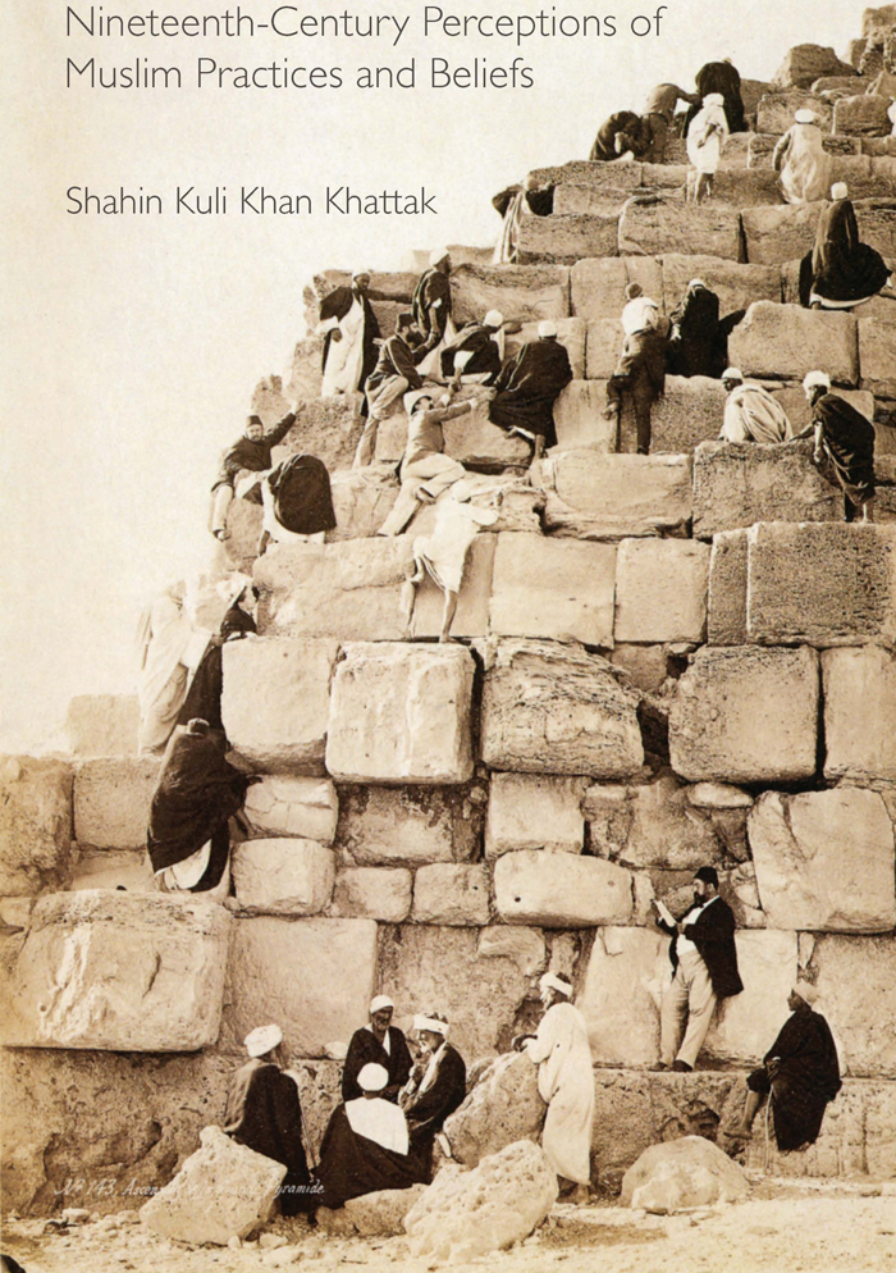
Islam and the Victorians

Nineteenth-Century Perceptions of Muslim Practices and Beliefs

Shahin Kuli Khan Khattak



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Dedicated to the Memory of my Father
Habibullah Khan Khattak
the Profound and Munificent Academic.

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1

INTRODUCTION

In the development of English literature it is only recently that writers have begun to take a serious and dispassionate study of Islam. Whether the originator of this approach was the Papal Bull, Thomas Carlyle, Norman Daniel or Edward Said is not in itself the subject under discussion here. To say this is not to denigrate their efforts but on the contrary to objectively study their contribution to intellectual debate. The continuous marginalisation of the issues raised by them contributes to ignorance, as the indigenous Islamic voice has mostly been ignored and has rarely expressed itself in this discussion. The lack of understanding or of an objective appreciation of the Islamic ethos, has in fact focused attention on contentious issues alone. These ideas need to be studied in greater proximity as they elaborate the background against which nineteenth century English literature was formulated. This process will require a detailed study on both sides of the divide in order to make a positive contribution to knowledge.

To facilitate the publishing process, particulars such as the prayers of "peace be upon him" after the name of Muhammad and diacritical marks of Arabic words have been left to the discretion of the reader.

The impetus for research in this field was provided by Byron Porter Smith's *Islam in English Literature*, originally a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of English at Columbia University in 1939 and later published as a book. This was a study which placed ideas about Muhammad and

Islam against their western intellectual background. Smith's effort was pre-empted in 1937 by another book, *The Crescent and the Cross* by Samuel C. Chew. However Smith was able to make adjustments in the text which avoided repetition of material that had been surveyed in Chew's book. Since Chew had made a detailed study of certain important aspects of Muslim civilisation in English literature of the Medieval and Renaissance period, Smith concentrated on a later period, with an intensive study of Thomas Carlyle's lecture on 'The Prophet as Hero' of 1840. Smith's method of writing was to commence each chapter with a short political history of the period, and then follow it with a study of the writings of English authors, and of Latin as well as European translations.

Thirty years later the material studied in these books was resonated by Norman Daniel in his book *Islam and the West* (1960) which is another authoritative exposé of the distortion of Islam in western literature. This book has had a recent revival and a paperback edition was published in 1997. Daniel was conscious of and sympathetic to the feelings of the Muslims as he had lived with them. He apologised to them for the scandalous material and unpleasant libels of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, noting that western literature abounded in such fabricated details. As a result of the closer and more literary contact between the two worlds of east and west he premised a scientific inquiry.[1] This inquiry would establish factual evidence in order to determine what was implied by the ignorance and unpleasantness of men towards their enemies, and by the hostile view of Islam expressed by chroniclers and others through the ages. Daniel limited his inquiry to the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. His study was focused on Christian traditions about Islam which were already in existence at the time. The study of the development of these traditions and their meaning formed a new body of opinion.[2] Daniel wanted to delineate the deformed image of Islam which was established in the conscious European mind. It

proved to be a detailed study of how the misrepresentations about Islam arose and of how they were allowed to develop from the earliest of times. He also traced the western sources for most of the erroneous ideas manifested.

He followed this study with another book *Heroes and Saracens*, which begins in the Merovingan times and goes on to the age of the Crusades. In this book Daniel provides abundant material and insights concerning the collection of material regarding Islam and the portrayal of Muslims in unofficial western sources. He particularly concentrates on the *Chansons de geste* and the romances that developed from them. The *Chansons* were in three forms of Old French and had a European influence throughout the Middle Ages on Italian, German, Spanish and English literature. Daniel presumed that what was said about the Saracen's religion in the songs related to actual facts in the same way that a distorting mirror twists a real object into an unrecognisable travesty. Daniel compares these songs with the official polemic, and with the legendary and libellous origins from which it developed. In his study he concentrates on the false ideas regarding Islam which existed in the minds of the poets and not on their literary skill. Similarly he is concerned with the content of a convention used over a long period and only slightly modified. One such convention was the false idea of Islam as an idolatry, originally found in the *Chansons* and then rediscovered by the west in the last century when these poems were republished.[3] Daniel discovered that these largely homogenous conventions were the fossils of a lengthy evolution. According to him the sociocritique which was introduced in the last century had been dormant for some time and could be effectively used in his study. Daniel decided to relate the content and form of a work of literature to major social changes that had taken place at the time.[4] Following this method he studied how the Chansons represented Islam and the Arabs to the public of that time. He discussed the term "Saracen" as used by the poets and selected the name Mahon to represent the false

god. The reason he gave for this circumspection was that according to him it was the term least like the name of the Prophet and would not give offence or pain to the believers of Islam. Daniel also decided to limit the use of material hostile to the Prophet Muhammad. He ignored polemic that totally denied Muhammad's Prophethood and focused on those works which at least assume, that he put forward a claim to be a prophet.[5] Daniel classified the people who wrote about Islam into three categories the first being the polemicists or the formal theologians whose objective was to convert people through actual debates and the last being the poets whose purpose was to amuse. In between these two categories were the indeterminate class consisting mostly of chroniclers prepared to use false or authentic material, in order to make their work interesting.

After the publication of these works Daniel brought out another study, *Europe, Islam and the West* (1966) which applied a similar mode of investigation to material from the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. His method was the same and his focus was on the general aspects of Islam though his findings were comparatively variable. His conclusion regarding these variations was that, though there was modification in European thought about Islam, the variations were negligible and the old tradition of polemic was being perpetuated well into the nineteenth century.

The books discussed above had been in circulation for a considerable period without arousing much controversy. It was only when Edward Said's book *Orientalism* was published in 1978 that academic circles in the west underwent a seismic experience. Said was usurped as the proponent of Islam by both Muslims and non-Muslims. This was a reaction which equally bewildered Said as it was not what he had intended. The response to his book was so confusing that Said had to write an afterword to the latest edition of *Orientalism* reprinted in Britain in 1995. There he also distanced himself from the hysterical conflict between the

east and west to which he is erroneously supposed to have contributed.[6] This may result from the fact that he was indigenous to the Arab community if not to the majority faith, and was considered as one with Islam by both Muslims and non-Muslims. A study of Said's book shows that what had been expressed by earlier writers in a circumspect academic tradition was only reasserted by Said with an element of passion. Said's study involved a closer and more personal perspective of Orientalism as it related to the Middle East, since he had been subjected to it. The use of the word "orient" by a journalist, while describing the civil war in Lebanon in 1975-76, led him to an exposé of how the term was coined and appropriated into the study of Orientalism by post-Enlightenment Europe. Said limited his study to the Anglo-French-American experience of Islam as manifested in the Arab countries, Persia and India. According to Said, the writers of those cultures were at the most provoked by the "real orient" and very rarely guided by it.[7] On the contrary they distanced themselves from the exotic "other", thus dividing the world into the occident and the orient. He argued that Orientalism was a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient and more to do with the western world. Said stated that, although most socially aware scholars denied the tendency to be influenced by political, institutional and ideological constraints, they accepted the constraints imposed on a writer by the importance of intertextuality, conventions, predecessors and rhetorical styles. By underscoring these factors Said did not denigrate culture, on the contrary he felt that these internal constraints were productive and not unilaterally inhibiting. He considered Orientalism to be a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by the empires of Britain, France and America. As an example he cites Edward Lane's *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* which became a classic, not because of the reflection of racial superiority, but

because of its style and its historical and anthropological observations.[8] To prove his case Said adopted a hybrid approach that was historical as well as "anthropological", according to his idea that all texts were worldly and circumstantial and varied not only from genre to genre but from one historical period to another historical period. He continues by discussing the stereotyping of the Orient as reinforced in the modern world of mass communication. In what is perhaps his most provocative comment on the political milieu in America, Said describes Orientalism as a secret sharer of western anti-Semitism, pertaining to the Islamic branch. He then concludes with the hope of having contributed to a better understanding of cultural domination and to have stimulated a new kind of dealing which would eliminate the "orient" and "occident" in order to advance upon the unlearning of the past.[9]

In spite of the scope and importance of *Orientalism* another book by Said, *Covering Islam* (1981), seems more relevant for this study. Here Said focuses on the depiction of Islam in the American media after the oil crisis of the seventies. The attitude displayed in those contributions which promoted the west against Islam[10] is representative of literature in other non-Muslim information services. Said expresses the hope of an honest assessment of this problem being made in the future, if it is undertaken by someone who is answerable and in uncoercive contact with the culture being studied; this person must also possess knowledge of the social world which forms the basis of interpretation.[11] The present book has followed the requirements of this guideline in order to attempt to promote the necessary understanding.

