Hindustan Mein Mashriqi Tamadun Ka Akhri Namoonah (The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture in India)*, Merkantil Press, Lahore, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> G. D. Bhatnagar, *Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965, p. 156.

<sup>15</sup> Jadunath Sarkar, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire, 1754 to 1771 Vol. IV*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007 (paperback), p. 223.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* Almost similar account is given by Sharar, in *Hindustan Mein Mashriqi Tamadun*, pp. 30-35.

<sup>17</sup> Ghani, *Oudh Vol. IV*, p. 35.

## b. Foreign Policy of the State

Rulers of Awadh adopted a foreign policy line which suited them. During the first phase, Awadh supported central Mughal Empire when and where it was needed. Moreover, state of Awadh under Shuja ud-Doula supported Nadir Shah in his encounter with Marathas in 1761 in the third battle of Panipat.<sup>18</sup> He had enhanced the power of Awadh to such a level that he behaved like an independent partner in the alliance of the equals. He continued with the semi-autonomous, regional political status of the state of Awadh with the symbolic authority of the Mughal Emperor. His power remained unchallenged in his domain of Awadh and Allahabad until his encounter with BEIC in 1764. Shuja ud-Daula fought against BEIC in an alliance with the former ruler of Bengal Mir Qasim and Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. They faced defeat in the battle of Buxar and under the terms of the treaty of Allahabad, signed in 1764, Shuja ud-Daula had to pay five million rupees to BEIC. Further under the terms of the treaty, *nawab* and the company were bound to defend each other's territories and that British resident was appointed to the court of Awadh.<sup>19</sup> By this token, BEIC found its way into Awadh and it marked the start of second phase of Awadh's life.

Whereas during the second and third phases, Awadh and the company developed a relationship based on the mutual need. The State of Awadh continued its symbolic affiliation with the Mughal Empire during this phase. Awadh had to face foreign threats from multiple neighbors including Marathas under Sindhia, the Sikhs, several Rajput Rajas and Rohilla Nawabs of Saharanpur and Rampur. Besides this, Shah of Afghanistan's attacks on Delhi had spread horror in Lucknow on many occasions. On the other side, the company's major enemies at the time were Marathas and

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<sup>18</sup> Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2004, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Jadunath Sarkar, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire, 1754 to 1771*, Vol. II, p. 326; and Richard Barnett, *North India Between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals and the British, 1720-1801*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1980, p. 69.

Mysur. The company also needed financial resources of Awadh badly during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century due to its severe financial crises.<sup>20</sup> During this period, many Mughal princes took refuge and stayed in Lucknow for many years especially during Asif-ud-Daula's regime<sup>21</sup> and the company did not interfere in this affair of the state.

The *nawabs* of Awadh were in treaty relationship and financially speaking they were supporting a big part of the British army. As a result, the company was responsible for the defense of the state. The British resident permanently stayed in the court of Awadh and different sections of the court asked for his or of his forces' help on many occasions. He usually catered the requests if suited to the company's policy. Courtiers asked for his help against Almas Khan in January 1785 during reign of Asif ud-Daula. He tested faithfulness of Almas Khan and did not appoint troops in Lucknow for the said purpose.<sup>22</sup> Badshah Begum<sup>23</sup> asked for help of the British resident and his army after the death of her husband in October 1827, which was declined by the resident.<sup>24</sup> The details of similar kinds of incidents had been given by Sleeman in his account of journey to Awadh.<sup>25</sup> In a nutshell, foreign policy could only be designed according to the British interest under 1801 Treaty.<sup>26</sup> The rulers were totally bound by the BEIC to design its foreign links or

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<sup>20</sup> Purnendu Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801*, Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1943, p. 74.

<sup>21</sup> Mirza Ali Bakht Bahadur Azfari, *Waqiat-i-Azfari (Events of Azfari)* trans. Abdus Sattar, Yakta Kitabain, Lahore, 2008, p. 92 and pp. 108-110.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>23</sup> She was wife of King Ghazi ud-Din, appointed in July 1814 and the caretaker of Mirza Naseer ud-Din Haider. She made a coup in favour of Muna Jan, which was failed. She enjoyed full powers within palace during kingship of her husband.

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, *Tarikh Badshah Begam (History of Badshah Begum)*, K. Mitra, Allahabad, 1938, pp. 55-58.

<sup>25</sup> Major General Sir W. H. Sleeman, *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849-1850*, Vol. 1, Helicon Publications, Lucknow, 1989, (reprint), pp. 6-8.

<sup>26</sup> G. D. Bhatnagar, *Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965, p. 156.

to amend any change in the existing external policy. This situation gradually worsened over time.

## 2. Cultural and Architectural Achievements

Lucknow, besides Delhi, was one of the greatest cultural centers of the Muslims of Upper India. The most important aspect of the state was its emergence as one of the greatest cultural basis of Muslim empires in the whole of India.<sup>27</sup> Lucknow was the center of activities which came into prominence right after restoration of peace and stability in the region under Sada'at Khan. Awadh improved such a distinct civilization that it acquired prominence as 'Lucknow culture'<sup>28</sup> in the whole of India. The uniqueness of Awadh's culture was due to prevalence or large scale acceptance of philosophy of co-existence, which is the most suitable setting for a multi-cultural society like Awadh. Muslim rulers appointed Hindus on important positions especially in the field of financial administration, revenue, trade and business. Generally, *nawabs* of Awadh were popular for their generosity and introducing the highly Persianised-Indo-Mughal style of living and court manners.

Rulers of Awadh were practicing Shia faith with scrupulous care and regularity and adopted pure Shia rituals on state level. The most prominent rituals were holding of *majlis* (mourning assembly), *soz khawani* and taking out *tazia* processions.<sup>29</sup> Sleeman had also mentioned the hectic schedules during Islamic month of *Moharram*.<sup>30</sup> Some innovations had also been introduced specifically by the females of the royal family (especially by Badshah Begum).

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<sup>27</sup> Francis Robinson, "The Muslims of Upper India and the Shock of the Mutiny," cited in Mushirul Hasan and Narayni Gupta, *India's Colonial Encounter: Essays in Memory of Eric Stokes*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2004 (second edition), p. 255.

<sup>28</sup> Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Awadh*, p. 247.

<sup>29</sup> Abdul Halim Sharar, *The Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, translated and edited by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain, p. 215.

<sup>30</sup> Major General Sir W. H. Sleeman, *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849-1850*, Vol. 1, Helicon Publications, Lucknow, 1989 (reprint), p. 1.

These included, first, celebration of chhati ceremony of Imam Mehdi and secondly, eleven beautiful Syed girls were declared as wives of eleven imams and were kept in the royal palace with high respect and status.<sup>31</sup> Most of these rituals gradually were adopted by Shias of the other parts of India.

### **a. Literary Activities: Poetry, Prose-Writing, Drama, Story-Telling**

State of Awadh was highly conducive to men of letters and especially to poets. Such a high quality literary work was produced in Awadh with the support and patronage of the rulers that Awadh enjoyed a unique position in the whole of India. Persian and Urdu both flourished there.<sup>32</sup> At the time, poetry was treated as a profession and poets moved from one place to another in search of a better livelihood. A number of immigrant poets besides local poets served Urdu literature in Awadh. Delhi was attacked by foreign invaders including Afghans, Iranians, Marathas and Jat armies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century time and again, so a number of poets shifted from Delhi to Awadh. Ali Javaid Zaidi has given a list of sixty-five such immigrant poets including Mir, Sauda, Fughan, Zahiqa, Jurat<sup>33</sup>, Insha, Rangin and Mushafi.<sup>34</sup>

Urdu *masnawi*, *marsiya* (elegy) and humorous poetry flourished strongly during this said period. *Marsiya* thrived due to regular mourning assemblies,<sup>35</sup> organized by Shia rulers specifically

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<sup>31</sup> Taqi Ahmed, *Tarikh Badshah Begam*, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Moeen ud-Din Aqeel, *Janubi Asia Ki Tarikh Nawisi: Noiyat, Rawait and Mayar (Historiography of South Asia: Kind, Tradition and Standard)*, Nashriyat, Lahore, 2015, p. 83.

<sup>33</sup> He was blind but wrote unique poetry. For details please consult Mirza Azfari, *Waqiat-i-Azfari*.

<sup>34</sup> Ali Jawad Zaidi, *Do Adabi Iskul (Two Schools of Literature)*, UP Urdu Academy, Lucknow, 1971, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Abdul Haleem Sharar, *The Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, translated and edited by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain, (The Omnibus Addition), p. 83.

during the month of *Muharam* and generally on other occasions. Prominent *marsiya*-composers were Mian Sikandar, Gada, Misikin, Afsurda, Mir Khliq and Mir Zahir. Mirza Dabir and Mir Anis had taken *marsiya* to the high perfection. Mir Anis also introduced *marsiya khawani* (the art of reciting elegy). *Vasokht* and *ghazal* were also paid attention.<sup>36</sup>

A bird's eye view on literature of the Awadh dynasty describes the richness of the thoughts of the poets. Urdu literature thrived strongly in that period. Urdu poetry written in Lucknow was totally different than the poetry written in Delhi. In Delhi, poetry was highly influenced by a sense of insecurity and tribulations due to unstable political circumstances. However, in Lucknow poetry was produced in an atmosphere of ease and gaiety.<sup>37</sup> Safdar Jang patronized many scholars including poets. Prominent among them were Shah Basit, Sheikh Muhammad Hassan of Persia, Syed Zain-il-Abidin Taba Tabai of Holy Mash'had, Syed Muhammad Ali Aurang Abadi, Mir Ghulam Nabi Bilgharami, Malik ul-Ulamah, Moulvi Fazlullah, Moulvi Hamdullah Khan, Mirza Ali Naqi, Shujah ud-Doulah's tutor and several others.<sup>38</sup>

Urdu drama and Urdu prose-writing originated in Lucknow. A great deal of the works of multiple poets were dramatized in Qaisar Bagh. Some theatrical companies were also opened.<sup>39</sup> The publication of Mirza Rajab Ali Beg's *Fasane-e-Ajaib* opened the gates of prose-writing. Later, *Nau Ratan* was also published in Lucknow. *Dastan goi* (the art of story-telling) became such a popular feature that many prominent individuals besides royal families appointed story-tellers on a permanent basis for entertainment in their gatherings.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>37</sup> John Pemble, *The Raj, The Indian Mutiny and the Kingdom of Oudh, 1801-1859*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1977, p. 22.

<sup>38</sup> Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 251-252.

<sup>39</sup> Sharar, *The Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, p. 85.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

A very important aspect of highly literate culture of Lucknow was the great service performed by Ulema of Farangi Mahall and more specifically by this institution of religious learning. It played a prodigious role in spreading religious education and sufism in the region.<sup>41</sup> The scholars and students of this institution always emphasized the religious tolerance. This whole literary and cultured practice of the rulers had a great impact on the manners and style of speaking on general public. They gradually became eloquent and witty in speaking Urdu.