Written in the same mode as Said's *Orientalism* but with a different hypothesis which stresses the role of Islam is *Europe and the Mystique of Islam* by Maxime Rodinson. An English translation of this book, which was originally written in French was published in 1988. This was a study of what lies behind the intellectual and spiritual ideas and the emotions which were responsible for the distorted development of Orientalism in Europe. Being influenced by leftist

thinking, the study, though devoid of religious bias, was ideologically loaded in favour of the oppressed Muslims. Rodinson sought to prove that, while absolute neutrality was lacking in traditional scholarship, bias could not be ignored nor remedied by a total swing in the direction of the misrepresented.[12] According to Rodinson the Islamic peoples, as part of the world's underprivileged masses, naturally long to improve their situation. This effort on the part of the Muslims arouses an unnecessary fear amongst Europeans, similar to that which his forbears underwent. Rodinson advises that a balance between the two opinions regarding Islam is necessary and that, while nothing represents a final panacea, neither was Islam the "Hell of the Apocalypse" of today.[13] He then presents an interesting study of the development of Orientalism up to the twentieth century with emphasis on the French contribution to it. This historical survey consists of many peaks and troughs in European attitudes towards the Muslims. The interspersal of peaks representing favourable attitudes towards Islam is informative, but they are too few as well as too obscure and insignificant to have moulded attitudes. Rodinson concludes with a detailed analysis of the attitudes prevailing in the modern world, and with proposals for the future of Orientalism.

Albert Hourani also discussed this issue in *Islam in European Thought* of 1991, a collection of essays in which he provides an exemplary introductory study of the theme outlined in his title. According to Hourani the two sides, Islam and Christianity, were separated by conflict yet held together by ties of a different kind.[14]

A thousand years after the initial contact between them there was comparatively less knowledge of Islam in Europe but more about Christianity in Muslim lands, because of the large Christian populations still resident there.[15] In spite of Muslim presence in Europe since the eighth century, awareness of the Muslim world in the west increased between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, according to Hourani. This was a result of the presence in Europe of the

Ottoman empire. There was a need to know more about the Ottomans as they usually ruled through a local representative and only instituted permanent embassies during the Napoleonic wars.[16] Interest in Islam was to be supplemented by a philological interest in the peoples of the empire well into the twentieth century.

The purpose of the present book is to continue in the mode of study initiated by the above mentioned writers but in addition to compare the existing misconceptions with their counterparts in the tenets of Islamic theology. As these studies had provided detailed accounts of the western sources for the prejudices against Islam and Muslims, a requirement was created for an explanation of the other half of the picture. It was therefore decided to supplement these works with a study of indigenous sources of the misunderstandings and to gauge the change these concepts underwent while passing from one culture into another. The previous studies had established the case for misrepresentations of Islam in English literature, largely concerning themselves with the period up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was concluded that there had been a consistency in the misunderstanding of Islam and the Muslims, with only superficial changes between the initial forming of the misconcepts and the encounters up to the early nineteenth century. This book continues to focus from that period up to the eve of the twentieth century.

This book will concentrate on a study of the Victorian Age (1840-1900) and of general works of literature written then. Some exceptions have been made to include writers falling outside the period in order to provide either a base or apex for the pyramid of references. In this book the study of western books about Islamic theology has been kept to a minimum as their function from the ecclesiastical point of view is self-evident and may not reflect the view of the general public. Therefore the theme of misrepresentation of Islam and of Muslim behaviour reflective of it has been

traced, as contained in poetry, novels, drama, prose and fiction as well as non-fictional prose which include travel writing, biography, autobiography, correspondence and journals. A search of the newspapers, periodicals and documents of the period has also been undertaken. To substantiate the ideas found in literature, research into certain cultural aspects of the Age was also conducted. This has included works of art, music and theatre, all of which provided popular entertainment. Unfortunately during the course of the project, it became evident that the misunderstanding about Islam and the Muslims was compounded by the reinforcement of the earlier misconceptions and by the behaviour of certain indigenous Muslims belonging to nations that had been colonised.

There was also confusion in the works concerned with reference to the depiction of peoples or customs from differing countries and societies. This may have resulted from the fact that Islam has a protoplasmic effect on all the societies that have accepted it. Islam has managed to create a superficial unity between nations as diverse as the Arabs in the deserts of the Middle east and those in the tropical Far east, while still allowing them to retain their national individuality. However the ability of Islam to integrate so effectively with cultural forms has also led to confusion about what is stipulated by the religion and what is the requirement of culture and society. Therefore in this work Islam will be used to refer to the religion, while Muslim will pertain to those who practice the religion.

The chief drawback encountered while writing this book was that, even though a single concept was being traced in the English writings it tended to become unwieldy. This problem arose because a vast field of literature spread over a large time span was being studied. Inevitably certain parameters had to be placed in order to maintain the book as a readable account.

While studying the depiction of Islam and Muslims in works of English Literature, the references collected were

purposely understood as they were presented, for that was how the general public accepted them. A deliberate effort was made to avoid comment on the style or personal predilections of the writers as were any readings into the subtext. The other limitation that has been imposed on this study was that western theological works on Islam have been generally avoided and only used where necessary.

It must be pointed out that, in spite of the set delineations, a massive amount of material was culled out of English works, out of which a selection of the most frequently occurring misconceptions was made for examination. This study pre-supposes the fact that misconceptions were prevalent, and that the western background for these ideas had been documented. What had been attempted at times in these works but left incomplete were detailed analyses of the Islamic concepts that were misrepresented. Thus a deliberate decision was made to concentrate on the Islamic background of the misconceptions prevalent in this collection. Dispensing with moribund confusion this process would in turn put the last piece of the jigsaw puzzle in place so that a complete picture could emerge.

2

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"Faction" seems to be an appropriate epithet for the genre of literature which, during and before the nineteenth century, introduces the subject of Islam and its Prophet Muhammad, into the western world. Whether it was a work of theology, fiction, history, translation, travel, prose, poetry or drama, misrepresentation is generally manifest in all. This was usually the result of a symbiosis of an ill-informed assimilation of facts and of a desire for sensationalism. Apart from the reports of certain chroniclers describing the initial interaction with Muslims such misinformation was impervious to the age in which it was written. Whether this took place in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, or the Victorian Age made no substantial difference, as prejudices of varying degrees continued to emerge.

This ambivalence regarding the attitude of the "west", wherever it may have been geographically located, towards the barbaric "east" (to whichever part of the world this may have referred at the time), existed long before Islam entered the world theatre. It stretches as far back into history as the Scythian incursion into Thrace, the overtaking of the Assyrians by the Babylonian Empire, the Greek expansion into Carthage, the Persians extending into Greece and Egypt, or the Macedonian invasion of Greece. Alexander of

Macedon reversed the usual direction of occupation by attacking from the west when he conquered Persia and India. This pattern was also to be seen in the Rome-Egypt nexus. Reverting to the previous norm in Europe were the occupation of England by the Romans and the Persian conflict with the Roman empire. This was followed by the subsequent "Barbarian" invasions of the Huns, Goths, Vandals, Franks, Alammani, Visigoths and Saxons. Then came the split between the Orthodox and Catholic churches and the antagonism towards the Byzantine empire, which intensified after its capitulation to Muslim rule. It also manifested itself in the differences between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim Jews, the conquests of the Americas, and in, amongst others, the Chinese-Japanese equation and, until recently, in the apprehension of the threat from communism. It seems that the "east" has always been demonised, since most invaders have emerged from that direction.

Surprisingly, anxiety regarding Islam was absent in the chronicles written immediately after the Muslims appeared on the scene. The Byzantine, Coptic, Indian and other chroniclers found little to complain about when they were initially put under Muslim rule. Apprehension of mistreatment at the hands of the invaders may have been a reason for the void but that explanation would be demeaning to the courage of the scribes. The alternative contributing factor may be that Islamic rules were strictly enforced at that time and that the Muslims, with their policy of minimum intervention in the affairs of conquered states, proved to be tolerant rulers. According to this policy they kept to their garrison towns and allowed the citizens to continue with their previous customs, as long as they accepted the Muslims as rulers and paid a tribute in return for protection. The Muslims were scrupulous in their duty to the extent that Abu Ubaidah, the administrator of Syria in the eighth century, returned the jizya or tribute to the non-Muslim population when he could not provide them with adequate protection. Up to the end of the Ottoman empire, the Muslims did

not even appoint ambassadors in their vassal lands and relied on local appointees through whom they ruled. It is only after the lapse of a considerable period of Muslim rule in various countries that disgruntlement would set in amongst the populace and in recorded chronicles. This may have been due to the developing laxity of the Muslims in observing Islamic rules, or a natural process of resenting the ruling party together with a reaction to the bigotry of some rulers. In Spain the direct presence of Muslims led to such widespread acceptance, that hostility to Islam had to be eventually fuelled by the Catholic church, in reaction to the burgeoning of Islam and to conversions to it. Evidence points to the fact that this was an engineered rather than a spontaneous response whenever and wherever it occurred. The anxiety combined with European economic rivalries, reached its culmination during the Crusades and has continued unabated since then. It would not be incorrect to assume that Islam was thus made to don the mantle of all previous invaders from the east, whether they were Muslims or not was irrelevant. It did not make any difference that the early eighth century Muslim attempts at conquering Constantinople were instigated by the disgruntled Byzantine General Leo who wanted to be made the ruler of a vassal kingdom but reneged on the Muslims when he was appointed the Byzantine Emperor.[1] The contributions made to the culture, knowledge and civilisation of Europe during periods of Muslim rule are ignored. On the contrary the present Poland still celebrates its deliverance from the Mongols by depicting them wearing the crescent which the Muslims had inherited from the Byzantine Empire, together with its history of opulence and excesses. By doing this the Poles ignore a basic historic reality, that the Mongols were as much a terror to the Muslims at that time as they were to the rest of the world. Indeed they wreaked untold horrors upon the Muslims, including the ransacking of Baghdad and its magnificent libraries, and the decimation of the population of Samarkand. These acts were ironically laid at the doorstep

of the victims themselves. The eventual absorption of the Mongols into the Islamic faith came at a later stage. As Norman Daniel testifies: "the European west has long had its own characteristic view, which was formed in the two centuries or so after 1100, and which has been modified only slowly since". The modification seems to have been nominal as far as the nineteenth century was concerned, the only significant change that can be discerned being in the sophistication of method employed.[2]

Various writers have put forward their theories regarding this attitude and it would be profitable to study Solomon Nigosian's assertion: "The source of long-standing and persistent misconceptions about Islam among westerners is twofold. One source is theological, while the other is historical."[3] Albert Hourani also writes that Islam appeared as a problem for Christian Europe first as a military enemy and then as a religious threat, as a result of conversions to Islam on a large scale.[4]

THEOLOGICAL BASIS

At this juncture it would be more practical to amalgamate the two sources as later western commentators have done and consider them as one - theological. This is because most of the historical Muslim east-west conflict has always been seen as having an underlying theological bias, regardless of which side was the initiator, or of the nature of the actual motive. Thus, whether it were the Arab thrust outwards in the seventh century AD, or the invasion of the Crusaders, or the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, or its containment, the conflict has always eventually been symbolised as one between the Crescent and the Cross. The requirement for studying history in all its length, all its breadth and all its depth in order to get the necessary perspective has been sadly lacking whenever the Muslim world has had to be surveyed. As V.G. Kiernan points out, Islam was made to be the arch enemy of Europe, from the seventh to the nineteenth century, replacing Persia in this role.[5] This

abhorrence was so potent that it formulated geographical boundaries as well as historical ones. British Official papers amply illustrates this attitude. When documenting the extent of Muslim rule in 1856 the whole area was described as the "Near and Middle east". Once an included area fell out of Muslim control it was excluded from that nomenclature. The given limits changed substantially between 1856 and 1914, a prime example being the achieving of Serbian independence in 1878. This excluded it from such consideration and countries under Serbian rule reverted to being considered as part of Europe, where conventional geography would place them.[6] William Hunter reaffirmed this attitude when he projected this alien division onto the thinking of the Muslims as well, showing an unusual similarity between the two opposing attitudes. He quoted their records to show that Greece, the Danubian countries, Southern Spain and other similar countries with large Muslim populations, even after their overthrow, were not regarded as Islamic once they were wrested from Muslim sovereignty.[7] Conversely Muslims generally accord the same consideration to a living body of Muslims irrespective of whether they are under non-Muslim rule or not as evidenced in the case of, the Soviet Union, Communist China, India and other such countries, unless they are completely extirpated from countries as happened in Spain and Portugal.

CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES

Continuing on the note of theological influence, Hourani comments that George Sale (1697-1736) an English Orientalist and translator of the Qur'an (1734), had introduced the idea of Islam as a scourge to the Christian Church because its members did not live answerable to the religion they had received. Along with an increase in general knowledge in the western world there was a change in the idea of religion. Some eighteenth century writers had used Islam as an oblique way of criticising Christianity, while a number of

French thinkers projected it as nearer to a purely natural faith than Christianity. Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), the British historian, was probably affected by this attitude. His *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has been constantly referred to in this book as it provided a source of knowledge about Islam for most of the writers following him. Gibbon's work though controversial at the time of publication has stood the test of time, and though there may be differences of opinion regarding his inferences on all religions, his use of sources has been commended. Gibbon was subject to personal religious uncertainty and perhaps this was reflected in his ambivalence towards all the faiths he discussed. The publication of the first volume (1776) which dealt with Christianity scandalised Gibbon's public, who thought he was deriding Christianity in discreet sarcasm like a fifth century Pagan philosopher. Even though Gibbon was to counteract this criticism with the publication of a vindication (1779) his next two volumes (1781) were poorly received. However his magnum opus is considered as much a work of literature as well as history, something which is enhanced by his personal remoteness.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century writers continued to see Islam as a rival to Christianity or as a rationalist attempt to define God and the universe. The expansion of Europe necessitated this and well into the century there was a renewal of thought about Islam. Britain gave rise to the idea of opposition between Islam and Christianity as a result of Evangelicalism which now had a large empire to save, particularly in India. William Muir (1819-1905), an official, was affected by it, while Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) represented the other range of opinion and was less ambivalent to Islam. There was yet another view promoted earlier by Charles Forster in *Mahometanism Unveiled* which saw Muhammad as Christ's antagonist who would indirectly shape the course of things and revive Christianity by stimulating a fight against idolatry, Judaism and Christian heresies. This argument may have influenced Frederick Denison

Maurice (1805-1872) an English theologian who attended Carlyle's lectures, and, though appreciating the charity of his views on Muhammad, disagreed with Carlyle's idea of religion. Maurice was Professor of Literature and History at King's College London and expressed his views on religion in a series of lectures in 1845-1846 which were published as a book titled *The Religions of the World and Their Relations with Christianity*. He discussed each of the high religions as for him the essence of religion was the faith in men's hearts. In the case of Islam he considered as inadequate the usual reasons put forward by non-Muslims for its success. He suggested another reason for its success which was that Islam was a judgement of God on guilty nations which had lost Christian virtues, were sunk in the worship of images, religious ceremonies and philosophical theories and were inhabited by pagans who had not known Christianity or rejected it. By the latter half of the nineteenth century Britain was fairly confident of its dominions and could devote time to spreading its influence over the lives of the inhabitants. This was an opinion which Samuel T. Coleridge wanted to express in his incomplete poem about the Prophet Muhammad.[8] A strong wave of evangelism made Britain feel a duty towards spreading the faith and enlightening the natives of its colonies.[9] The general feeling of the British public on the subject, largely expressed in relation to India and conveyed in letters and journals, consisted of complaints about the indifference of the British government to Indian politics and in particular to missionary efforts. One of the most important points which the Church of England had to address was how the gospels were to be taught to heathen children so as to produce a native ministry. The schools teaching these, would eventually prepare the ground for the conversion of India. The teaching of science was intended to undermine Hindu and Muslim dogma. English literature would do even more as it was a product of genius which expressed both philosophy and Christian learning.[10] Consequently a very strong Missionary

force was established in India and obviously there was concern amongst the Indian Muslims at these evangelistic efforts. Their misgivings caused Henry Martin to write a tract in order to silence those mullahs who spoke against Christ and in favour of their own religion. This was in turn sent to the great mullah in Baghdad who was asked to refute Martin's arguments[11] The Missionary society in India continued to play a very active role and, encouraged by Evangelical officers of the East India Company, they even organised public religious debates between Muslim (Shaikh Rahmatullah al- Kairanawi) and Christian (Karl Pfander) representatives, which were attended by Muir.[12] Disconcertingly for the British the Muslims had the upper hand in these debates as they were well read in Christian theological arguments, which had been translated into Urdu. These debates were similar to those which had occurred earlier in the Abbasid and Mughal periods. All of these events had found a place in the written work of the time. In spite of these efforts, the Missionary presence in India did not have the success over the indigenous populace anticipated by Clair-Tisdall when he lectured to fellow Christians in the James Long Lectures during 1891-92. He hoped that his listeners would volunteer for the work the voice of the risen Lord called them to. This work, which was a nobler crusade, was to wrestle with world rulers of darkness through missionary work.[13] It may be concluded that, no matter how diverse the views and methods of the various opinions of religious organisations in the west were, they were united in wishing to achieve the same goal which was the containment of Islam.

Simultaneously in Turkey the same results were pursued and it was even believed that the evangelising of the Turks would be an easy task and that even the Sultan would have no choice but to become a Christian.[14] In 1852 American Missionaries wrote to Stratford de Radcliffe that the greatest glory for a British Statesman was to be the instrument of God, and, since the Turks were beginning to see

Christianity in its purity, he should do his best to forward this.[15] Stratford de Radcliffe (1786-1880), an English diplomat, served in Turkey in various posts from 1808-1812. His duty was to counteract French influence at the Porte where he negotiated the treaty of Bucharest. In 1825 as Ambassador to Turkey he mediated on behalf of Greek independence, and was sent in 1831 to delimit Greece. The displeased Russian Tsar refused to receive him when he was designated as an ambassador in 1833. He built-up an extraordinary influence in Turkey during the period 1842-58 and acquired the title of Great Elchi. He induced the Sultan to inaugurate reforms, resisted Russia's protectorate over the Orthodox Christians, and was allegedly responsible for the Crimean War.

Whether it was to reinforce public motivation on a religious basis or otherwise, these ventures into foreign lands, or exacerbation against Muslims seemed to be generally accepted amongst English writers at the time. Another reason for the inimical view of the Muslim represented by the Turk may have developed from the policy of the Ottomans of exploiting the indigenous animosity of the races of Europe and launching them against each other. Therefore the initial clashes were often vicious, and, later, to establish control, they would move in Ottoman troops. By doing so the Ottomans would have achieved the conquest, no matter how bloody, by generally preserving their troops as well as avoiding expedient compromise on Islamic values of warfare. The negative view of the Turk which was formed from these encounters was to extend to all Muslims, regardless of nationality.

This animosity was expressed by various authors whenever it was convenient and even if it included writing about Persia. One such writer was James J. Morier (1780-1849), a diplomat who turned to writing literature on the basis of his travels abroad. Morier served in various capacities on missions to and from Persia, an experience upon which he capitalised, establishing a career as an authority. He was also of

the opinion: "It will be a matter of rejoicing that the falsehood of Mohammedanism will gradually be found out and that the people will discard it in favour of the truth".[16] Morier's best work, *Journey Through Persia* (1812) contained observations mixed with the humour of his graphic power. The book provided information about a little known country and became even more influential when it was translated into French and German. Morier wrote it in response to the great interest in Persia he found on his arrival at England. His memoranda on Persia had been published during his journey, but he hoped that his book would now suffice as a link in the chain of information until something more satisfactory was produced. Morier said that his account was unadulterated by partiality and unbiased by any other writer's views and he claimed every species of indulgence from his readers. His *Second Journey Through Persia* of 1818 was based on another mission, this time as Secretary to Sir George Ousley. Morier, who had earlier been assigned to accompany the Persian ambassador as an interpreter, made unkind fun of the Persian in his books describing the journey from Tehran to London in 1809.[17]

The assumed obnoxiousness of the Muslim in general is expanded in Morier's description of the boarding of his ship by the Sheikh of Bushire and his entourage, who, with what Morier describes as the curiosity and effrontery of Asiatics, spread themselves through every part of the vessel.[18]

James Fraser (1783-1856) who had voyaged to India, the West Indies and the Himalayas, specialised in books on Persia and the east which he too based on his travels. He was asked by his government to arrange the visit of the two Persian princes when they visited England and he based a work on this. He was also to testify to the enlightening effect of a Christian discourse on the minds of the Muslims.[19] However his fiction was considered undistinguished and to have contributed to the decline of the Eastern Tale from the level to which James Morier had brought it in the 1820s and 1830s.

Writing about the Crusades would always have an obvious target as is clear in the work of Edward Bulwer Lytton (1803-1873). Lytton also shared with his friend Benjamin Disraeli a cult of Byron as a literary idol. The friendship only lasted until Disraeli's marriage when a separation occurred between them. However they were both exponents of idealism, an aesthetic of the 1830s which aimed at the exaltation rather than imitation of nature. While Disraeli was more discerning Bulwer Lytton was to express his disapproval of Muslim rule at the opening of the poem *The Last Crusader* (1852) whose subject is a Christian looking over the battle fields won by the Muslims. His words are:

> "Left to the saviour's conquering foes, the land that girds the Saviour's grave; Where Godfrey's crozier-standard rose, He saw the crescent-banner wave."

The defeated crusader is aroused to ask in despair if God was so careless of his own? He receives a comforting reply in a vision which tells him "O Warrior! never by the sword The Savior's Holy Land is won!"[20]

A strain of evangelism also found its way into the novels of the period concerned with India. At times this concept appeared inadvertently, perhaps as found in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), when Jane contemplates becoming the wife of a missionary in India, after she is prevented from marrying Mr. Rochester.[21] The theme reverberated well into the century and was particularly evident in the novels of Hilda C. Gregg who wrote under the pseudonym of Sydney C.Grier. She had written *In Furthest Ind* as the autobiography of an East India Company man. Her *Like Another Helen* is an epistolary novel about the Black Hole of Calcutta outrage. In *The English Governess* of 1894 the sense of evangelical duty was very clearly expressed in Miss Arbuthnot's advice to Miss Cecil, on her journey to Baghdad as a governess to a young potentate: "You can show him a Christian life and exercise a Christian influence".[22]

In Turkey, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) saw evangelising events more clearly. Comparing the effects of crusaders and commerce on Muslims, he said that the use of European iron as pikes and helmets had no effect, but that used as piston-rods and furnace pokers, they would be irresistible. Allegorising the truth that commerce is stronger than chivalry, Thackeray finished with an image of Mahomet's crescent being extinguished in Fulton's boiler".[23] A similar point was made much later by Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) in *Androcles and the Lion* when he said that the English could convert the Negroes to their faith easily but not the Jews or Muslims as neither of the latter saw any advantage in Salvationism as opposed to their own faith. "The Crusader was surprised to find the Saracen quite as religious and moral as himself, and rather more than civilised".[24] However resistance to the financial gains which resulted from the technological advance of the west was not so strong, and Thackeray's prophecy was soon realised in an unprecedented manner. Most of the Missionary movements had very little success in converting Jews and Muslims and, as a result, they set about converting Middle eastern Christians from other denominations.[25]