#### **b. Music**

The eighteenth and the first half of nineteenth centuries were a crucial period for formation of modern Indian music and Awadh's contribution in this field was of high mark. *Nawabs* and kings of Awadh patronized and encouraged music and musicians. Kadar Piya composed *thumris*, which gained popularity among masses in place of classical forms of ragas and *raginis*.<sup>42</sup> Wajid Ali Shah himself was a keen musician and a lover of music. He had learnt music from Basit Khan and had invented new raginis such as *jogi*, *juhi*, *jasmine* and *shah pasand*.<sup>43</sup>

Many musicians like poets flocked from Delhi and settled in Lucknow. Prominent among them were Ghulam Rasul and Miryan Jani who were specialized in *qawali*<sup>44</sup> and after reaching to Lucknow they began to specialize in *khayal*.<sup>45</sup> *Qawali* was the most popular form of music during Ghazi ud-Din Haidar's period. Eminent *qawals* were Jhagu Khan and Ghulam Rasul. *Tappa* form

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<sup>41</sup> Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2001, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup> Sharar, *The Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, translated and edited by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain, p. 137.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>44</sup> A Muslim devotional genre.

<sup>45</sup> James Kippen, "The Musical Evolution of Lucknow," in Violette Graff, ed., *Lucknow: Memoires of a City*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997, pp. 181-183.

of music was also invented during this period.<sup>46</sup> Several hereditary families of musicians including Seniyas, descendants of Mian Tansen, were associated with the court of Lucknow. New musical instruments were also invented. Basat Khan was credited with the invention of sarod and Ghulam Ali Khan is associated with the invention of *surshringar*.<sup>47</sup>

Besides the court of Awadh, various forms of music gained popularity among different sections of the society. Especially, folk music was very popular among masses.

### c. Architectural Achievements

Besides literary achievements and new musical trends, some unique architectural styles had been introduced, only after the shift of capital to Lucknow. Although, Sada'at Khan was a literary figure and had a love for gardens, he had no passion for fine architecture. The buildings constructed during this period could not stand the ravages of time and weather, hence they decayed quickly.<sup>48</sup> Same was the fate of his palaces in Faizabad. However, Shuja ud-Daula reconstructed the ruining palaces and other buildings in the city after his defeat in the battle of Buxar.<sup>49</sup>

Asif ud-Doula was fond of construction work and besides construction of an imambara in Lucknow, Rumi *Darwaza*, after one of the gates of Constantinople, a bridge over the *gumti* was built in imitation of the bridge in Paris. Foreign travelers had spoken highly of the magnificence of buildings of Asif ud-Doula especially imambara and a mosque adjacent to it. One grand museum was also constructed by Asif ud-Doula.<sup>50</sup> The museum

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<sup>46</sup> Sharar, *The Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, p. 139.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>48</sup> Sharar, *Hindustan Mein Mashriqi Tamadun*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Purnendu Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801*, Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1943, pp. 4-5.

was full of objects like coins, clocks, guns, and mirrors. A palace was constructed six miles away from the city on the order of Asif ud-Doula.<sup>51</sup> Contemporaries were also inspired by the exemplary buildings constructed during his regime. Mughal Prince Mirza Zaheer ud-Din Azfari visited and stayed in the state of Awadh for seven years. He had well appreciated the buildings, constructed during Asif ud-Doula's regime.<sup>52</sup> His buildings were without any foreign impacts; purely Asiatic and very strong unlike buildings of future rulers of the state. Besides, many markets, shops, bridges, inns and roads were constructed.<sup>53</sup>

Some prominent buildings, constructed by *nawab* Sa'adat Ali Khan, were Munawar Bhaksh and Khurshid Manzil, besides one stable.<sup>54</sup> Ghazi ud-Din Haider constructed a replica-building of Roza-i-Hazrat Ali in which he was buried. The building still exists and is a center of attention.<sup>55</sup> In the palace of Awadh, Badshah Begum had built twelve tombs for each of the twelve imams, besides a mosque, adjacent to every tomb. One building similar to the tomb of Hazrat Abbas was also constructed.<sup>56</sup> Qaisar Bagh was constructed by Wajid Ali Shah, which was very beautiful and grand.<sup>57</sup>

The distinction of the buildings in Awadh was that besides religious and royal buildings, another category of buildings was constructed. The other type of buildings were serving for the needs of British residents. These included the observatory, the hospitals, the poor house, the canal, the Iron Bridge and the new Cawnpur Road.<sup>58</sup> Although such buildings were constructed for the benefit

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<sup>51</sup> Sharar, *Hindustan Main Mashriqi Tamadun*, p. 23.

<sup>52</sup> Azfari, *Waqiat-i-Azfari*, trans. Abdus Sattar, Yakta Kitabain, Lahore, 2008, p. 93.

<sup>53</sup> Sharar, *Hindustan Mein Mashriqi Tamadun*, p. 29 and p. 35.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>56</sup> Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, *Tarikh Badshah Begam (History of Badshah Begum)*, K. Mitra, Allahabad, 1938, p. 9.

<sup>57</sup> Sharar, *Hindustan Main Mashriqi Tamadun*, p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, The British and The City*

of the British, common people also enjoyed the advantage of the buildings.

#### d. Status of Women

Women, especially queen-mother and in some cases chief-wife of the *nawab* or king, had influential status in the court and state-affairs besides the internal matters of the palace. Safdar Jang married with the only wife, Sadr un-Nisa and had great affection for her.<sup>59</sup> Rulers of Awadh since Shuja ud-Daula were mostly indulged in women and wine, and left space for royal ladies to run the affairs of the state directly or indirectly. The most prominent royal lady seems to be Badshah Begum, the chief wife of King Ghazi ud-Din. She had been described as an 'illustrious lady' and "the most wonderful woman in the world"<sup>60</sup> by Captain White, the author of *The Murdered King of Awadh*. Gazi ud Din-Hyder usually followed what she said.<sup>61</sup> She, after the death of her husband, led a coup against the king in favour of Muna Jan.<sup>62</sup> She failed in the coup d'état but it showed how a strong lady she was.

The second influential and active royal lady was queen mother of Wajid Ali Shah. It was she who finalized the term of last treaty between the State of Awadh and the company. General Ottram, the resident utilized the services of queen mother to get signatures on the treaty of annual stipend which would be paid by the company to the royal family in the name of Wajid Ali Shah.<sup>63</sup> It was again queen mother who led the royal group to England to file a petition

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of Lucknow, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, (The Lucknow Omnibus Edition), p. 65. For further details, you may consult to this book.

<sup>59</sup> Srivastva, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, p. 253.

<sup>60</sup> Taqi Ahmed, *Tarikh Badshah Begam*, vii.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>62</sup> There was a controversy on royal parentage of him. He had been brought up by the queen but the opponent faction in the court with the help of resident proved him as non-royal blood.

<sup>63</sup> G. D. Bhatnagar, *Awadh Under Wajid Ali Shah*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965, p. 151.

against the BEIC to annex the State of Awadh in place of Wajid Ali Shah.

This article needs to mention another royal lady, wife of Wajid Ali Shah, who led the rebellious forces in the War of Independence in 1857. Contemporary accounts acknowledged the bravery and strength of Hazarat Mahal. It can be assessed that if she was a male she could personally lead the forces. She ruled the state for around seven months during the War of Independence and later, took refuge in Nepal on her defeat from the company's forces.<sup>64</sup> She also had great influence on the last king who even was involved in many immoral activities. The king had been in strong affection with her and wrote many letters to her from Calcutta.<sup>65</sup>

The other category of women, associated with the court, was concubine, popularly known as courtesan. This group of women introduced new trends and fashions of clothing, make up, hair-style etc. Although this class of women was not directly influential, they had great impact on personality and manners of not only the men of royal family including king but also of male-elites of almost all categories. The association with the courtesan became fashion of the day either for pleasure or for social distinction.<sup>66</sup>

General moral standards of the women of elite section of the Awadhian society were higher than their male-counterparts. Running the affairs of the home were female's responsibility, which was performed in the best way. They were highly faithful to their husbands.<sup>67</sup>

The state of Awadh had provided a complete phase of development of Urdu as a language of distinction. It was due to

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<sup>64</sup> Abdul Halim Sharar, *Hindustan Mein Mashriqi Tamadun Ka Akhri Namoonah*, pp. 58-60.

<sup>65</sup> These letters were published in book form. Dr. Mohammad Baqir ed., *Tarikh-i-Mumtaz (History of Mumtaz)*, Urdu Markaz, Lahore.

<sup>66</sup> Abdul Halim Sharar, *The Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, translated and edited by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain, p. 192.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

the state's patronage that highly distinguished poets and very well-known musicians and musical trends had been developed. Besides many new distinct buildings were constructed. Above all, liberal behavior of the rulers had provided many opportunities to women to excel in multiple fields of life.

### 3. Awadh: A Pluralist Society

Awadh emerged as a pluralist society where such a civilization flourished as a mixture of multiple cultures. High level of inter-religious and intra-religious harmony was prevailing in the state of Awadh. Awadh was one of the main centers of Hindu orthodoxy, rituals and religion. Awadh was one of the religious centers of Hindu-pilgrims. Every year thousands of pilgrims visited Prayag (Allahabad), Ayodhia (Faizabad) and Kashi (Benares). Streams of pilgrims flowed to Prayag specifically. Muslim rulers of the state promoted communal harmony.<sup>68</sup> The villages were the best examples of brotherhood especially before large-scale influence of the British.<sup>69</sup> The *nawabs* of Awadh were careful about Hindu shrines and temples. They granted large endowments to Vaishnavite Priests and Gosains of Muttra and Ajodhya.<sup>70</sup> Nawab Asif ud-Daula gave heavy funds to the founder of the new section of Hindu-reformers including Jagjivan Das of Kotwa.<sup>71</sup>

Religious harmony and sense of pluralism was also highly visible in religious practices. Prayer sessions were held in imambaras in morning and evening, which were attended by Shia and Sunni nobility along with high caste Hindus.<sup>72</sup> The concepts

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<sup>68</sup> S. N. Singh, *The Kingdom of Awadh*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 131-33.

<sup>69</sup> Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Awadh*, p. 265.

<sup>70</sup> C. A. Bayly, "The Pre-History of Communalism: Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, No.2 (1985): p. 182.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*, 183.