CIVILISATION

With the passage of time, as religion came under increasing scrutiny at home, English writers accordingly modified their critical stance and terminology against the Muslim, although the main purpose remained the same. According to Wilfred Blunt, Europe was still socially hostile and politically aggressive towards Islam and, though it no longer put forward religious zeal as its motive, it now made out its case under the name of civilisation. This crusade was no less a reality, and this was an opinion Blunt was to forcefully promote throughout his book on the future of Islam.[26]

In order to assert superiority and to denigrate the subject nations, who included the Muslims amongst others,

widespread criticisms were undertaken. C.A. Murray, who was generally a moderate in his views of the Muslims, carried on this image of Muslim brutality late into the century. In a work of 1857 he described an incident, the details of which he claimed were not fit for a citizen of a civilised state, although they were far from degrading in the eyes of an Arab.[27] This approach, which could have resulted from ignorance of the "other", is continued in a much later book with a convenient shift in morality, when Murray justifies the slaughter of the decadent beys by the Viceroy, as Muslims were not educated on the same principles as the English. According to Murray the Muslims were accustomed from infancy to bloodshed and to punishments that would make civilised nations shudder. Murray further tried to clarify the Viceroy's act as having probably been carried out at the behest of the Porte.[28]

ETHNOGRAPHY

With the continuing development of science, and in particular following the publication of Darwin's thesis on the *Origin of Species*, efforts were made to provide empirical proof in order to make the palpable ambivalence regarding races inhabiting the dominions more authentic. These efforts even went to the extent of research into the physical manifestation of blushing in people with different skin pigments which was recorded by Charles Darwin in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872).[29] It is also relevant to consider the highly dubious ethnographic surveys indulged in by some British anthropologists who photographed the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands against backgrounds of grid-like squares in order to compare their physical characteristics more clearly. Such demeaning measures accomplished the colonialist purpose they were instituted for which was to reinforce the prevailing attitude of racial superiority while doing little for the people studied.

The superficiality of other studies conducted with a similar attitude was discussed in Mohar Ali's account of the officially promoted Beverly-Risley report on the Muslims of Bengal. Ali states that according to the protestations of contemporary Muslims of that time, the report was not properly researched and was based only on the censuses of 1872 and 1891. The report stated that the Muslims in Bengal had increased by a million during the interim as a result of the mass conversion of low caste Hindus. The argument was substantiated by including a chart of the prevailing nasal heights. The Muslim protest at this was vociferous, and displayed its own vanity of elitism when the Muslims explained that they had ruled Bengal for over five hundred years. When the Muslims conquered the territory, they sent for immigrants and settled them amongst the people in order to preach to them. Along with lower class Hindus, peoples from the higher classes were also converted to Islam as they would otherwise have posed a greater threat to the rulers. Buddhists were also included among the converts. It is pertinent to note that in the Hindu owned newspapers of the period there was no great protest at conversions to Islam, as there was over conversions to Christianity. A Muslim missionary organisation comparable to the Christian one was not in existence. Most important was the fact that Muslims were not the ruling power at the time of the writing of the report. The arbitrary selection of the official report was evidenced when another book written by Rubber with a more authentic theory but this did not receive Government patronage. Its findings were also ignored by Thomas Arnold (1795-1852) in his *Preaching of Islam* which only included the Beverley-Risley theory, the Census records and extracts from Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans*.[30]

POLITICAL CONCOMITANCE: INDIA

On the political front two important studies, purportedly conducted in a different vein to those discussed previously,

aimed to achieve results similar to those desired by the Missionaries. These were the studies by W.W. Hunter and Wilfred S. Blunt. William Wilson Hunter (1840-1900) a statistician, entered the civil service of India in 1862. His post as Superintendent Of Public Instruction in Orissa enabled him to write the *Annals of Rural Bengal* of 1868. In 1871 he became Director General of the Statistical Department of India and compiled his first book which was the census of India, in 1872. He retired in 1887 and wrote other books, mostly on Indian subjects. Another work *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen?*, contained advice for the British government about the state of affairs regarding the Muslims of India. It advocated a change in policy towards the Muslims which was to coincide with Blunt's opinion and prove equally controversial. Hunter's view was typical of colonial obduracy towards subject peoples and was openly displayed in the dedication of the book when he said that the Muslims had been persistently belligerent and were a permanent source of danger to Empire. This opinion was expressed in spite of an admission that Sikh tyranny was responsible for the uprising of the Muslims against them which in turn had been instigated by the British. Similarly Hunter displayed critical ignorance about the Sikhs when he described them as "Hindu Sikhs" and amalgamated two totally distinct religions of India.[31]

Like Blunt, Hunter also erroneously maintained that the Qur'an would reduce the alternative to conversion to death. Hunter continued with further discrepancies while tracing alleged Muslim misdoing in the past. He criticised the Moghul Emperor Akbar for not including Hindu officers among his leading officers, yet acknowledged Akbar's insistence and successful defence of the appointment of a Hindu finance minister. While tracing the factors responsible for British supremacy over India, Hunter said that the Muslims had transferred power to the British on condition that the old system would continue. The British reply to reneging on

this promise was that the old system was so depraved that a replacement was necessary. This had greatly disconcerted the Muslims who further alienated themselves as they became suspicious of British schools and refrained from allowing attendance at them.[32]

Subsequently the educated Muslim had felt marginalised in favour of the Hindus, and Hunter argued that there was a general acceptance of the fact that they, as British subjects, had been neglected. To rectify this imbalance he recommended to the government that the Muslim youth should be educated according to their own indigenous plan without interfering with their religion, believing that in the process of this education, Islam would render them less fanatical, as had happened with the Hindus.[33]

The supposed promotion of Indian Muslims also appeared as a by-product of advice given regarding the political situation in certain other Muslim nations by Wilfred Scawen Blunt (1840-1922), a British diplomat, who became a renowned Arabist and a great supporter of Indian, Egyptian and Irish independence.[34] Blunt, known for his political verse, love poems and breeding of Arab horses, also stood for parliament and was imprisoned in 1888 for activity in the Irish Land League. While in the British diplomatic service from 1859 to 1870 he travelled in the Near and Middle East espousing the cause of Arbi Pasha and Egyptian nationalism. *The Future of Islam*, originally published in two consecutive volumes of the *Fortnightly Review* of 1882, appeared in book form. Another work, published in 1909, was *India Under Ripon*, a private diary continued from Blunt's *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*. Blunt travelled extensively through North West India and, in 1885, published *Ideas About India,* which included a sympathetic account of Indian Muslims. A later contribution was "The Shame of the Nineteenth Century", A Letter Addressed To The *Times* of 24 Dec. 1900, which was critical of the triumphalism of the United Kingdom. Another letter, addressed to the Prime Minister the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G. on 17th May, 1902, was concerned with the

mistreatment of khadimas, servants and aimed to protect them. Blunt concluded that the Muslims were as much disaffected towards the British as any other religious group in India. According to him "we do nothing to gain their affection, and they waste none on us" but he pointed out that it was only in the last few years that they had begun to share the general distrust with which Britain is now justly regarded in Islam.[35] Further detailing the problems of the British in India he blamed the presence of the Englishwoman for the fury of retaliation to the rising of 1857, and stated that her increasing influence made amalgamation less possible.[36] He also pointed out that native Indians were insulted in public for wearing their dress, even at a railway station. Blunt had witnessed an Indian, a friend of the government, who had come to say goodbye to him, being insulted by an English officer without any other provocation.[37] Consequently in *The Future of Islam* Blunt expressed the hope that the Muslims would renew the glories of the university of Al-Azhar at Cairo in the new university at Hyderabad, which Blunt helped establish under the patronage of the Nizam, He also hoped that it would supersede Aligarh, something in which he was supported by Lord Ripon and Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant Governor of the North West provinces.[38] Thus the dethroned rulers, who had been long ignored and disaffected, the Muslims of India, were brought into focus. This policy was further endorsed when the views of the local serving British officers were taken into consideration. The situation was alluded to by Edward Lear (1812-1888) on his travels in India, when he met a Scottish engineer, who compared the abilities of the Muslim and Hindu clerks, and favoured the chances of the former if they were only afforded the opportunity.[39] This was a view that was expressed by Lyall as: "I wouldn't be lectured by Kafirs, or bullied by fat Hindoos;"[40]

Blunt explained that his research for *The Future of Islam*, was conducted in Jeddah, since this was the entry point to Mecca for pilgrims from all over the world, and that his

impression regarding Islam there was quite different from the one he had formed in India, which was comparatively narrower because of fewer observable nationalities. He based his work on a census he conducted, a study of the diversity of Islam and or its various Muslim sects up to the time of the Wahhabis. Throughout the book he recounted the magnanimous qualities of Islam yet confused them with the depravity of the failing Ottoman empire. Discussing the relationship of England with Islam he stressed that, unlike other European nations with a crusader past, England had a special role as it had withdrawn from the conflict at an honourable time and was devoid of the feeling of revenge. However Blunt's portrayal of Islam was contradictory and the effect it produced was not dissimilar to that of inimical writers from previous ages and varying cultures. He advised promoting the cause of Indian Muslims since they were the largest homogenous body and could affect opinion in the rest of the Muslim world. It was also important to maintain Egyptian goodwill, even though other Europeans could barely influence Egypt and its hostile climate would never sustain them. The Europeans could take over the cities, but the rest of Egypt would always remain Muslim. Another point of interest for exercising control was that England had a moral obligation to abolish slavery and to nurture the more "humane" aspects of Islam everywhere.[41] However, for Blunt moral obligations could be easily overlooked when it came to the question of the British guarantee against foreign invasion of Turkey. As this promise was conditional on Turkish administrative reforms, it could be circumvented as having been made to the Sultan and not to the Turkish people. Even though it was felt impossible to escape British moral obligation towards the Muslims of Asia Minor and Syria, what mattered was how disposed or able Britain was to implement it. For Blunt, Turkish speaking lands were outside effective military control and even a dishonourable retreat for Britain would be necessary. He advised his government to overcome Istanbul (which was persistently

called by the outdated Byzantine name of Constantinople), an action which was necessary for curtailing the despotic effect of the Ottoman Porte; and to reinstate Mecca as the pivot of spiritual and temporal Islam.