<sup>72</sup> Simonetta Casci, "Lucknow Nawabs: Architecture and Identity," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 36 (September 7-13, 2002): p. 3713.

of bravery of Imam Hussain and loyalty of his companions were such concepts that were equally inspiring for Hindu Rajputs and Sunni Muslims besides Shias.<sup>73</sup> Mir Anis and Dabir had made such concepts highly emotional with use of metaphorical skill of poetry. The author of *Tarikh-i-Hussainyya* had talked about Shia-Sunni relationship. He had appreciated mourning assemblies, congregated during the month of Moharram.<sup>74</sup>

Awadh was also open for the British population. No doubt, treaty relationship was prevailing among them, yet generally nobility as well as common people gave space to the British. Early courts of Awadh were Europeanized to a reasonable extent. That Europeanization was visible in dresses, in entertainment, in furnishing and especially in architecture. Asif ud-Daula had many English goods.<sup>75</sup> Nawab Sada'at Ali Khan was highly influenced by the British manners and etiquettes due to his frequent interaction with the British. He frequently wore English dresses and English wigs. Ghazi ud-Din Hyder was fond of collecting European especially English commodities of all sorts and descriptions. The house of one of his ministers', Hekim Mehdi, was fully furnished in elegantly English style with pier glasses, fancy clocks and musical instruments.

Plurality was also observed in arrangement of matrimonial relationships. Marriages of royal family had taken place to fulfill multiple requirements. Nawab Asif ud-Daula had married with Shams al-Nisa, daughter of wazir of Mughal Empire, a Sunni by faith. That marriage had taken place purely on political grounds.<sup>76</sup> Kings of Awadh were equally liberal to develop matrimonial

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<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*, 3714.

<sup>74</sup> Nawab Husayn Ali Khan, *Tarikh-i-Husayniyyah* cited in Sajida Sultana Alvi, *Perspectives on Mughal India: Rulers, Historians, Ulama and Sufis*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2012, p. 81.

<sup>75</sup> Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, The British and The City of Lucknow*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 59.

<sup>76</sup> Michael H. Fisher, "Political Marriage Alliances at the Shi'i Court of Awadh," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (October 1983): p. 602.

relations with the British. King Ghazi ud-Din Hyder was highly disturbed due to his temporary breakup with Badshah Begum. Mutam ud-Daula arranged his marriage with a British lady, whose mother was Indian. Her title was Mubarak Mahal and she was given with the salary of 10,000 per month. She accepted Islam after marriage.<sup>77</sup> Later Ghazi ud-Din Hyder married with the daughter of Dr. Short Kansal of Baghdad. She was also a Christian.<sup>78</sup>

Architecture of Awadh was the best example of plurality. It was a product of fusion of multiple cultures and styles. Construction of horizontal range of palaces and residential buildings over a large flat area, which was constructed with markets, was similar to late Baroque courts of Western Europe. Pleasure gardens of Lucknowian royal families were similar to French pleasure gardens. Arabic and Italian style segregated markets were reduced in numbers.<sup>79</sup> Imambaras, especially built during Asif ud-Daula's period, had Persian and Rajput influence.<sup>80</sup> Asif ud-Doula was fond of construction work and besides construction of an imambara in Lucknow, Rumi *darwaza* after one of the gates of Constantinople, a bridge over the *gumti* was built in imitation of the bridge in Paris. Contemporaries including foreign travelers had spoken highly of the magnificence of buildings of Asif ud-Doula. One grand museum was also constructed by Asif ud-Doula.<sup>81</sup> Ghazi ud-Din Haider constructed a replica-building of Roza-i-Hazrat Ali in which he was buried. The building is still in existence and is a center of attention.<sup>82</sup> One building similar to

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<sup>77</sup> Sir W. H. Sleeman, *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849-1850*, Vol. 1, Helicon Publications, Lucknow, 1989 (reprint), pp. 326-27.

<sup>78</sup> Maulana Mohammad Najam ul-Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Oudh, (History of Oudh)*, Vol. 4, Udupur, 1910, p. 238.

<sup>79</sup> Simonetta Casci, "Lucknow Nawabs: Architecture and Identity," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 36 (September 7-13, 2002): p. 3711.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, p. 3712.

<sup>81</sup> Purnendu Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, p. 41.

the tomb of Hazrat Abbas was also constructed.<sup>83</sup> The distinction of the buildings of Awadh was that besides religious and royal building, another category of buildings was constructed. It was for the British residents and for other British needs.

A great number of buildings were constructed for the benefit of the British. Since 1807, a big area was given to the British to build a British cantonment. All residency-related buildings and houses for multiple kind of British officers were constructed there, with all leisure activities for their families.<sup>84</sup> Herbert was happy to see English-looking houses in Lucknow which, he believed, were property of the king.<sup>85</sup> He mentioned that all the way from residency to Principal Street and then to Park-Koushar and the neighborhood was just like a small European town of high order.<sup>86</sup>

Muslim rulers of Awadh believed in equality and pluralism in financial and economic matters besides social and cultural practices. They relied on large groups of Rajput leaders including warriors, administrators and revenue farmers.<sup>87</sup> They appointed Hindus on important positions especially in the field of financial administration, revenue, trade and business. They had also appointed Muslims of other than Shia faith on higher positions on basis of trust and their wisdom. Asif ud-Daula appointed even his low-cadre servants on higher positions. Jhao Lal, manager of stable, was given with the title of Raja, Mohammad Bashir Khan's position was raised from *diwan khana* servant to *sardar* (commander in chief) of the force of 2000 riders and many thousand paddlers. Many foot soldiers like Holas Singh, Sobhas Singh, Bhula Singh, Sindi Singh, Meko Singh, Nawaz Singh, Multi Singh, Bhawani

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<sup>83</sup> Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, *Tarikh Badshah Begam (History of Badshah Begum)*, K. Mitra, Allahabad, 1938, p. 9.

<sup>84</sup> Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, The British and The City of Lucknow*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 115.

<sup>85</sup> Herbert, *Narrative of a Journey*, Vol.1., p. 335.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>87</sup> Richard B. Barnett, *North India Between Empires*, University of California Press, 1980, p. 84.

Singh were given with high positions and were entitled with the Raja. Raja Bhagwan Das was tutor and diwan of Asif ud-Daula. His grandson Raja Ratan Singh, a scholar and a poet, was Royal Amir ul-Insha (the highest official of the ministerial department) of the Waseer u Duala Mohammad Ali Khan, the eldest surviving son of Sa'adat Ali Khan in 1837.<sup>88</sup> Asif ud-Doula is still remembered with great affection by the people of Lucknow. They even repeat the couplet "Jis ko na de moula, tis ko de Asif ud-Doula."<sup>89</sup> Which means "who is not given by Allah, will receive from Asif ud-Doula."

Naseer ud-Din appointed Ram Diyyal on the seat of Prime Minister after death of Mutam ud-Daula.<sup>90</sup> Naseer ud-Din even relied on his Hindu ministers and military guards to get rid of the presence of his mother in the palace. Darshun Singh Ghalib Jung who was raised from a very humble background by Ghazi ud-Din Hyder and about the year 1825 he had become as great a favorite with him as he afterwards became with his son, was given the responsibility to vacate the palace of Badshah Begum.<sup>91</sup> He sent Raja Shiva Din Singh, who with his troops, firstly besieged the palace and then attacked on it.<sup>92</sup> Fires were exchanged on both sides in result of which many faithful eunuchs and other servants were killed. Begum was tired of fighting herself. She sought refuge, which was granted and she was shifted to Ilmas Bagh three miles away from Lucknow. It were again Hindu associates of the King who escorted her to the new home.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, *Tarikh Badshah Begam (History of Badshah Begum)*, K. Mitra, Allahabad, 1938, pp. 86-87.

<sup>89</sup> Surendra Mohan, *Awadh Under the Nawabs: Politics, Culture and Communal Relations, 1722-1856*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1997, p. 66.

<sup>90</sup> Maulana Mohammad Najam ul-Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Oudh, (History of Oudh)*, Udupur, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 245.

<sup>91</sup> Sir W. H. Sleeman, *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849-1850*, Vol. 1, Helicon Publications, Lucknow, 1989 (reprint), p. 67.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 67-68

<sup>93</sup> Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, *Tarikh Badshah Begam (History of Badshah Begum)*, K. Mitra, Allahabad, 1938, p. 69.

Minor signs of clashes between Hindu and Muslim communities were observed only during the last years of Muslim dynasty of Awadh, when the British involvement in the state-matters had been enhanced to an extreme level. The rulers, however had adopted tolerant wise policy to deal with the clash. In summer of 1855, during Wajid Ali Shah's period when the state was passing through imbalance; Hindus and Muslims came into a clash at Ayodhya. A mosque near Hanumangarh became the cause of conflict. The Hindus insisted that during emperor Aurangzeb's time, Hanuman's temple was ruined and Muslims had constructed that mosque on the remains of the Hindu-temple. Then on, Hindus were also worshipping in the neighborhood of the mosque. Nawab Shuja ud-Daula believed in religious harmony and under his order, a new temple, at the same place was constructed for Hindus.<sup>94</sup> Unfortunately, the Muslim temple was gradually destroyed. During Wajid Ali Shah's period, Muslims started praying once again in the ruining mosque. The Hindus objected and did not permit them to offer prayers. The conflict started on that development, which was led by Shah Ghulam Hussan and his disciple Maulvi Mohammad Shah Agha.

Nazim of Sultanpur intervened and requested them to wait for the inquiry and decision of the government. The king appointed a committee under Nazim of Sultanpur and Munim Beg Khan, the *kotwal* of Ayodhya to investigate the issue and to report to the king. The two parties were highly reactionary and intransigent. The resident, Captain Orr, also went there and appointed guards in the disputed territory.<sup>95</sup> Muslim masses in the area and Faizabad were more violent. The government authorities controlled them while using force. Mullahs were trying to agitate the masses. The enquiry committee of the king decided in favour of Muslims with complete evidence.<sup>96</sup> It was blamed that Hindus had infuriated the Muslims

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<sup>94</sup> G. D. Bhatnagar, *Awadh Under Wajid Ali Shah*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965, p. 117.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.*, p. 118

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*, p. 122.

and desecrated the Holy Quran. The other enquiry committee, formed by the resident, decided in favor of Hindus.<sup>97</sup> The king skillfully, managed the matter with firmness. He restored peace and protected the Hindu population completely.<sup>98</sup>

Tolerant and liberal policy of the rulers saved two communities of the region to come in direct and sever clash. Except this minor incident, state's life was the best example of brotherhood among multiple religious communities and among numerous sects of Muslims.

### **Conclusion**

Earlier *nawabs* of the state ran the affairs of the government in reasonably good way and restored political stability in the region. But the later *nawabs* of Awadh became so much powerless and helpless that Abdul Haleem's assessment seems to be true: "The royal throne was stage where it appeared as if the actions were responsible for whatever happened but where in reality their actions were determined by another more powerful personage hidden behind."<sup>99</sup> However, growth of diverse literary fields, advancement of musical trends, architectural excellences and plurality of the society had made the State of Awadh distinct in the history of the Muslims of India. Urdu achieved greater perfection as a language of courtesy, delicacy and social elegance in Lucknow. It is the people of Lucknow who made Urdu a polished and refined language. All genres of Urdu including poetry, drama, prose, story-telling and singing passed through a complete phase of maturity. Above all, the composite culture of Awadh had made the history and culture of the region still alive. Multiple communities including Hindus, Muslims and the British not only respected each other's religion, culture and style of living but also equal opportunities of economic development were made available for

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<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*, p. 56.

every community. It was practicable due to tolerant policy and religious harmony of the Muslim rulers. They respected traditions and yet allowed modernization.

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# Pilgrimage Practice in Bosnia During the Classical Era

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## ABSTRACT

Connections of Bosnia with the Islamic world are present from the medieval times, but with Bosnia's fall under the Ottoman rule, they become more intensive. Bosnia along with Albania were two provinces of the Ottoman Empire where Islam has left the strongest impact. Therefore, a connection of Bosnia with the Islamic civilization was much stronger in comparison to other neighboring provinces and regions on the Balkans. In this article, we shall look into the earliest pilgrimage practices of Muslims and determine to what extent were they spread in certain cities and regions in Bosnia. This question is specifically interesting in mid-15<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century. Archive sources of Ottoman provenance are sufficient for providing answers to some basic questions like when did the pilgrimage practice begin, how often and how widespread was it in a province where Islam did not have a long tradition of its existence. Our hypothesis is that the connection was much stronger and more intensive than expected because Islam in Bosnia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is still a relatively new appearance and because of geographical distance between Bosnia and the pilgrimage places. In light of the conversion to Islam *en masse* that occurred in Bosnia, that region distinguished itself among its immediate environs and comparatively supplied a larger number of pilgrims demonstrating in doing so a more dynamic relationship with Mecca and Medina.

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## Introduction

Regardless of all other historical developments in economic, military and political sphere, it is doubtless that the coming and spread of Islam represented the strongest connecting link between the Balkans and the Muslim world. After the coming of Islam into the Balkans, this relationship manifested itself first and foremost in the field of culture and spirituality. Plainly, the dynamics and the level of this relationship varied according to the region in the Balkans. We are inclined to claim that Bosnia stood at the forefront of this connection between the Balkans and the Muslim world. Over the course of history, a significant number of governors, administrators, judges and other bureaucrats originally from Bosnia and serving in various parts of the Muslim and Arab world, including Arabian Peninsula, is clearly observable. Yet, the most significant connecting link, the most long-lasting and strongest bond between Bosnia and that part of the Muslim world was pilgrimage. All other types of relationship between the Balkans and the Muslim world could develop or stagnate—depending on various circumstances—and only pilgrimage to Mecca remained constant over the long course of history. I would like to focus here on classical period of Ottoman administration in Bosnia and showcase some characteristics regarding pilgrimage pertinent to that period.

Focusing on this period, I will be able to answer some basic questions such as what are the first traces of pilgrimage in Bosnia, then the spread and strength of pilgrimage practice among Bosnian Muslims from different parts of Ottoman Bosnia as well as some other issues regarding pilgrimage at the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century. In order to fully understand the genesis of Muslim pilgrimage in Bosnia, we must briefly discuss the presence and spread of Islam among local population in Bosnia as a precondition for the practice of pilgrimage.

## From the First Traces of Pilgrimage to the Case of Yusuf Livnjak (1615/16)

The earliest mention of pilgrimage and the presence of pilgrims in Bosnia falls quite early, particularly between the years 1455 and 1463. Commander of the fortress of Hodidjed was someone called hajji Mehmed.<sup>1</sup> Nothing further is known about his origin or the time of his pilgrimage. We may assume that he was not Bosnian in origin, unless he joined the ranks of the Ottomans much earlier and performed pilgrimage prior to 1455, which is unlikely to happen. In a similar fashion, in later sources we find individuals with the label hajji. In 1477, among the signatories and witnesses of Ajas-Bey b. Abdulhayy's waqfname we find three pilgrims (hajjis), namely: Hajj Husayn b. Hajj Ali, and Hajj Ahmed b. Yaqub.<sup>2</sup>

Neither is it possible to ascertain their origin particularly in case of several generations of pilgrims such as Hajj Husayn son of Hajj Ali nor can we rule out fully the possibility of their being Bosnian as having members of several generations of the same family as hajjis that will be very frequent in Bosnia later. The question can also be raised whether their new and short-lived Islam could prompt them to go to pilgrimage. Yet, as we will see later, we encounter numerous individuals who immediately upon accepting Islam embarked on pilgrimage. If in these cases we face some dilemmas regarding the origin of the registered hajjis, already in 1489 we can be sure that hajji Nesuh, hajji Mustafa, hajji Hamza and hajji Ali, all from Sarajevo were Bosnian hajjis.<sup>3</sup> As the number of Muslims soared, the cases of pilgrims going to Mecca increased proportionally. In 1530 in the city of Sarajevo we have 36 registered hajjis.<sup>4</sup> There are

<sup>1</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića: zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Šabanović, "Dvije najstarije vakufname u Bosni", *POF II/1951*, Sarajevo, 1951, p. 37; *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine (xv i xvi vijek)*, Sarajevo, 1985, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Tapu Defteri (TD), 24, p. 17a.

<sup>4</sup> BOA, TD, 157, pp. 223-251.

a few intriguing phenomena regarding some cases of hajjis among Bosnian Muslims during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These circumstances do not correspond with the usual and expected practice among pilgrims. It is well known that the idea and intent of going to Mecca is more strongly observable among elderly, or in some cases, middle aged individuals. This is both expected and justifiable as such an accomplishment requires not only mental, religious and intellectual maturity, but also significant material means. If we disregard the first element of maturity as something that could negatively affect one's decision to travel, the latter element was for sure a more objective hindrance as young person needs more time to fulfill the material preconditions for such an arduous journey. Nevertheless, in some cases we find young individuals among the hajjis registered in our sources. We recognize them by the label *mucerrred*, meaning young unmarried man. A further indication that Bosnian Muslims genuinely adhered to their new faith and its obligations was that among Bosnian hajjis we find a number of individuals whose fathers were still not Muslims.

Among pilgrims in Sarajevo in 1530 we even find one Arab. It remains unknown whether he went on pilgrimage before or after coming to Sarajevo, but from the Bosniaized title of *Misrija*, we know that he was an Egyptian. Even though it is unlikely to see the presence of pilgrims in rural areas at this time, we have some cases of hajjis in villages such as Dolac, Crna Rijeka, Hresa and Hodidjed. Due to a lack of sources we cannot continuously observe the rise of pilgrims in number in Sarajevo. Nonetheless, in 1540 in Sarajevo itself we see 26 registered hajjis, and three decades later in 1570, 54 of them. These numbers show the number of residents who performed pilgrimage in that year and were still alive.

It is difficult to explain the causes of this decline in numbers between years 1530 (36) and 1540 (26). These numbers are unexpected given the fact that the city was at the highest point of its economic and urban development and the number of its citizens was constantly rising. The difference is very likely caused by irregular registration of pilgrims. Such is the case when we look at another source that covers years 1556-1558, where we have a much

larger number of registered hajjis. In the two years covered by this source, we have more than 100 names of hajjis documented.<sup>5</sup> Later sources also indicate larger numbers of hajjis and more frequent practice of pilgrimage among Muslims in Bosnia. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century 220 hajjis were documented in Sarajevo.<sup>6</sup> In spite of the afore-mentioned stagnation, particularly during 1540, one comparison shows a significant increase in the number of hajjis. The result seems to be more realistic than the stagnation. In the first trimester of 16<sup>th</sup> century, 2.2% of all Sarajevan households had pilgrims; at the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century, 5-6% of all documented households in Sarajevo contained individuals who had performed pilgrimage. This data showcase a much more frequent practice of pilgrimage and seems an overall better indicator of the real proportion of hajjis in Sarajevo than data gleaned from some other sources which indicate stagnation. Analysis of the data from the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century shows large number of younger individuals who had performed hajj. As I said earlier, the practice of pilgrimage was not confined to the city of Sarajevo, but extended to include some cases in its environs too. The same holds true for the rest of Bosnia. Plainly, Sarajevo as an administrative, economic, educational and cultural center of the country is well ahead compared to other Bosnian towns. A larger number of hajjis is well expected and normal in case of Sarajevo given the size of its population.

Nonetheless, the practice of pilgrimage spread throughout Bosnia with the spread of Islam. In some other towns we encounter hajjis no earlier than 1530, and in some cases considerably later than that. Compared to Sarajevo, with all its prerogatives as a center of education, culture and spirituality and the main hub connecting Bosnia with the rest of Islamdom, these towns and villages exhibit a much lower number of pilgrims. Still, if we analyze the map and its data, we see that the practice of pilgrimage

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<sup>5</sup> Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka (ГНБ), Sidžil (S), 1a.

<sup>6</sup> *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. Godine*, I/1, obradio: Adem Handžić, Sarajevo, 2000, pp. 11-91.

among Muslims in places other than Sarajevo was comparable in its development against the size of their population.

I will mention here towns other than Sarajevo where in the 16<sup>th</sup> century we encounter the practice of pilgrimage. It should be borne in mind that the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a time when the process of conversion to Islam was still largely underway.

Among the places where we have an early mention of hajjis is certainly the town of Rogatica in eastern Bosnia. We see the first cases of pilgrimage among Muslims of this town in 1530 and the practice of going to hajj is traceable throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It can be asserted that a similar situation is true for most of the territory under Ottoman rule or at least for the most significant and developed urban places in Bosnia such as Visoko, Travnik, Zenica, Banja Luka, Gracanica, Tuzla, Zvornik, Foca, Mostar and Livno.<sup>7</sup>

In the majority of these places, the practice of pilgrimage is detected around mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from Rogatica, first cases of pilgrimage in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century are detected in the cities of Foca and Mostar. The low number of pilgrims from Banja Luka is puzzling given the fact that Banja Luka was a second largest city in Ottoman Bosnia at the time. On the other hand, equally surprising is a large number of pilgrims from Foca in mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (37 documented cases) and in Mostar in 1585 where we have 33 pilgrims. It is noteworthy that in the city of Livno, in western Bosnia, around the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century we have 17 registered hajjis. In 1574 the number of hajjis soared to 27, which is 6% of the city population. That percentage of hajjis in total population overshadows even Sarajevo.

Rural areas in Bosnia exhibit similar tendencies in terms of practice of pilgrimage and number of hajjis. Analyzing our sources, we can apply the findings relevant to urban areas to villages and rural areas as well; in other words, in the first decade

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<sup>7</sup> For my analysis whose results I discuss in this paper, I surveyed Ottoman *defters* (registers) of Bosnia for the following years: 1530, 1540, 1550, 1565, 1570, and 1585.

of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the number of documented pilgrims from villages around Sarajevo is comparatively higher than in other rural areas in Bosnia. Causes for this are different and numerous. The influence of Sarajevo as a cultural, economic and religious center on its environs is self-evident.