Up to this point Blunt was unreservedly a man of Empire, its preservation being his primary concern, and so far his plans are easily understood. His attitude towards Islam is also self explanatory despite his convoluted manner of expression. He explains that reinstating Mecca would give Muslims a more distinctly religious character and would enforce their dependence on spiritual rather than temporal arms. By achieving this Britain would restore moral life to a greater extent than would be the case by a political victory.[42] Thus, with nominal sovereignty, a Pan-Islamisation could be fulfilled that would be more appropriate for the British and very different from that of Abd-el-Hamid and the Ulema of Turkey. The Caliphate which had been earlier wrested by the Turks from the Arabs was eventually devolved upon them, more by British insistence than by any serious desire on the part of the Ottomans. Now it was to be prevented from falling into the hands of an enemy of Britain, whether this were France, Russia, Holland or Germany.[43] This was to be achieved by promoting the interests discussed above. Blunt created a certain confusion about his intentions when he apologised to those Muslim readers who would certainly be disappointed when he predicted political misfortunes for them, including the loss of political power in the Ottoman lands of Europe and west Asia and their absorption by Russia. He assuaged the offence he caused them with the curious reasoning that it was done with the intention of improving their future. In order to achieve this he recommended the reformation of Islam as necessary for their spiritual development and resurgence.[44] Simultaneously he was repeatedly urging England "In God's name" to take Islam by the hand and lead her boldly in the path of virtue as the only wise cause and worthier than a century of crusade.[45] He also contradicted his contemporaries when he expressed the

belief that Islam would not remain stagnant as it was capable of reformation. He expressed great satisfaction that Egypt and the Al-Azhar had come into their own and were contributing tolerant ideas to Islam.[46] This desire of Blunt's aroused further confusion regarding his motives, as though he admitted that Islam was spread through reason and faith and that the basic belief was as strong as ever amongst the Muslims. He also advised Islam to give up conquering by the sword. He consoled the Muslims by predicting a spiritual inheritance of Africa and Southern Asia, and the temporal inheritance of Asiatic and African governments when the Europeans tired of them.[47]

WAHHABIS

Whether Britain or other western powers did seriously act according to this advice is immaterial. The fact remains that the Wahhabis were a sect dominant in the early nineteenth century. They came to power with the western help and forcefully compelled Muslims to observe the Muslim laws both in public and in private. The founder of the sect, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, (1703-1787) formed an alliance with the local ruler Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud. He modernised their weapons by introducing the use of firearms to achieve their expansionist aims. After facing several setbacks over the years the Wahhabis finally managed to establish their rule over the Arabian Peninsula in 1929. However, by now the Wahhabi doctrines and practices were imposed in a progressively gentler form. As more urban areas passed into Sa'udi control, their cosmopolitan influence could not be ignored.[48] Hunter reported in *The Mussulmans* that: "In 1803 when the Wahhabis captured Mecca and Madina they massacred the inhabitants who had refused to accept their creed, plundered and defiled the tombs of the Muhammadan saints, and spared not even the Sacred Mosque itself." They "disdained the compromises by which the rude fanaticism of Muhammad has been skilfully worked up into a system of civil polity, and adapted alike to

the internal wants and foreign relations of Musalman States." The Wahhabi revolution in Arabia eventually spawned similar reforming activities in India but followers of the movement were described by Hunter as "The Patna Caliphs", because they were engaged in overt treason. He accused only the Muslims, despite admitting that the rebel troops consisted of "Hindu fanatics" under the leadership of Titu Miyan. This rebellion was basically a peasant uprising against the petty oppressions to which they were subjected by Hindu landlords.[49] Ignoring these, Hunter concluded that the main conspirators of the widespread conspiracy of 1863 included agents of the British Government. Alleged to be religious fanatics they were denied "the glory of martyrdom" and were transported for life. Hunter astutely noted, that the Indian Muslims were bound by their own law to give obedience as long as this was reciprocated by non-interference from the British. If the Raj acted otherwise then they could enforce submission, but could no longer claim obedience from them. Once this was done then even minor grievances attained the gravity of political blunders, and of these the Raj had made many.[50] The culmination of these mistakes had been in the tragic events of 1857, but the obduracy continued as can be discerned from the literature produced by English writers of the time. Sir Alfred Comyn (1835-1911), who was Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces of India from 1882-87, wrote of events in India: "Ye shall make no terms with the infidel, but smite his soul to hell". In another poem called "Moriturus Loquitur" he wrote "They stood and burnt for a rule of faith" and in "Retrospection", "When Islam had risen and Delhi fell".[51]

In the press two articles on British India appeared in an American periodical called *The Atlantic Monthly* of November[52] and December 1857 discussing the "Indian Revolt 1857".[53] These were as far from the truth as the distance of the Atlantic ocean from India. Similar articles, as well as books like Hunter's, contributed to perpetuating the misunderstanding of the real political situation. A

controversy arose between Syed Ahmed Khan and Hunter after the publication of Hunter's book. According to Khan, the Wahhabi trials and Hunter's sensational work had drawn the attention of the public to the state of Muslim feeling in India.[54] As Hunter's book was misleading and was read by all classes of the community, Khan felt compelled to write a refutation of it in his review. Khan was also to disagree with a biography of the Prophet, written by another contemporary, William Muir.

Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) was a contemporary of Hunter's and a Muslim reformer who founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Indian Oriental Aligarh College which later became a university. Aligarh University gave its name to a modernising movement in India and encouraged access to western education among Muslims in order to bring them level with the Hindus of India who were far ahead of them. Khan argued that Hunter had based his generalisations about the whole Muslim population on a study of the Muslims of Bengal.[55] Hunter confirmed this allegation by stating that the conspiracy which originated in Bengal spread to the Punjab.[56] The two provinces are separated by a distance of over a thousand miles of land and had totally different cultures. Khan also stated that Hunter had been misled by forces inimical to Wahhabism.[57] Outlining the rise of Wahhabism in Arabia and India, Khan said that the Muslim factions were so bitter against each other that it had been impossible for Wahhabis in Arabia to get support from Turkish rulers and that the Ottoman Muhammad Ali had defeated them. In India they were called Ahl-I Hadith and were also suppressed by the various Muslim rulers till the British allowed them to practise freely, and encouraged them to fight against Sikh oppression in the North West Frontier region of India. They were also strongly resisted by the tribesmen of the Frontier until 1852 when the persecutions in other parts of India began and both Hindu and Muslims fled to the area for sanctuary. Although there were occasional skirmishes with the British forces on the Frontier

borders none were planned rebellions. The Wahhabis were first known as "Ghazis" or "Jihadis", both terms being misapplied as any Muslim who participates in a religious war could be given this name.[58] According to Khan the reformation of the Muslim faith was compatible with living as a British subject[59] as the British fulfilled the Islamic criteria of rulers who were to be obeyed, since they were not coercing the practice of Islam. Khan cited the example of a Wahhabi leader, Moulvi Mahbub Ali, who was asked by Bukht Khan, a member of another Muslim faction, to sign a proclamation for a religious war against the British. The Wahhabi refused to do so and cited the precepts of their religion, according to which Muslims could not rebel against the British. He also upbraided the other Muslims for the inhuman cruelties perpetrated by them on European women and children[60] and reminded them of the principle of migration when Muhammad had himself sent his community to seek refuge in Christian Abyssinia. After 1857 collisions with the British became frequent and it was alleged that funds for the fanatics, were provided from the collection of religious charity incumbent on every eligible Muslim. The irony of the situation was that the Muslim reformers were working against the misrule over the Muslims by the Sikhs in the North west of India, something in which they were encouraged by the British. Therefore their struggle was not against the British, in fact they even tried to dissuade Muslims from taking part in the violence of 1857 along with the Hindus of India, as a result of Indian nationalism. The British Raj had reached its zenith and there were rumbles of discontent in the empire. The populace of India as a whole was antagonistic to British rule. These rumblings found an outlet in 1857 and were amplified by other insurrections. However the people who paid the highest price were the Muslims. The situation was evident in the documented records of world-wide rebellion, predominantly Muslim led, and it did not require great prophetic power to predict the violence that eventually took place in India.

The method of executing educational policy in the Ottoman empire during the nineteenth century was different to that in India because of the variety of countries and foreign powers involved. At the end of the eighteenth century the educational institutions in the central Arab lands of Hijaz, Syria, and Egypt were superior to their counterparts elsewhere.[61] The French occupation of Egypt and Syria was to cause their dislocation and physical destruction. However the initiation of modernisation was actuated by the national leaders, beginning at the top in Istanbul. The aim of these institutions was not educational but to provide a westernised military machinery.[62] Though this policy was to be abandoned by the middle of the nineteenth century it had by then resulted in extensive French, Italian and Greek colonies, which enjoyed and exploited extra-territorial rights in commerce and industry, as well as in education, through the Ottoman empire.[63] The eventual institution of dual control of Britain and France over the public services in Egypt after the opening of the Suez Canal was to signal the resistance to foreign influence.[64] The result of interference was equally debilitating elsewhere in the empire whether the European influence was introduced deliberately by Ottoman governments, or imposed by occupying powers or insinuated gradually through educational missionary work.[65] Thus the promotion of the Muslim cause in the Empire by the British, whether political or educational, came about as a result of their efforts to prevent the Porte from falling into enemy hands and has to be considered along with other efforts at stabilising their colonial rule. Thus the ambivalence regarding Islam formulated the basis of the British Raj's political and educational policies with the aim of Islam's containment, coinciding with that of the missionaries.

TURKEY

An interesting example of the way in which the constant flux between literature and public policy prevented an

objective appraisal is provided by the depiction of Turkey which culminated in the incident of the Bulgarian Horrors. An ambivalence parallel to that concerning the Muslims in India was also observed in the attitude of the British in Turkey. By the nineteenth century most of the Muslim world had been effectively subjugated and the failing Ottoman empire alone provided a semblance of opposition. Seen as an embodiment of the "Muslim" by the rest of the world Turkey had therefore to be pilloried. Thomas Hardy illustrates this while describing the ancient Mummers play, when St. George fights the Saracen/Turkish Knight in *The Return of the Native*, published in 1878. Here Hardy writes that when eventually the Turk is cut to the ground he falls by degrees, like his empire "dying as hard in this venerable drama as he is said to do at the present day."[66]

According to Andrina Stiles in her book on Ottoman history the attempt at representing Ottoman sources was superficial as there were very few such sources were available in the nineteenth century.[67] On the contrary nonindigenous sources were numerous and generally unambiguous in their attitude. This position is outlined by Blunt and a summary of it is contained in an official British memorandum of 30 June 1856 concerning Turkish reforms. This states that "Mohammedanism with its ablutions and innumerable calls to prayer, fasts precepts restraints and allowed indulgence of the passions was considered suitable only for the eastern type of people".[68] The value of such confidential documents was stressed as they gave information about the controlled dismemberment and uncontrolled modernisation of the Near and Middle East. These memoranda also expressed the unconsciously transmitted values of those who wrote them. The official papers record these at great length and display the British mindset of the time when they describe the Turks as being unfit for incorporation into Europe because their domestic customs were partly a result of their eastern origin and partly of their religion. These customs included the segregation of women and, as a result, the early

rising from public audiences by the Sultan and his retirement to the harem. Fantastic displays in public entertainment were another argument against the amalgamation of the Turks with Europe. The last disqualification was particularly ironic considering the British relish for pageantry. The officials also found the Qur'an incompatible with the European way of life. The memorandum concluded with the belief that it was impossible for Turkey to participate in Europe while practising the laws of the Qur'an in its civil and religious polity. These laws were considered as subversive of morality and justice and opposed to all progress in the enlightening and humanising of the species. The British officers believed that amendments were not enough, and that legal and administrative regulations must be enforced in order to wipe away the evils spawned by fanaticism and by conquests confirmed by religious legislation and perpetuated by the customs of several countries. The Porte had to feel beholden to the allied powers of Christendom which were saving it from imminent peril. The continued weakness of the Ottoman Empire would lead to a grand struggle for the partition of Europe.[69] This in turn would lead to a bloody conclusion for all concerned, but as usual the Turks were held responsible for the carnage. Kiernan noted that such ferocity was always believed to be the attribute of uncivilised nations whereas, oftener than not, it was European ferocity which had forced these nations to retaliate.[70]

Political policy was reinforced through a biography by John Davenport who was to say, in the advertisement for *The Life of Ali Pasha* of 1837, that for two centuries the Ottoman Empire had been disintegrating. The incumbent Sultan John Davenport had been remedying that effect in vain. In a summation reminiscent of Blunt's confusion Davenport argued that it was necessary for the peace of Europe that Turkey should be stabilised. Hence the hope that the public would favourably receive the biography of one of the most celebrated Ottoman Pashas "one of the numerous dilapidators of Turkish resources, and scourges of

Turkish people" and see the vampyre effect with which subaltern tyrants can exhaust the vital principle of an extensive empire".

The same Ali Pasha, the most profligate of Ottoman suzerain chiefs in Albania, who matched his religion to the demands of expediency, had earlier been introduced to Europe through Byron's highly influential *Childe Harold* of 1812. This was a poem about the travels and reflections of a pilgrim who leaves behind an indulgent past and begins his journey in Albania and continues into Spain and Portugal. He describes the Albanian ruler as:

"....whose dread command
Is lawless law; for with a bloody hand
He sways a nation, turbulent and bold:"[71]

The Pasha's cavalier attitude eventually represented the epitome of the Turk while it was acknowledged that he was the bane of the Ottoman Sultan's life. This eventually led to the Pasha being allegedly assassinated as the result of a Royal court summons.[72] In spite of this anomaly the Ottomans and the latter Turks could not be absolved of all wrong doing as that would again be an incomplete depiction. What has to be stressed is that the one sided picture painted by inimical non-indigenous writers needed to be balanced in order to avoid potentially damaging ill-informed invective as is evident in the affair of the Bulgarian Horrors.