In the broad region of Sarajevo 44% of populated places have pilgrims, whereas in other parts of Bosnia that percentage oscillates between 9 and 13 per cent. The only exception is the city of Travnik where 22% of populated places have pilgrims. Late acceptance of Islam in some parts of Bosnia and consequently lower number of Muslim inhabitants in them accounted for low percentage of pilgrims there, which is normal and understandable. Some parts of northeastern, northern and western Bosnia exhibit small number of hajjis. Yet, taken as a whole, this analysis shows that around 181 rural places in Bosnian sanjak have documented pilgrims<sup>8</sup>; that is approximately 11% of all populated places in Bosnian sanjak. Therefore, even without further and more detailed research, one can claim that it is unlikely that any other region in the Balkans —rural or urban— can match such a high percentage of pilgrims. That fact demonstrates the strong spiritual bond of Bosnian Muslims with the holy places of Mecca and Medina. That attachment is further confirmed by cases of repeated pilgrimage among Bosnian Muslims, undertaken in spite of great hardship and immense material means that such a journey required in 16<sup>th</sup> century. In that regard, I want to draw attention to the case of Cejvan-cehaja from the city of Mostar who in 1554 decreed that every five years a sum of three thousand dirhems from his waqf be awarded to an individual who will perform pilgrimage in his place.<sup>9</sup> Although from a later period, more precisely from 1677,

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<sup>8</sup> *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine*, I/1, i I/2, prepared by Adem Handžić, Sarajevo 2000; *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine*, Sv. III, prepared by Snježana Buzov, edited by Lejla Gazić, Sarajevo, 2000; *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine*, Sv. III, prepared by Amina Kupusović, Sarajevo, 2000.

<sup>9</sup> *Vakufname iz Bosne*, p. 90.

the case of Hajji Salih from Mostar is equally unusual. He decreed that every year one gold florin be taken and donated to the shrine of the Messenger of Islam.<sup>10</sup> At other times, several members of the same family travelled together to perform hajj; such is the case with brothers Yusuf, Hasan and Omer from the town of Livno who travelled to Mecca in 1615-16.

The findings of our analysis which show widespread practice of hajj in Bosnia as early as 16<sup>th</sup> century are corroborated by Yusuf Livnjak, from the town of Livno, who stated in his travelogue that six persons from Livno and thirty persons from Sarajevo travelled to Mecca in the same year as he did (1615-1616).<sup>11</sup> Thanks to those records it is possible to reconstruct the means and one of the ways how Bosnian pilgrims reached Mecca in that time. Besides the route that Bosnian pilgrims used —with help of this record it is possible to determine the time necessary for completing the hajj from Bosnia— the travelogue also accounts for the places that pilgrims visited on their journey to Mecca and difficulties they had on their long journey from Bosnia to Mecca and back. The mentioned travel diary is the earliest known source that contains data of that kind related to Bosnia. From this travel diary we can see how one Bosnian pilgrim experiences the Arabic world, what it is that he notices first in the places he visits, especially in pilgrimage cities of Mecca and Medina. Unfortunately, Yusuf Livnjak does not mention the pilgrims from other places in Bosnia. In light of general conditions of Ottoman Bosnia in 16<sup>th</sup> century these figures —although apparently insignificant from today's perspective— certainly show a strong spiritual bond of Bosnian Muslims with the holy sites. Our analysis also shows that Sarajevo and Livno were at the forefront in terms of number of pilgrims and that is confirmed by Yusuf Livnjak in his account. Although the number of pilgrims from other places in Bosnia was presumably lower, we can say that

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<sup>10</sup> Hivzija Hasandedić, "Kratki prevodi (ekscerpti) 28 mostarskih vakufnama", *Preporod*, 1-2 (152-153), Sarajevo, 1977, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> J. Livnjak, *Odazivam ti se Bože*, - putopis sa hadža 1615. godine, p. 83.

the overall number of pilgrims from Bosnia was not insignificant given all the circumstances of that period.

Quite early on we encounter the office of *amir al-hajj* in Bosnia; we don't know for sure when this office was established but the first mention of *amir al-hajj* for Bosnia is from 1559. A certain Murad-Bey served as *amir al-hajj* from Bosnia for that year.<sup>12</sup> As time went by, a large number of Bosnian Muslims performed hajj or were in some other way associated with the holy sites. From among scores of pilgrims who travelled to Mecca, two names are particularly noteworthy: Hasan Kafi Pruscak (Akhisari) and Ali-Dede Bosnawi. Hasan Kafi Pruscak wrote that he "travelled when Almighty honored him with the privilege of pilgrimage in year one thousand after the Prophet's hijra." He travelled overland and his route was by Istanbul, Sham, Kudus, Mecca and Medina. His pilgrimage was in year 1592.<sup>13</sup>

It is also noteworthy that some Bosnians were accorded important functions in the holy sites which proves the high level of interconnection. For Ali-Dede Bosnawi, his function of a supervisor in reconstructing the Ka'ba was much more significant than his journey to Mecca in 1593. Ali-Dede Bosnawi also administrated the reconstruction of holy *harams* in 1101/1592-1593. That great recognition had a huge impact on strengthening the relations between Bosnia and the holy places and Islamic world. This celebrated Bosnian scholar wrote a book entitled *Tamkinu al-Maqam fi Masğidi al-Haram* describing his function and experience in Mecca.<sup>14</sup>

Another important source for researching the relationship between Bosnia and the holy sites is *Defter-i in'amat haramayn sharifayn* (Record of gifts and donations to the two holy sites), kept at Gazi Husrev-Bey Library in Sarajevo and dated 1617/1618.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Muhimme defter*, OIS ANU BIH, 139, 15. (translated by Abdullah Polimac)

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Islamska misao*, br. 24. god II, Novembar 1980, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ismet Kasumović, "Dvije verzije hronike o Mekami-i Ibrahimu", *Anali GHB*, 13-14/1987, Sarajevo, 1987, pp. 153-178.

Although it is not precisely known how, when and from where this official record came to Bosnia, apart from symbolic significance it also contains valuable data for researchers. From this defter (register) we see that already in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, some Bosnian Muslims were residents of Medina. In 1617-18 in Medina we find a number of names among the recipients of donations directed to the two holy *harams*. Apart from the usual designation of Bosnians, sometimes we have more precise data as is the case with a certain Ali (*Iyad Ali Bosnawi Chelebi-pazari*), where we clearly see that he was from what was called at the time *Chelebi-Pazar* (today's Rogatica in eastern Bosnia). He was a resident of Medina with his family.

Another Bosnian, a certain Ibrahim Effendi was resident at Abu Bakr Madrasa and he is once mentioned as an assistant to the *khalifah*, Uskudari shaykh Mahmud Effendi. Although we don't know for sure what was the exact reason of his residence in Medina, we can safely assume that he travelled in order to obtain an education in religious disciplines, as is indicated by his residence at a madrasa and his function as an assistant to a Sufi *khalifah*.<sup>15</sup>

Some Bosnians were on a much more official function in the holy sites and doubtless played an important role in receiving Bosnian pilgrims and facilitating their affairs. Two names deserve particular attention in that regard, even though they are from the middle or the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Those are two members of the Bajazic family from Mostar, Hasan and Ahmed, father and son. Both of them served as *qadis* in Mecca, father in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and son Ahmed in 1672-73. According to some authors, Ahmed Bajazic was even born in Mecca during his father's tenure as *qadi* there.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, "Defter donacija upućenih u Dva časna harema/ Surre defteri iz 1617/1618. godine", *Anali GNB*, xxxiv, 2013, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo 1973, pp. 320-321; A. Kadrić, *Mostarski bulbuli, poezija mostarskih pjesnika na orijentalnim jezicima*, p. 215.

Apart from the religion of Islam and pilgrimage as the strongest links between the Balkans and the Muslim world, more precisely Arabian Peninsula, there were numerous other ways of connection between them.

### **On Certain Aspects of Pilgrimage from Bosnia**

Sources offer little information regarding the material means needed for travelling to Mecca. Although we scarcely find any information, thanks to a very limited number of documented cases where we see the endowed amount for the journey, we can estimate that in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century a sum of three to five thousand *akche* was required to travel for pilgrimage.<sup>17</sup> To give an idea about the actual value of that amount, we know from other sources that an average house in Sarajevo at the time was valued at four thousand *akche*.

A comparison in prices of certain commodities gives very high price that pilgrims needed to pay for their journey. According to signed wills stipulating pilgrimage and setting aside a certain amount for it, we see that the amount needed for hajj was equal to the value of 23-38 large animals (oxen, cows), or 100 to 166 small animals (rams, goats etc).<sup>18</sup> Only in light of these data one can genuinely appreciate the proportion of sacrifice endured by pilgrims at that time in order to fulfill this religious ordinance.

No smaller temptation was the time needed to perform pilgrimage. The earliest mention indicating the duration of journey to Mecca is from 1557. We find an individual asking permission for a leave of absence for eight months in order to perform pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, most preserved travelogues, admittedly

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<sup>17</sup> GHb S. 1a, *Vakufname*, p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> Avdo Sućeska, "Vakufski krediti u Sarajevu, u svjetlu sidžila sarajevskog kadije iz godina 1564-66", *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta u Sarajevu II/1954*, Sarajevo, 1954, p. 353.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. GHb S. 1a, p. 144.

from later period, show that one full year was needed for hajj. The difference is likely caused by the fact that pilgrims make prolonged sojourns in some cities on their way to hajj or back home. From the case of Yusuf Livnjak who travelled in 1615-16 we see that the trip from Bosnia to Mecca could last as little as three months and ten days.<sup>20</sup> He arrived in Mecca almost three months before the hajj season and spent them in Mecca waiting for the day of hajj. His case could very well be usual; in other words, he was not an exception. Many other hajjis were able to spend considerable amount of time in the holy sites. Naturally, the duration of the journey depended on the route travelled and the means of transportation used. What we know for sure is that some pilgrims travelled overland all the way to Mecca, while others combined land and sea. Hasan Kafi Pruscak (Akhisari) who travelled in 1592 followed the route overland passing through Istanbul, Quds, Medina and Mecca.<sup>21</sup> From some pilgrimage travelogues dated at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we conclude that Bosnian hajjis travelled to Istanbul overland, then boarded onto a ship from Istanbul to Rashid in Egypt, then journeyed overland again to Birke crossing the Red Sea to Jeddah on a ship again. While crossing the Red Sea, which the author refers to as *Hind-i Derya*, pilgrims went through a difficult experience of a strong sea storm which is described in the following manner: "all of a sudden, from all four sides a strong storm befell us, so we all started reciting *Kelime-i shahadat* and *Ihlas-i sharif* bidding farewell to each other." In that year, pilgrims did not return following the same route. Instead, they travelled overland to Cairo and Alexandria, and then boarded onto a ship to Thessaloniki from where they proceeded overland towards Bosnia. Crossing on a ship was a great time saver, yet rather a risky undertaking because of frequent storms and horrifying shipwrecks.

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hadži Jusuf Livnjak, *Odazivam ti se Bože - Putopis sa hadža 1615. godine*, prevod: Mehmed Mujezinović, Sarajevo, 1981, pp. 5-12.

<sup>21</sup> *Islamska misao*, br. 24. god 11, Novembar 1980, p. 24.

## Pilgrims' Impressions upon Seeing the Holy Places

Although our author minutely documented all the places along the route, including historical places and their characteristics, almost half of his account (40%) is dedicated to the description of Mecca and Medina. Although he could not be counted among highly educated Muslim scholars he was a muezzin of a provincial mosque, rather than an accomplished scholar or *muderris* author exhibited remarkable knowledge on history of Islam and places that he passed through on his journey. He was particularly impressed with the sight of Ka'ba. In six short poems he described his feelings, Ka'ba, Haram-i Sharif and other places that he visited in both Mecca and Medina. He also wrote down all the inscriptions above all the entrance doors of Haram-i Sharif. Yusuf Livnjak's narrative is the first and most important account on hajj written by a Bosnian hajji during Ottoman times. It describes all the relevant aspects of the journey at an early stage of pilgrimage practice among Bosnian Muslims. So far, his account is the oldest existing account on pilgrimage that did not perish.

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# **The Struggle to Deliver Utilitarian Education to Muslims in East Africa since 1900**

Abdu B. K. Kasozi\*

## **ABSTRACT**

For a long time during the colonial and postcolonial periods, Muslims in East Africa were the least trained in terms of practical life skills, due to lack of utilitarian education. True, many Muslims were educated in Islamic religious schools and some knew a lot about Islamic sciences, dogma and practice. But throughout the region, Muslims lacked the specialized skills to participate in the mainstream of their society's professions such as engineering, medicine, architecture, law, science based professions, administration, or other well-paying professions. The skills to participate in the emerging colonial East African society were obtained in a number of elite schools that gave both a secular and a Christian religious curriculum. The aim of colonial education was to build a pro-western Christian East African society. That is why they gave Christian missionaries a free hand in the delivery of education to their African subjects. Muslims shunned these schools for fear of conversion to Christianity and so missed out in obtaining these skills.

The article explores this dichotomy in detail, highlights its contribution to the Muslim's low status in East African society and proposes a new road map for developing the demanded skills among the Muslim community.

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\* Prof. Dr.

## Introduction

There were two major factors, one external and the other internal to the Muslim community that made many Muslims lag behind in secular education that taught the skills for participation in mainstream East African Society. The external factor was that the colonial administrators left the delivery of education to Christian missionaries and Muslims who had no missionary societies to construct schools had no friendly institutions to which they could send their children. Before the 1930s, many of the Muslim youngsters who were sent to the Christian schools were either converted or expelled. Muslims could therefore not acquire the skills needed to fully participate in East African societies. The internal factor was the fear by Muslim scholars of the introduction of secular western education into Muslim (Quran) schools. Religious leaders opposed the teaching of secular western education on the ground that it:

- a. Encouraged disrespect for religious values, including the;
  - \* wearing of the hijab,
  - \* separation of the sexes in classes, and
  - \* observation of religious rites and obligations;
- b. Taught theories such as evolution that contradicted religious views of creations; and
- c. Marginalized the teaching of religion. They pointed out that in many schools where both Islamic religious and secular education was offered, religion was taught as an addition, not a priority to the curriculum. It was often placed at the end of the school day when student concentration was at its lowest.

Bitter struggles for the persuasion of Muslim parents between those who supported a purely religious education curriculum delivered in Quran schools and those who wanted students to have dozes of both secular western education plus religious sciences delayed—and in some areas hindered—the exposure of Muslim students to secular western education that delivered to students

the skills needed to fully participate in East African colonial society (1900–1960). However, global changes that have impacted on all societies in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries mean that the debate on how we educate our children to serve our communities must be continuous. What the Muslim reformers achieved was good for their period. But new social forces mean new challenges that the community must combat. There are two ways to uplift the Muslim *ummah*. One is to apply scientific based explanations that are not contrary to Islam to resolve social issues, that is, to build an Islamic but scientifically based society. The other is a frontal attack of the enemy using purely Islamic orthodoxy explanations of managing society. The latter could also involve the application of force to get what is wanted by those pursuing an objective.

### **The Aim of Education**

The aim of education in any society is to socialize the young into the community in which that child is born and is to live. Education is supposed to equip the young with the ideas, skills, the tastes, the beliefs and the attitude that a community considers worth having. It must train the young to be a useful member of society. The aim of Muslim education in East Africa before the colonial period was to transmit Islamic and practical ideas into the young. This education was given in a Muslim environment and was useful to its graduates because they lived in Muslim environment of the Indian Ocean coast and isolated Muslim outposts on the East African hinterland.<sup>1</sup> But things changed dramatically as the 19<sup>th</sup> century closed. By 1900, most of East Africa was under the administration of European colonial powers. Christians who built up social structures that were based on Judeo/Christian European

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<sup>1</sup> J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, London, Oxford University Press; Gervase Mathew "The East African Coast until the Coming of the Portuguese", *History of East Africa*, Vol. I, Oxford Uni. Press, 1963, pp. 94-127, Neville Chittick, "The 'Shiraz' Colonization of East Africa", *Journal of African History*, vol.10, issue 3, 1969, pp. 375-91.

values ruled East Africa. It is not surprising, therefore, that the educational systems introduced in East Africa reflected, and were meant to create, graduates who would operate in the colonial social structures. Muslim subjects of East Africa found themselves in a dilemma. If they stuck to their traditional education systems, their children would not fully participate in the new (colonial) society. On the other hand, sending their children to schools that were introduced by the colonial system meant putting their children to the risk of being converted to Christianity. However, there were brave Muslims who opted to have their children get both Islamic and western secular education so as to enable the latter participate fully in colonial society. They devised strategies of benefiting from the "the dualism" of secular and Islamic systems and struggled to merge the two educational systems into one. In so doing, they had learnt.

### **The Aims of the Colonial Educational Systems**

The aim of colonial education was to build a pro-western Christian East African society. That is why they gave Christian missionaries a free hand in the delivery of education to their African subjects. But it was also economically sound for government not to construct and run schools. As long as the many Christian schools provided the colonial governments with African junior functionaries to work in government, the latter did not intervene in the running of education institutions. Missionaries built, owned and run the schools in most of East Africa. It was only in Tanganyika where the German Colonial government built some secular schools to which Muslims were admitted because of lack of missionaries in some areas of the country and a desire to please Muslim subjects.<sup>2</sup> This type of educational system, which was supported by the colonial authorities, reflected and reinforced

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<sup>2</sup> George Hornsby, "German Educational Achievements in East Africa", *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, vol. 62, 1964.

the colonial social structure. This structure was influenced by the mode of production whereby most of the external earnings of the four East African territories (Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar and Tanganyika) were based on peasant agriculture which created a working peasantry at the bottom and an elite sector of bureaucrats at the top. While the peasants cultivated the crops for export, the bureaucrats processed the export of these goods, distributed the imports and organized the administration of justice. Entrance to the top sector of society, which was more lucrative, more secure and more prestigious than the lower one, was open only to those who successfully obtained a full doze of secular western education. This education was only obtained from the Christian missionary that controlled educational systems. Muslims were therefore not able to get into the upper layers of colonial society because of lack of western secular education. They did not fully participate in the mainstream of their society.

A few Muslim families in East Africa had encouraged Muslims to get secular education including the leader of Muslims in Uganda, the Mazrui family in Mombasa, the Sultan of Zanzibar and chief Abdallah Fundikira in Tanganyika. The Aga Khan Mohammad Shah also supported their effort financially. But, by 1945, Muslims were still lagging behind in secular western education. They were like strangers in their homelands.

Due to this internal factor, Muslim secular education lagged far behind than that of other religious groups, namely the Roman Catholics and the Anglican Protestants. Indeed, in Uganda by 1960 Muslims had produced only one university graduate, Abu Mayanja. When in 1964 the African government of Uganda opened all secondary schools to everyone irrespective of religious denominations, Muslims had only one secondary school as compared to sixteen for Catholics and ten of Anglicans<sup>3</sup> A 1960 report on Muslim education by Dr. Sergeant found that

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<sup>3</sup> Carter Felice, "The Education of African Muslims in Uganda", *Uganda Journal*, vol. 29, issue 2, 1965, pp. 193-8.

Muslims all over East Africa were so backward in education that they needed special help.<sup>4</sup> Prince Badru Kakungulu of Uganda appointed a committee to look into the running and organization of the Uganda Muslim Education Association. It was found that although the Association was working well, the Muslims were still far behind in secular education. By 1964, Muslim grant-aided primary schools in Uganda constituted only 7.4% of all primary schools compared to 47.3% for Catholic and 40% for Anglican ones, as the following table shows.

*Table 1: Number of grant-aided primary schools in 1964 and 1968 founding body in Uganda*

| <b>Year</b>                 | <b>1964</b> | <b>1968</b> |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Government                  | 99          | 119         |
| Church of Uganda (Anglican) | 969         | 1102        |
| Roman Catholics             | 1146        | 1170        |
| Muslim                      | 178         | 187         |
| Others                      | 30          | 67          |
| Total                       | 2422        | 2645        |

After the government's upgrading and increasing schools in 1964, the Muslims had three secondary schools, the Catholics more than nineteen and the Anglican Protestants raised their number to nineteen. Many Muslim primary and secondary schools were staffed by Christian teachers some of whom were bad elements who had been expelled from their own denominational schools for misconduct. But Muslim schools welcomed them for lack or better alternatives.

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<sup>4</sup> Ahmed Abdallah, "Ambivalence of Muslim Education", *East African Journal*, February, 1965.

### **The Quranic Educational System: The Dichotomy**

Within the Muslim community, another system of education was prevalent and run parallel to the colonial supported one. It was referred to as the Quran education system. The Quran school system was an alternative education system to which the colonial government did not pay much attention. Muslims themselves managed the Quran education system. Quran schools taught a purely Islamic-Arabic education emphasizing Islam as the center of the curriculum. They did not teach "worldly" secular subjects like science and technology. By 1945, many Muslims still sent their children to the Quran education system. This is because there was no possibility of conversion to Christianity or other religions in the Quran education system. In the first four years, the child was taught to read Arabic, to memorize the five prayers, and to begin to read the last chapter of the Quran, juzu (Surat Annbaa'). In the fifth and sixth years, the child was introduced to other aspects of Islamic law such as the sharia and ijma. He then studied Islamic history and civilization. If he graduated from these advanced Qur'an schools, of which there were few, he went abroad to Muslim countries for further education. In Uganda, the few advanced Quran schools were at Tikkalu in Bulemezi, Kabigi in Masaka, Katuumu in Bulemezi, Lukalu in Butambala, Arua in West Nile and Bwayise in Kyaddondo. Bilal in Kampala was later built with grants from Arab countries. A student graduating from these schools who had the funds and the desire to continue studying was often taken to the East African coast (either Lamu, Zanzibar, or Mombasa). If he was very brilliant, he would go to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, or Pakistan to study more Islamic theology. When he returned, he was automatically made a sheikh.