The underlying antagonism of the west was to find a public platform in William Ewart Gladstone's (1809-1898) rhetoric about the massacres in Bulgaria in 1876. The demonising of Turkey reached its climax in Gladstone's tirade on the Bulgarian issue even though he was not following the official policy of the time. Turkey had been in the control of France and England for twenty years and had been thought too weak to put down insurrections against her rule. In the case of Bulgaria a Prussian had planned the Turkish

campaign. According to Gladstone the Turkish Government was not notably intellectual and yet there grew up, what has been rare in the history of the world, a kind of tolerance in the midst of cruelty, tyranny, and rapine. As a result of this tolerance much of Christian life was contemptuously let alone; the subordinate functions of government were allowed to devolve upon the bishops, an attitude which attracted a race of Greeks to Turkey. This, for Gladstone made up in some degree the deficiencies of Turkish Islam in the "element of mind". The British Government's defence of its own quiescence was that it had been avoiding exaggeration and, in the attempt to appease the incensed public, they took up an increasingly familiar stance, stating that such things were "expected to happen among savage races, with a different idea or code of morals from our own". Contradicting himself, Gladstone continued "It is not a question of Mahometanism simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity".[73] The Turks left a trail of blood and destroyed civilisation: "For the guide of this life they had a relentless fatalism: for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise". Gladstone continued his accusations that "There is not a criminal in an European gaol, there is not a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise and overboil at the recital of that which has been done".[74] He may have found inspiration for his rhetoric from Charles Dickens novel *A Tale of Two Cities* of 1859 where Dickens writes of " — an insensate brutality and ferocity worthy of Abyssinia or Ashantee".[75] Gladstone was certainly greatly influenced by Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* of 1817 which his diaries record that he read to his wife immediately after their marriage. He was, however inimical to George Eliot (1819-1880) who had her own point of view and criticised

the hideous obloquy of Christian strife, describing how "the Turk gazes at it as at the fighting of beasts to which he has lent an arena". This is in comparison to the equality of the Jews which shone brighter than western freedom amid the despotism of the east.[76] Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* of 1876, the last of her novels, contrasts the life of the capricious Gwendolen who enters into an unhappy mercenary marriage and that of Daniel Deronda who discovers his identity as the son of a famous Jewish singer, and devotes his life to promoting the Jewish cause. Gladstone's reservations about Eliot were not surprising as the novel showed her views to be closer to those of Benjamin Disraeli, although the publication of *Daniel Deronda* elicited Disraeli's famous remark of "When I want to read a novel I write one". Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) the Prime Minister at that date and at different times in his life a practising novelist travelled extensively in Spain, Italy, Albania, Egypt and the Levant as a young man. In Disraeli's own first novel, *Vivian Grey* of 1826, the character of Lord Alhambra was intended to represent a sophisticated man, rejecting some of the conventions prevailing in England. In his *Alroy* of 1833 Disraeli was to be the exception to the general rule of his countrymen when he said "A Turk is a brute, but a Christian is a demon."[77] The novel also represented the author's ideal ambition for which he invented a new style. Set in twelfth century Azerbaijan *Alroy* is a highly coloured romance of Hebrew chivalry, much influenced by Scott, Byron and the Old Testament. The plot concerns a noble Jewish conqueror who becomes Lord of the Levant, Egypt, Syria and India. Eventually corrupted by soft living, Alroy is conquered by Karasme and beheaded. The novel also introduces a supernatural element based on the cabalistic lore which was greatly admired by William Beckford. In the preface Disraeli said that Alroy was written as an attempt to commemorate one who rose in the twelfth century. At that time the caliphate was decaying and power was in the hands of the Seljuk Sultans. The Hebrew people living in Baghdad

after the destruction of Jerusalem were under the control of a native ruler called the prince of captivity. While they recognised the sovereignty of their conquerors they gained as much power as the kings of Judah themselves. "...their power increased always in an exact proportion with the weakness of the caliphate".

Against this literary background a brief but sensational news item appearing in the liberal press had led to a political furore. The journalist's account, reported at second hand from Istanbul or Constantinople in the *Daily News* of 23 June 1875, was greatly publicised by Gladstone in his speeches and in his pamphlet on the Bulgarian horrors. Related news items then appeared frequently in *The Times* from 1 - 17 July 1875 as well as in Parliamentary Papers of 1876. Gladstone had eventually found American reports of events in Bulgaria more credible than those of the British investigative teams and Archibald Forbes wrote a more detailed and authentic account of the situation, as he had been part of a Russian advance party for more than five months. However Forbes was given less credence than the original sensationalist journalist. Forbes' information may in fact also have been slightly tainted as he had no close acquaintance with the Turks and spoke only to prisoners or to those who remained in or returned to the villages. His interpreter was a Serb, a bitter Turkophobe and pro-Bulgarian. Forbes' assessment was that north of the Balkans, during the Russian advance, atrocities on Turkish refugees did take place. However these were perpetrated by the Bulgarians on the Turks, in places where they were sure that the Russians would not find out. South of the Balkans no harm was done to anyone. He similarly exonerated the Turks from causing any harm while evacuating Sestovol, where they had lived in harmony with the Bulgarians. According to him the Bulgarians owed a deep obligation to the Turks for their forbearance and for leaving them unmolested in the face of the advancing Russians at the end of June and in July 1876. Apparently this debt was overlooked

and the treachery and destruction caused to the retreating Turks by the Bulgarians was executed with ferocity. The reasons for this may have had their origin in economic deprivation since most of the inhabitants, living in forests on the periphery of settlements, were desperate characters outside the pale of law. The outrage of the Turks at this carnage prompted an equally vicious retaliation. The barbarism and the mutilation of the dead and wounded by the Bashi Bazouk (translated as "wild head" these were mercenary irregular Turkish troops, notorious for pillage and brutality) took place under the eyes of the regular troops, at the end of a battle between the Russians and Turks. As a result of these horrors, even Forbes came to echo the general view of the day that the Turks must be expelled from Europe.[78]

As events unfolded Gladstone was to publicly admit that he had been misrepresented on the subject of the Bulgarian horrors. He had never said that the Turks should be driven out of Europe nor of their Empire, he had only wanted their empire to be retained in its entirety but with the substitution of tribute and suzerainty for a direct administration, as in Romania. Gladstone claimed that he had been deliberately made out to be anti-Turk so that he could be more soundly denounced. He said that the essence of the 1876 affair lay, not in the massacres themselves, but in the conduct of the Porte regarding them, especially in the falsehood, the chicanery, the mockery of justice, the denial of redress to good Muslims and the reward of bad ones.[79] Ignoring the fluctuations of the political situation what remained constant in Britain was the animosity felt against the Turks at the time which became so intensified that it blinded the people to localised facts. The Montenegrins are considered the most ferocious of the inhabitants of the Balkans, yet, because they fought against Turkey, they were lauded by Tennyson among others. He was in the habit of composing poems concerning contemporary events and he writes in *Montenegro*:

O smallest among peoples! rough rock-throne
Of Freedom! warriors beating back the swarm

Of Turkish Islam for five hundred years,
And red with blood the Crescent reels from fight
Before their dauntless hundreds, in prone flight
By thousands down the crags and through the vales.[80]

The poem clearly results from a misconception of the situation and, as has been observed in this chapter literature cannot be divorced from political events. In this case, the obverse may be equally true. It would be preferable if authentic facts were placed in perspective, rendering the account more responsible and an unbiased judgement could be attempted.

With the political atmosphere and the historical background so heavily loaded against them it was not surprising to find the Muslims vilified for events that had occurred centuries earlier. As a consequence of these attitudes it was inevitable that Islam was burdened by most of the writers with the sins of its followers wherever they occurred. This factor does not endow Muslims with a mantle of saintliness because they were as capable of perpetrating cruelty as any other civilisation. This study shows that even though other nations perpetrated cruelty in the name of religion, as happened during the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, only the concerned denomination was vilified. However with the Muslims, even the smallest travesty enacted by minorities brought Islam into question. In the light of this analysis it will be difficult to disagree with the initial qualifying term of "faction" as applied to the way in which literature produced in the non-Muslim world represented Islam. The controversial aspect of this description would be the ratio of both fact and fiction used in producing this amalgamation of literature. The quantification of these materials was attempted by a scrutiny of certain pertinent concepts, which led to the conclusion that the balance was more in the favour of fiction than fact. As John Mackenzie recommends, a complete picture can only emerge if a reversal of the usual scholarly sin is adopted which consists of writing less and less about more and more. History must plunder other disciplines to make the widest connections.[81] This method has proved an

invaluable one in studying the prevailing misconceptions regarding Islam in English literature up to the end of the Victorian Age.

3

LITERARY BACKGROUND

As in the case of historical and political contacts, the interaction between the western and the eastern world had prepared western public sensibilities and moulded opinion for the relationship with Islam long before the religion appeared on the scene. The conditioning of the western mind had begun through the reports of travellers who had been to the mysterious east. The stories they brought back only served to increase the credulity of their listeners and this trend was to continue with later readers.

TRAVEL

Travel literature written about the east dates as far back into time as ancient Greece when the grotesque descriptions of the people of India found their way into *The Marvels of the East* written in the seventh century.[1] Such writing had an inimical effect upon the western imagination like that discussed in the previous chapter. *The Marvels of the East* consists of a letter written by Pharasmes to Emperor Hadrian describing a journey to the east with its monstrous people and animals. In 1929 the Roxburghe Club supported the reproduction of this one of three known manuscripts with an introduction and notes by Montagu Rhodes James (1862-1936). It even includes drawings of those fantastic creatures, prominent amongst them being a headless walking man. It is apparent that, even in Medieval Europe, men and women knew more of stars than they did of Asia. Such fantastic creatures eventually entered European Romanesque art and

embedded themselves there for posterity. These images became widespread when they were incorporated into descriptions of the Muslims down the ages. Chaucer, Ben Jonson and Dekker were unanimous in their opinion of the falsity of such traveller's stories, but the fact that the travellers had survived their arduous journeys was enough to endow them with a hero's mantle. Without the remotest chance of their veracity being checked there was nothing to prevent them from adding a few embellishments of their own. This pattern was to persevere through the ages into the nineteenth century when, in spite of travel becoming modernised, public attitudes remained steeped in the past. This aspect of public opinion was of particular significance in relation to accounts of the Muslim world. It is interesting to note that though the centre of Islam was far away, the presence of the Muslims in Spain, which was European soil, had existed from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Information about the people and religion could not have been difficult to come by. The Goths who had been dispersed by the Muslim invaders took the culture they had acquired with them into Germany. Diplomatic relations existed between the Muslims and the Franks, and the Byzantines, amongst others. Relations with Sicily were so good that the Norman armies of Roger I and Frederick II had large contingents of Muslims. Muslim rulers were sought as allies and their armies fought on Italian soil for the Lombard princes, the Byzantines and even the Pope. The argosies of the Muslims dominated the Mediterranean and commercial trade from the eighth century is recorded in Papal, French and Byzantine history.[2] However in spite of these widespread contacts considerable ignorance was manifested down the ages by western writers, ignorance of even the basic concepts of Islam.