Only five percent of those who graduated from the Ugandan Quran school system went abroad. The rest attached themselves, on a clientele basis to a learned sheikh, who taught them what he knew. They would go to his house and work for him in return for room, board and education. In Uganda in the 1950s and 1960s the most famous of these masters was Sheikh Swaibu Ssemakula

who attracted many students to his houses: at Kitosi in Buddu, Katuumu in Bulemezi, and Kawempe in Kyadondo. He taught them what he had learned from other sheikhs. He has studied with sheikhs from the East African coast, particularly Sheikh Abdu Samadu. By 1950, sheikh Swaibu Ssemakula had taught and graduated many other sheikhs.

The word sheikh in Uganda is used to refer to those who have received a sufficient amount of Islamic knowledge to be considered by their master to have reached that, unfortunately undefined, level. The quality of knowledge received differed from sheikh to sheikh. For example, sheikhs who were graduated by sheikh Mugenyi-Asooka, sheikh Ahmed Swaibu Ssemakula or those from Al-Azhar University did not use a common curriculum or prescribed minimum requirements for courses of study. There was no nationwide yard-stick, syllabus or curriculum or standard examination to measure the levels of these sheikhs. But the public regarded almost all of them as having obtained a certain level of excellence to be called sheikhs. Unfortunately, in reality, such was not always the case with all sheikhs. Yet, sheikhs defended this system with all their might. They defined those who opposed them as non-believers.

Although some spent a long time studying Islamic religious sciences, the Quranic educational system did not equip students with the practical skills needed for earning a decent living or for satisfying the material needs of their lives and families in most East African societies. The educational system did not prepare them for life on this earth; it only prepared them for the journey to heaven. Many resorted either to begging from their followers, or to misappropriating funds donated for religious and community purposes. Muslim communities throughout the world face this crisis. There were serious wastages in the Quran system. Not all students reached the apex of the Quran educational system. Thousands dropped out to become illiterate butchers, taxi drivers, petty traders, peasant farmers and some, hooligans. This was the tragedy of the Quranic alternative educational system. In fact, one could say that this is the crisis of Muslim societies throughout

the world – how to deliver both Islamic and scientific education to their children without undermining Islam. How to propagate scientific and good governance ideas without conflicting with traditional Islamic beliefs.

### **The System of Grafting Western Education into the Quran Schools**

It was this dilemma that Muslims innovators like Prince Badru Kakungulu and his other colleagues in Kenya and Tanganyika sought to address by giving Muslim youths and students an education that would prepare them for the life in this world as well as the next. This education was to be both religious and practical. It gave graduates practical, marketable skills and let them participate fully in, and contribute meaningful to, the society in which they were going to live. But this secular education was to be built on a strong Muslim base received from an immersion in Islamic studies. In short, it was to produce good, believing Muslims who were also useful members of society, citizens who use their brains and their hands to work for the needs of their families, for the good of society, and for their own salvation.

These forward-looking Muslims believed that Islamic and secular western education were not mutually exclusive. A person could have both secular and religious education but also remain a good Muslim. They decided to fight an internal battle to change the views and education of Muslims by developing a "dual" education system. The battle was the fiercest internally, within the Muslim community. This battle is still going on in a number of Muslim societies. In Northern Nigeria, they oppose sending children to secular schools. The Taliban of Afghanistan is believed to oppose secular western education, especially the girls. It is a debate in Muslim societies everywhere and we hope to deliver a solution in this conference to this dichotomy.

In order to fight externally unfriendly forces opposing Muslim education, East African reformers had to fight Muslims from within the Muslim communities who were opposed to secular education.

Muslim communities and countries not only have to fight internal battles to deliver an Islamic friendly scientific education, they also face fierce external resistance to increase access to Muslim societies. To alleviate the fears of conservative Muslims who loathed secular western education, Muslim education reformers devised a system whereby western secular and scientific education would be incorporated into Qur'an schools. In Uganda, Prince Badru Kakungulu was the leader of this forward looking group. With the help of a number of Muslims who had received western secular education, Prince Badru Kakungulu introduced secular western education into Qur'anic schools which had previously given only Islamic education without substantially changing the basic Muslim nature of the schools. These schools continued to emphasize the transmission of Islamic values based on the Qur'an. However, western education consisting of the three Rs in the Roman alphabet was grafted onto the Qur'anic school curriculum. Although the sheikhs waged a war against western education, this compromise seemed to work and many parents were very pleased with the new arrangement. Schoolmates of Badru Kakungulu were conspicuous in this campaign to introduce western education in the Qur'an schools. These included Ramathan Gava, who went to teach at Nyamitanga near Mbarara in a school that had been previously giving only Qur'anic education alone, Suleiman Sendagire, who taught the children of discharged soldiers at Bombo, and Asumani Luswaata, who went to Bunyoro to teach in what had been a purely Qur'anic school. Supporters of secular education given in a Muslim environment got added strength from an external social force. The Uganda colonial government became a partner in the project of introducing secular western education when it realized that a number of leading Muslims were spearheading the project. Government officials were so impressed with these developments in the Muslim community that the Director of Education decided to establish a Middle School in 1930 to which students from Muslim lower schools would be promoted in order to proceed to Makerere College. The school was opened at Nyanjeradde (i.e. near Makerere). Colonial government officials realized that there was

a growing demand for education in the Muslim community. They began to speak for, and to protect, the weak Muslim community from missionary attacks. They encouraged Muslims to build more secular schools.<sup>5</sup>

By 1935, however, there were few good Muslim schools giving western secular education in Uganda. The major suppliers of this education were Kibuli, Kabasanda, and later, Bombo. Other schools were Bukoyo in Busoga, Nyamitanga in Ankole, Masindi in Bunyoro, Arua in West Nile and Kabukunge in Masaka. All gave education up to the elementary level. The circumstances of founding of the school at Kibuli have been narrated elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> The school at Kabasanda was built at the initiative of the Muslim Ssaza Chief, Twaibu Magatto, with the help of the Buganda government. Led by Sir Daudi Chwa, the Buganda Government became interested in Muslim education and donated bricks for the construction of the school at Kabasanda, which was completed in 1926. The first headmaster of Kabasanda was Ibrahim Muwanga. Among the first students of the school was Yusuf K. Lule, who later went to Budo and converted to Christianity. His conversion created a negative reaction amongst many Muslim parents against sending their children to Christian schools in particular, and education delivering secular schools in general.

By 1940, the number of Quran schools teaching western secular education had increased tremendously. To regularize and standardize Muslim education and therefore receive government assistance, Muslim leaders headed by Prince Badru Kakungulu were advised to form a single central organization through which government funding could be channeled. Simultaneously, His Highness the Aga-Khan was believed to have promised to match shilling for a shilling of whatever sum the Muslims raised. Prince

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<sup>5</sup> Sergeant, "Annual Reports of the Department of Education", 1935 and 1940, Uganda, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Abdu B. K. Kasozi, *The Spread of Islam in Uganda*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1986 and *The Life of Prince Badru Kakungulu Wasajja*, Kampala: Progressive Publishers, 1996.

*Table 2: Enrollment in Uganda primary schools by foundation body and religion of pupils, 1968*

| <b>Foundation Body</b> | <b>Anglicans</b> | <b>Catholics</b> | <b>Muslims/<br/>Hindus</b> | <b>Others</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>Government</b>      | 13,987           | 8,593            | 4,010                      | 7,258         | 33,848       |
| <b>Anglican</b>        | 192,581          | 27,861           | 13,106                     | 25,301        | 258,849      |
| <b>Catholic</b>        | 27,722           | 215,231          | 6,075                      | 28,526        | 277,554      |
| <b>Muslim</b>          | 9,962            | 4,899            | 22,820                     | 1,130         | 38,311       |
| <b>Private</b>         | 2,615            | 1,722            | 723                        | 1,091         | 6,151        |
| <b>Other</b>           | 4,351            | 4,213            | 3,183                      | 5,022         | 16,949       |
| <b>Total</b>           | 251,398          | 262,519          | 49,917                     | 68,328        | 632,162      |

Source: K. Lockard, Religion and Political development.

Badru Kakungulu therefore convened a meeting of prominent Muslim leaders of the various African Muslim organizations at Kibuli in 1944, including the largest groups, the Uganda Muslim Community, the African Muslim Community Bukoto-Nateete, and the Zukhuli group of Kawempe. They agreed to cooperate in order to give their children government approved western secular education in their own schools and created a vanguard organization to implement their ideas. The organization was known as the Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA). After preparatory work was completed, UMEA was registered three years later in 1947. Prince Badru Kakungulu became its president as well as chairman of the board of trustees. Ramathan Gava, a schoolmate and friend of Price Badru Kakungulu, became its first Secretary General. Other trustees were Haji Musa Kasule, Juma Mugerwa, Musa Musoke, Sheikh Abdulhiman Mivule, and Amuli Malende who represented various Muslim education secretariats. The creation of UMEA was historic. Henceforth Muslims in Uganda could get secular western education in a Muslim environment and therefore without fear of conversion to Christianity. A generation of young Muslims equipped with the skills to enable them to participate fully in their nation began to emerge through

UMEA schools. Muslims began to look forward to the future in which they would be participants in their society instead of being mere spectators. The organization received donations from the Aga Khan, the colonial government and African Muslims. It supervised existing schools by appointing head teachers, drafting syllabuses, setting and marking examinations and inspecting the schools. Many good former Qur'an schools, which had introduced a secular curriculum and were associated with or approved by UMEA received government funding. This involved paying certified teachers and helping with capital development, stationary and quality management by the colonial government. By 1956 no fewer than thirteen UMEA, schools were approved and aided by the protectorate government. By the time, the Obote government took control of schools in 1963-64, UMEA administered more than one hundred and eighty full primary schools, eight junior secondary schools, one senior secondary school, and one teacher training college. As table 2 indicates, the number of students going to government recognized schools was almost forty thousand. Government did not register (and therefore recognize) schools that were giving a purely Islamic education (i.e., Quran schools). It is true that, compared to Christian missionary societies, the Uganda Muslim Education Association had few schools. But considering Muslims had come in the field late, it was a noble achievement.

In Kenya, the founding of the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education was an outstanding achievement in the battle to equip East-African Muslims with life skills to enable them participate in their societies.

### **The Founding of Muslim and Administrative Bodies (UMEA, EAMWS) and the Islamic University in Uganda**

To deliver quality education, Muslim societies must establish institutions to guide the exercise. The Association of Quality Assurance Agencies of the Islamic World is a very good example and every Muslim country and community should have a nation

or local equivalent. In East Africa, two organizations, one for the region and another for Uganda were founded in the 1940s. In Kenya and Tanganyika, the same was not the case. The East African Muslim Welfare Society covered East Africa and the Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA) covered Uganda. The founders of UMEA and the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) rejected the purely western education given in a Christian environment and the purely Islamic Quranic education unaccompanied by life skills. Their aim was to give the Muslim students Islamic knowledge, practical skills and sciences: all combined in one. The aims of the Uganda Muslim Education Association and the East African Muslim Welfare Society were to improve the general welfare of Muslims and to turn our Muslim graduates who were well used in both Islamic and western knowledge. Equipped with both those secular and religious skills, these graduates would fully participate in their societies but also practice their religion.

### **The Islamic University in Uganda, 1988-**

The founding of the Islamic University in Uganda, though not of UMEA's own making, was a crowning addition to the dreams of forward looking Muslim education reformers. It was hoped that its curriculum would resolve the bitter dichotomy of purely religious and purely secular conflict. The curriculum was an upgrade of the UMEA schools where both religious and secular education was given in a Muslim environment. The institution is a private international university established by the Organisation of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to offer university education to all Muslims in English speaking Africa. It opened its gates in 1988. Its aims and objectives include the transfer of Islamic beliefs and culture, sciences and technology to African peoples in the said constituency. It also aimed at providing adequate person powers to the countries the university serves. It has turned our exceeding number of 5000 graduates to well versed persons in both Islamic and practical worldly knowledge. It has a very strong faculty of

Islamic Heritage as well as departments of Computer Science, Law, a vocational training, management and the physical sciences. Clearly, the early East African Muslim educational reformers (like Chief Abdallah Fundikira, Prince Badru Kakungulu, the Aga Khan Shah etc.) would have nodded with approval of the university had they to look at the curriculum of the institution.

In the first two years of its existence, the Islamic University in Uganda (IUU) faced the internal and external forces emanating from the dichotomy referred to above. Internal forces wanted to control and influence its administration, curriculum and vision. Ugandan Muslims and foreign ones fought for its control. External non-Muslims forces, exploiting internal discords, tried to kill the University. A number of Muslim institutions located in Muslim minority countries face the same problems as those that almost ate up IUU.

### **The Road Map to Consolidate Achievements in Education and Skills Acquisition in East Africa**

In East Africa, the reformer's dreams of turning out good believing Muslims with life skills to participate in their own societies have been partially fulfilled. But more needs to be done to consolidate these achievements. In order to make Muslims fully participate in their societies, particularly where they are in the minority, possession of practical skills, good education and a thorough knowledge of Islam are necessary. In this way they can remain good Muslims, defend Islam and be able to fully participate in their societies. Although it is our hope that the Islamic University in Uganda will be helped by all well-wishers to carry out this noble task, the demands of the modern market are increasingly laying emphasis on practical skills rather than theoretical education as currently given in universities. Internal forces from within the East African Muslim communities that triggered progressive community change must be sought. A new strategy for developing relevant Muslim education is needed. External forces can only supplement and not initiate change.

With that in view, I would like to give the following road map

for developing the Muslim community to meet the skills demand of their countries. What is clear is that good education and skills delivery can only be qualitative if the whole community is well developed and governed. I will only give this map for Uganda, as East Africa has become more diversified.

### **The Road Map for Realizing the Vision and Mission**

Changed global and local conditions mean new plans and road maps to resolve them. The community must build viable operating civil (non-government) institutions to enhance the vision and mission of the community. Although there will be need for coordinated action, the community should permit individual and local talent to come up with solutions specific to a given social situation. The community must, however, constantly enhance honest and transparent methods of operation. The areas in which institutions are needed include:

- a. Governance and proper organization
- b. Education
- c. Health
- d. Business and Entrepreneurship
- e. Media and Proper Mass Communication

#### **a. Governance and Proper Organization**

While the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council (UMSC) must remain the umbrella organization of the community, individual, local, and civil society organizations that enhance the well-being of Muslims must be built and enhanced by the center. Each organization must define its role in the community it serves and must enhance but not undermine the central Muslim organization body. However, the latter should never frustrate the various organizations that help the cause of the community. Neither should it be administered without full accountability to the Muslim community who voluntarily support it. Officials of UMSC must be transparent and honest if they are to get people's

respect. Our vision envisages hundreds of well-managed civil society organizations within the Muslim community doing various tasks that benefit the community and working in harmony with, or without undermining the UMSC. The UMSC should become what was first envisaged to be; a federation of Muslim institutions and capable organizations and not an autocratic insensitive and corrupt central authority. This is the only way efforts of thousands of Ugandans can be tapped to benefit the community.

## **b. Education**

As a result of the digital, biotechnological, and nanotechnological revolutions, the world economy is increasingly becoming knowledge based. In the United States of America, human capital has surpassed physical capital as the source of national and individual wealth. The Asian giants got an edge over Latin American and African countries in development because of their ability to focus on the production of educated and skilled human capital. The human capital that develops communities and nations are created in education institutions, particularly universities and colleges. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to have good educational institutions if we are to realize our vision.

### ***b.1. Primary Education***

A primary and basic education where both Islamic sciences and secular subjects are taught must be strengthened. The madrasah system must be incorporated in the 2010 Muslim primary schools currently under UMEA. Concurrently, the purely Islamic schools must incorporate the teaching of subjects that impart life skills to students.

### ***b.2. A chain of Secondary Schools***

Currently, UMEA has membership of 139 secondary schools whose curriculum is structured to meet the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEBC) Ordinary and Advanced Level

requirements. These requirements were, and still are, structured to conform to Makerere and, later other universities entry requirements. While such curriculum should be followed, Muslim secondary schools should endeavour to produce secondary school graduates with at least one life skill for the many who do not proceed to university. The transition rate to university is less than 20% and so that majority of school leavers remain unemployed. Thus each Muslim school should have a vocational component. The focus should therefore be on developing an appropriate curriculum, not building more secondary schools.

***b.3. An Elite Academy Combining both Theoretical and Marketable Skills***

To act as an example of the desired practical and marketable high school education, the community should think of building a high competitive secondary school academy whose syllabus is flexible, combining technical, theoretical and marketable education ware. Entrance into such an academy should be competitive and fees should reflect its modern facilities. It should be fully computerized in all its teaching and administrative functions. It is hoped that the academy will influence other secondary schools.

***b.4. Islamic Theological Institutes***

Currently, there are two such institutes: Bugembe and Bilal. The syllabus in these institutes should be enriched in such a way that graduates from these institutions can:

- \* Be absorbed by other national education institutions (whether Muslim or not) and
- \* Have a life skill when they graduate as sheikhs. This will reduce their dependence on their community for sustenance.

***b.5. Technical Colleges***

Currently, the community lacks a technical college to train people who build and repair the nation. Ugandan Muslims used to go to the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education. But

the latter was absorbed by the Kenyan Education System. It is vital therefore that a technical college be founded immediately. Indeed, the market for technical graduates exist as only 1.6% of the 120,000 Ugandans in tertiary education are studying tertiary technical education. There is an acute supply gap of technicians in the country. We recommend that Kakungulu High School at the former TTC be phased out and a Modern MIOME replaces it. There is no time to waste over the issue. Another technical college could be built in the East of the country. Business and entrepreneur education must be part of the syllabus of such comprehensive technical college. Attached are programs of a first technical/polytechnic we should build at Kibuli.

***b.6. Teacher Training College***

The current two teacher training colleges should be maintained but modernized. Again business and entrepreneur education should be an integral part of the syllabus.

***b.7. Health Sector: Nurses and Clinical Workers***

The nursing training school at Kibuli should be improved to cater for more variety of programmes that turn out diploma and certificate workers. Therefore, the Aga Khan University campus located in Kampala should work hand in hand with Muslim nursing institutes to improve the quality of education delivered.

***b.8. University Education***

Most Ugandans aim to end their education with a dose of university qualification. Currently, some 58% of tertiary students are in universities. To many, the subjects studied do not matter as long as they have been to university. As a result, only 17% of those in universities are studying key disciplines of science and technology. The aim of Muslim university education should therefore be to turn out students who have studied subjects that are key to their own and national economic well-being and development. This means that to realize our vision:

- \* The Muslim universities must change their curriculum to focus on science and technology, and
- \* Muslim secondary schools must be equipped to produce more science students.
- \* Further, university education must be broad based to give our students the ability to retrain, change careers and embark on lifelong learning by getting in and out of the system. The Islamic University in Uganda (IUU) should lead the national in curriculum innovation. Universities are autonomous institutions and can design their own curriculum. UNEB or (Uganda National Council for Higher Education) NCHE do not control university curriculums, though the latter accredits them.

*b.9. The Position of Kibuli Hill*

Kibuli Hill should be developed as a center of learning with a well-designed master plan of land use that keeps it as an education, religious, and health center. An inventory of Muslim lands around Kampala should also be conducted.

*b.10. Strengthening*

UMEA must be strengthened by:

- \* Finding sustainable sources of income for it
- \* Developing its administrative institution, and
- \* Building a headquarter for it.

**c. Health**

Muslims throughout Uganda should be able to access health care easily. This could be done by:

- \* Establishing a health insurance plan.
- \* Having a number of health care centers built around mosques throughout the country.
- \* Training many health workers as mentioned above and deploying them appropriately.

#### **d. Business and Entrepreneurship**

Business and entrepreneurship education must be integrated in all education above the primary level. The Muslim community is dependent on business not bureaucratic appointments. Unless they learn scientific ways of doing business, they are likely to lose this position and thrown to the periphery.

Secondly, Muslims must have access to capital. The Greenland model of a common port failed. Another model, possible of smaller scale individual based model should be worked out. But there is now a vacuum in access to capital.

#### **e. Media and Mass Information Systems**

Without influence on what the community is informed, good ideas cannot prevail in communities. It is therefore, vital that information dissemination be part of the master plan.

##### ***e.1. The Role of the Mosque***

Each mosque should be encouraged to have a transparent maintenance committee to oversee development in its locality.

### **Conclusions**

Science and technology for Muslims is the best weapon to compete in the digital age. Muslim communities must therefore acquire science and technology while at the same time remaining good Muslims. This education must therefore be given in a Muslim environment, hence the need for Muslim education institutions that deliver both secular scientific and Muslim education. The current Muslim universities in Africa and Asia should never be made Islamic “seminaries” or purely secular institutions. They should create a Muslim environment and give true scientific knowledge in those institutions. East African Muslims, particularly Ugandans, have fought hard to do so and their achievements should be capped with a new road map to respond to global changes and to develop the whole community as given above.

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