Amongst Victorian writers of travel there were differences in portrayal but surprising similarity in mistakes, about the beliefs of Muslims. John Carne in his travelogue of 1836 even misplaced the geographical location of the tomb of the

Prophet Muhammad, by confusing it with the Kaabah at Mecca. By doing so he managed to negate the fundament of Islam which is against the worship of anyone except God. His seemingly innocuous remark: "an annual myriad advances to the tomb of the prophet"[3], was encumbered with ignorance, if not with misrepresentation. Moore writes of the King of Bucharia who sets off on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Prophet.[4] Scott also makes a similar erroneous remark in the *Talisman* of 1825 where he writes of an oath: "by the tomb at Mecca, and by the soul of my father".[5]

Conversely Muslim pilgrims do visit the Prophet's tomb, which is in Madina, but they set out for Mecca to visit the Kaabah which is a hollow cuboid structure devoid of any tombs. Byron was aware of the propensity of non-Muslims to confuse the two cities and, distrusting travel books, insisted on accuracy. He asked his friend John Murray to check whether the Prophet's tomb was in Mecca or Madina in order to avoid glaring mistakes. Byron also read indigenous collections like the *Muallaqat*,[6] a pre-Islamic collection of poetry which would have greatly interested him, and he supplemented his knowledge by travelling extensively.

However most of the writers about the eastern world were aptly described by Thomas De Quincey in *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* of 1826. He wrote a study of his own opium-addiction in which he deduced that the reports about the usage of opium were often lies, whether made by travellers in Turkey (who may plead the privilege of lying as an old immemorial right), or by professors of medicine.[7] Philip Dodd rightly said that travel literature is located somewhere between fiction and biography.[8] From the early travellers to the later ones these conditions have usually been fulfilled, especially regarding Muslim societies. John Buchan in his novel *The Half Hearted* of 1900 which is set in India and Scotland, shows the latent heroism of a dilettante which is brought about by a crisis. In the novel, Buchan aptly described travel writers as the worst type of dilettante, introducing the worst type of pseudo-culture from

Universities and seeing everything only through the spectacles of their upbringing.[9]

There were comparative exceptions to this rule, foremost among them being Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), the wife of the British ambassador to Turkey. Her letters home portrayed a very different picture to the prevalent preconceived notions of the Turks. Writing to her friend, the Countess of Bristol, Lady Montagu said that most of the authors wrote falsehoods about Turkey, for example she notes that the sweating pillar in Santa Sophia is a fabrication.[10] Thackeray was also amongst the few writers who travelled to the east and saw things for himself. He was able to do this because of his post as the correspondent at Istanbul for the *Morning Chronicle*, which afforded him a reasonable income while he filled his sketchbook with illustrations for publication. He had to write only three letters a month and was sent to Egypt and Syria for news.[11] Thackeray corresponded regularly with his close friend E.G. Fitzgerald (1809-1883), whom he called "old Fitz" and who always helped him with money and sympathy. Fitzgerald was comfortably off both by inheritance and as a result of the great success of his translations of the *Rubbayat of Omar Khayyam.* Fitzgerald preserved both the letters and the sketches of this correspondence and after Thackeray's death put together a scrapbook, which he gave to Lady Ritchie, Thackeray's daughter, who had the collection published privately. The *Rubbayat* is another example of Oriental poetry which, like the *Arabian Nights* translation of 1704, captured the imagination of the western public. Like the stories of the *Arabian Nights*, the Rubbayat is not regarded by the indigenous people as a work of quality. In their view there are better poets in Persian who would have been more worthy of translation. L.R. Pardoe (1806-62) travelled extensively in her adolescence as a result of suspected consumption. In 1853 she travelled to Turkey with her father and familiarised herself sufficiently to write a standard guide to the country, *The City of the Sultan* of 1837. The exaggerations by writers about the east may also have resulted from a

circumstance of which Pardoe gives a succinct explanation: "The European mind has become so imbued with ideas of Oriental mysticism, mysteriousness and magnificence because it has been so long accustomed to pillow its faith on the marvels and metaphors of tourists. It is now to be doubted whether it will willingly cast of its old associations and suffer itself to be undeceived".[12] Though this comment represents a considerable improvement on the attitudes of other writers, this cavalier attitude has continued until recently and ill-informed books and media dissemination are still to be found in abundance. In later years, in spite of the development of technology and communication, a minimal variation of the distorted image would be provided by writers who had availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting the Arab or other Muslim countries. Continuing Marwan M Obeidat's observation , in "Lured by the Exotic Levant: The Muslim East to the American Traveler of the Nineteenth Century" which concurs with Maxine Rodinson's appraisal that travellers "'selected' what they saw and ignor(ed) what did not fit in with their preconceived picture (of it)", thus they "added no particular information of a specific differentiating kind".[13]

LITERATURE

Like was uncannily close early cultural interaction between east and west literary contacts have also been perceptible since the Wars of Alexander and were intensified by the advent of Islam. The coincidence of the story of Caedmon (670), an unlearned herdsman whose lifetime to the time of the birth of Islam. Caedmon's sudden gift of singing and of setting passages translated from the scriptures into English poetry bears a striking resemblance to the inspiration of Prophet Muhammad's which resulted in the Qur'an.[14] This engagement between the two cultures was inevitably to continue into later years and was expressed by Bulwer as: "The Christian warriors further against the swarthy followers of Mahound and Termagaunt", both latter names being used

to depict the Prophet of Islam.[15] The interest aroused in the west by a burgeoning new religion in close proximity, as well as the visible success of its followers in disparate lands such as Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Spain, and eventually in India and Turkey, increased the curiosity to know more about it. As access to the latest as well as ancient knowledge regarding this new power lay through its language the need for learning it arose. As a result the intellectual element of the western world at that time went to the colleges and libraries in Muslim Spain and Sicily in the pursuit of knowledge, and found that there material and intellectual wealth went hand in hand.[16] This Muslim culture was given greater impetus by the Norman conquests, and through direct borrowings or translations from academics of the Muslim world. Apart from acknowledging the Greek origin of some of these translations a collective amnesia about this period of Muslim intellectual history manifests itself amongst later western writers. Rida Hawari says that in the twelfth century early Arabic scholarship was taken up for religious purposes and that the first certainly known Arabic Scholar was Abelard of Bath, Henry II's tutor. The literary interaction influenced not only Chaucer but even Petrarch (1304-1374). Petrarch wrote in the spirit of Asiatic poets whose work he believed had been brought into Europe by Arabs in form as well as spirit.[17] In 1602, when the Bodleian Library was being set up, Thomas Pococke was sent to travel around the east and to collect manuscript treasures for the collection. The French were equally interested and D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale* was the forerunner for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. This was a result of the attempt initiated by Francois I of France (during the Renaissance) to familiarise his people with the east. He sent his agents to procure essential works for this purpose. A more natural absorption of an eastern strain was found in Spanish poetry and ballads, which were the result of direct contact with the Arabs over many centuries. This fusion was evident in ancient fourteenth century Spanish ballads with anonymous

authors which were known as *Romance Moriscos* and particularly in the poem *Fatima and Radowan*, the narrative of an unfaithful lover. These ballads, as their title implies, were probably composed by Moors who lived and intermingled with Christians in the fourteenth century.[18] Asin Palacios asserts that Dante's (1265-1321) inspiration for *The Inferno* came from the legends which had accumulated around the Muslim versions of Prophet's visit to celestial heights, during which it is said that he observed sights of the nether world like those which resonate in Dante's work.[19] Four centuries later in England Joseph Addison (1672-1719) also used the Prophet Muhammad's celestial visit to explain the concept of time. Addison introduced Oriental material to illustrate moral truths in his essays for the *Rambler* and the *Spectator*. This incident in the Prophet's life has aroused the imagination of many narrators.

The period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was of a more accommodative regard towards the personality of Muhammad and a systematic study of Islam also commenced. It was initiated in Paris in 1587, in Leiden in 1613, in Cambridge in 1632 and at Oxford in 1634. Edward Pococke (1604-1691) wrote his *Specimen Historiae Arabum* which included a study of the basic tenets of Islam as well as a translation of al-Ghazzali.[20] Oriental taste invaded domestic English life, gardens were designed in the Oriental manner and words such as genie, and dervish entered English lexicons.[21] Francois Bernier (1654 -1688) travelled in the east and served as a physician for twelve years at the court of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. He wrote an account of his travels and experiences in India which was published in 1670-71. Bernier had four different accounts of the fate of Shuja, the main protagonist against his brother Aurangzeb in the struggle for the throne of India. He included the evidence of eyewitnesses, as great uncertainty prevailed concerning the event.[22] The entire work formed the leitmotif and a good deal more of a drama by John Dryden (1631-1700).[23] Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe* (including the spelling

of the name) was based on Bernier's first English edition, and was initially staged in 1675 and published in 1676. Dr. Johnson (1709-1784) said that it was fortunate that Aurangzeb's nation consisted of people who were unaware of the English stage as he would otherwise be offended. "His country is at such a distance that the manners might be safely falsified and the incidents feigned", the remoteness of the place is remarked by Racine to afford the same conveniences to a poet as the length of time.[24] Curiosity about the east also extended to other religions and Sir William Jones discovered a Sanskrit root for Alexander Pope's (1688-1744) *Rape of the Lock* of 1712 in *The Seizure Of The Lock* from the story of *Sakuntla* by Kalidasa, the earliest Indian writer of Shakespearean stature. Jones was a pioneer in Indian studies, but, according to John Drew, the Germans who were uninhibited by imperial attitudes, responded enthusiastically to Indian intimations of their Aryan roots. This enthusiasm was so great that their nineteenth century research into Indian culture overshadowed the earlier work of British Orientalists.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was influenced by Marco Polo's adventures, which eighteenth century Europe discovered to be marvellous as well as accurate. *Kubla Khan* of 1816 seems to be based on Marco Polo's account of the Mongol potentate Mangu Khan's paradisal Tree which was constructed with pipes of milk and honey, in a manner similar to the descriptions of Islamic paradise.[25] Heaven in the Qur'an is described as a place where streams of milk and honey will flow for the pleasure of the blessed. Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* was based in India and caused him to be delighted by the remark of a historian of India who praised his knowledge of the country. When the historian was informed that Moore had never been there he said: "Well this shows that reading D'Herbelot is as good as riding a camel".[26] Considering Moore's vagaries, it is evident that this historian had himself never been to the country which he studied. This interest in the "Oriental" was to

inspire works like Murray's *Noor ed din*, which he wrote for a son who had an interest in the east and which was intended to show that the concept of God shone with a dim yet steady light through the gloom and superstition which then pervaded the eastern world.[27]

According to De Vane, Edward Fitzgerald's *Rubayyat* of 1859 inspired Robert Browning (1812-89) who may have seen it at Dante Gabriel Rosetti's, to write *Rabbi Ben Ezra* of 1864, a poem written after his wife's death and was concerned with the nature of belief. Browning's *Ferishta*'s *Fancy* of 1884 is a collection of poems focused on the moral and religious sayings of an imaginary Persian sage. It was probably inspired by *Fables of Bidpai*, the Arabic version of Sanskrit fables which he read as a boy, but the setting is appropriate to that of Persia.[28] According to A.J.Langguth, the modern parallel for Fitzgerald's success with the Rubbayat has been the persistent vogue for Khalil Gibran in the nineteenth century. As the Victorian spirit weakened and sank Gibran's sentimental tribute to transient pleasures won the heart of a generation which impatiently awaited the launch of the Edwardian age.[29]

It is possible to approach the popularity of such depictions from a point of view which differs radically from those discussed above. Meenakashi Mukherjee, writing about Jane Austen's novels, says that India figured in diverse ways in the novels of this period, not only as the stereotype of the exotic east, but also as a pretext for criticising England's own social system.[30] This explanation is equally valid when applied to the novels of Dickens and Thackeray and their concern for the plight of the lower classes in England. Elsie Michie continues in accordance with this theory, in "From Simianized Irish to Oriental Despots: Heathcliff, Rochester and Racial Difference". She states that the Irish famine was invisibly present in the novels of the 1840s, including those of the Brontë sisters, which screen it behind references to the Orient. The Irish were equally the "other" for the Victorians, a point of view reinforced by John Beddoes (a

founding member of the Ethnological Society and President of Anthropological Institute), Beddoes' "Index of Nigrescence" was a pseudo-scientific study according to which he confirmed that a greater percentage of "Africanoid celts" lived in Wales and Ireland than in England. Heathcliff and Rochester are both metaphorically characterised as Oriental despots. It is necessary to acknowledge the historical situation behind racial stereotypes which function as screens, or critics will merely replicate the terms of the stereotype and thus continue their deflecting function.[31]

Recently John Mackenzie has used this argument in reaction to criticism of Orientalism by justifying it with the curious explanation that it was stereotyping the Scots, Irish and the Welsh as well as others.[32] The marginalisation of these communities, as indeed of any race for that matter, can never be a reason for consolation or for the acceptance of stereotyping by another community. This method could only lead to perpetuating misconceptions that could prove harmful in the future. Whatever the purpose of employing these devices was, the result of both methods was the distortion of the image of the other and the Muslim suffered most from this.

Two of Moore's stories were based on history and Moore used what is called Muslim zeal as an allegory for the racial and religious intolerance of the Protestant Anglo-Irish minority against the Roman Catholic majority in the *Fire Worshippers* of 1817. This was a tale of Ghebers who maintained their resistance to the Muslim rulers. Hafed, a Gheber, falls in love with Hinda, the Emir's daughter, who discovers his identity when she is captured by the Ghebers; but they are betrayed and both of them die. Similarly the historical figure of Mokanna in Muslim history provided the material for *The Veiled Prophet of Kharasan* of 1817. This was a story about the luring of Zelica into the harem of Mokanna on the promise of admission into paradise. Her lover Azim joins the army of the Caliph to overthrow his rival. Mokanna kills himself but Azim accidentally kills

Zelica.[33] Though the sub-text cannot be denied in these works, however the interest in Islam and the Muslims cannot be ignored.

EXOTIC EAST

By the middle of the nineteenth century the popularity of the exotic east was firmly established. The only dissenting opinion was voiced by Fraser who seriously reasoned that he was aware of a diminishing of interest in the Oriental tale, perhaps a result of a sameness of subject which may have wearied the public appetite.[34] This opinion may have arisen from the fact that Fraser's own Oriental tales did not sell as well as he would have expected. However it did not dampen Fraser's enthusiasm for writing several sequel novels on the subject. It is perhaps more realistic to accept the opinion expounded in a review of Harriet Martineau's (1802-1876) book about *Eastern Life Present and Past* which said: "for some time past the East and everything Oriental has had a considerable run."[35] One of the first leaders of this fashion was William Beckford's *Vathek* of 1786, the story of the cruel Caliph who makes a pact with Satan and sacrifices fifty children in exchange for a sight of the treasures of pre-Adamite sultans in a ruined city. On his journey there he falls in love with a beautiful companion and once he sees the treasures, he realises the worthlessness of these, his heart bursting into flame as punishment for his sins. It is said that Beckford's *Vathek* bore heavily on the nineteenth Century romantic genre and there is little doubt that it influenced Southey, Moore and Byron. The depiction of the Caliph Vathek or Al-Wathiq as the protagonist is selective as he was unique in Muslim history for revealing his homosexuality, and for writing love poetry about an Egyptian boy. Al Wathiq belonged to the Muttazilite school of thought and established a permanent inquisition for the inhabitants of Baghdad. He was a tyranical, oppressive and debauched ruler. He persecuted Al-Khuzai, an opponent, and, after

personally interrogating him, beheaded him with Samsara, his famous sword.[36] A similar theme occurs in Robert Southey's *Thalaba* of 1801 in which Thalaba, a Muslim, loses his life while destroying a kingdom of magicians under the sea, only to be reunited with his wife in Paradise. A little later, Byron's image of the 'mussalman', a term used for muslim, reflected a superficial change but did not contrast substantially with that of earlier writers. Byron made prolific use of the Oriental tale in his poems and advised Moore to do the same. Moore followed this advice, which was to prove a lucrative step for him. Byron's depiction of the Muslim was also to influence Moore's in *Lalla Rookh* of 1817 where the frame story tells of the Indian Princess Lalla Rookh's journey to Kashmir to be married to the King of Bukhara. She falls in love with Feramorz, a poet, who keeps her entertained by narrating four verse tales, and eventually turns out to be her betrothed himself.

Another writer who imbibed Byron's modified image of the Muslim was Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) who expressed it in *The Revolt of Islam* of 1818, an epic political poem inspired by the French Revolution. The main characters are Laon and Cythna, a brother and sister who initially succeed in a revolt which they celebrate in incestuous lust. However the tyrants overcome them and Islam is subjugated to plague and famine. The two are burnt at the stake but sail to a visionary Hesperides with their illegitimate child. It may be pertinent to note that this poem did not sell very well under the title of *Laon and Cythna* but immediate interest was shown by the public once the same poem was sold under the name of *The Revolt of Islam*. Shelley continued to exploit Byron's image in *Hellas* of 1822, a poem inspired by the Greek war of independence. This trend was to culminate in the twentieth century with James Elroy Flecker's play *Hassan*, based on an equally bizarre story of a cruel ruler, and on the stories of the murder of young Laon. The play continued to be highly popular in the London theatre for a considerable period.

ARABIAN NIGHTS

Another important reason for western attitudes towards Islam lies in a specific literary source. This was the development of the "Romantic" image of the Arabs or Muslims, which resulted from the publication of Antoine Galland's (1646-1715) translation of the *Arabian Nights.* Soon after this the image of the Muslims became synonymous with that of the *Arabian Nights,* and this ridiculously fantastic portrait provided unrivalled entertainment. Robert Southey (1774-1843) lends credence to this aspect in his preface to *The Curse of Kehama* of 1810, a book about Hindu mythology, where he writes: "I began with the Mahommedan religion, as being that with which I was then best acquainted myself, and of which everyone who had read the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* possessed all the knowledge necessary for readily understanding and entering into the intent and spirit of the poem".[37] This view would be equivalent to asking people in the east to form an opinion of Christendom on the basis of the Arthurian legends.

An earlier writer who also indulged in this passion for the east was Scott in the *Talisman*, although Scott had the honesty to admit to the difficulties of depicting a part of the world he had never visited, and which he only knew through early recollections of *The Arabian Nights Entertainment.* Writing of eastern manners, Scott confessed that he was as thickly wrapped as an Egyptian in his fog.[38] Leigh Hunt (1784-1859), while tracing his genealogy mentions a Dr Hunt who was a Professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford and says "Perhaps the good old Oriental scholar belongs to our stock, and originated my love of the *Arabian Nights*!"[39] Morier speculated that the *Arabian Nights* might have been of east Persian origin because there was a custom that the Shah would order narratives during his journeys.[40] Thackeray had a reaction similar to other writers when he first viewed Smyrna on his voyage to Turkey, he was fascinated by all his *Arabian Nights* images coming to life but

was practical enough to confess that it never seemed to be the same after that.[41]

The literature of the period abounds with references to the *Arabian Nights,* as is still the case today. Emily Eden and her sister Fanny travelled with their brother George and kept house for him in India during his period as Governor General from 1835-1842. Fanny Eden, writing in her journal about her expeditions in India, described breakfast at a palace which is a very *Arabian Nights* looking building.[42] L.R.Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus* consists of details of the architecture of the Ottomans and comments on their way of living. In her account Pardoe says that before her visit to Turkey she had envisaged adventures as numerous and romantic as those of the *Thousand and One Nights*.[43] She was soon to find that reality was quite different than her vivid imagination had led her to believe.

Many Victorian writers were influenced by the *Arabian Nights*, a book which most of them (like most of their readers) had read in childhood. That Charles Dickens was also greatly influenced by the *Arabian Nights* is apparent from his extensive reference to it in his novels. According to Peter Caracciolo, Dickens began to use the *Nights* after 1839 when Lane and Henri Torren's translations appeared.[44] Simultaneously under the influence of Scott, he was discovering different ways to reach the public. Michael Slater explains that Dickens used the *Arabian Nights* as a touchstone to point to a good and kind heart when a character such as Tom Pinch in *Martin Chuzzlewit* enjoyed them and to indicate the reverse if the characters did otherwise, examples of this are Pecksniff also in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Scrooge from *Christmas Carol*, and Gradgrind from *Hard Times*. Noting a tendency that was common amongst other writers, Slater says that, Dickens generally uses allusions to the *Arabian Nights* to evoke glamour, the romantic side of familiar things, or in order to parody.[45] Examples of these usages by Dickens can be observed in the following passages from his novels.

In *Martin Chuzzlewit* of 1843, writing about books to be found in a children's book shop Dickens says there were "*Persian Tales"* and "*Arabian Nights*".[46] One child who read these was Scrooge. In *A Christmas Carol* of 1843 Scrooge dreams about Ali Baba and other fantastic characters including Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, a reminder of a period before the darkening of his character.[47] In "A Christmas Tree" a story in the book *Christmas Stories* Dickens says "What Barmecide justice have I done to the noble feasts wherein the set of wooden platters figured".[48] This refers to the Barmiki family who effectively ruled the court of the Abbasid caliphs. The term 'barmecide' is now used in literature for someone who offers illusory benefits. It is derived from the story of the "Barber's Sixth Brother", in which a Barmiki offers a beggar an illusory meal, and the beggar continues the charade.

In *The Haunted House* Dickens also writes about children who decide to play at having a seraglio, "The other creature assented warmly. He had no notion of respectability, neither had I. It was the custom of the East, it was the way of the good Caliph Haroun Alraschid". Then the narration gives an amusing account of how the charade commenced with Mesrour, the Black for the Hareem, refusing to prostrate himself before the Caliph or to call him the Commander of the Faithful, and instead of saying "Bismillah! said Hallelujah! always".[49] Dickens also makes use of descriptive terms taken from the *Arabian Nights* including 'genie' and 'smoke' in *Dombey and Son* of 1847,[50] as well as in *Great Expectations* of 1860.[51] The incomplete *Mystery of Edwin Drood* of 1870 begins with a colourful hallucinatory description of an Ottoman potentate's procession to his Palace: "Ten thousand scimitars flash in the sunlight, and thrice ten thousand dancing-girls strew flowers".[52] This description may have been meant to contrast drastically with the bleak setting of the opening scene. The description of impalings undertaken at the behest of Turkish sultans may also provide a vehicle for a sense of foreboding about

what will ensue in the consequent issues. In *Hard Times* Dickens turns to a particularly popular story called, *Ali Baba* and writes of Morgiana and her dealing with the forty thieves.[53] The Arabian Nights is one of those stories which the Gradgrind children are forbidden to read, a privation which, in Dickens view warps their characters. In *David Copperfield* of 1849, on the other hand the *Arabian Nights* is listed amongst the books David read as a child and says they did him no harm.[54] Dickens regarded the reading of such books as part of a training for true humanity.[55]

According to Leonée Ormond, for Dickens and other writers, the *Arabian Nights* recalled a happy childhood before misery entered their lives. Thackeray unlike Coleridge who was frightened by it, enjoyed the Arabian Nights. He shared an affinity for the eighteenth century with Robert Louis Stevenson and Thackeray in his novels set in the eighteenth century, *Esmond* and *The Virginians*, used the artistic device of narrators and frame tales like those in the *Arabian Nights*. Stevenson was to do the same in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr.Hyde*, and the *Master of Ballantrae*. As is the case in the *Arabian Nights*, Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* does not have a hero, but he describes the *Arabian Nights* characters as being as important as heroes. As he was particularly aware of disillusionment and disappointment Thackeray also used the description of Barmaceide banquets in his works.[56]

Charlotte Brontë, also makes frequent references to books of the *Arabian Nights* and to the fascinating quality of Arabian tales in *Jane Eyre*. Similarly, her sister Emily refers in *Wuthering Heights* to impersonating an Arab Merchant, and to the idea that Heathcliff's mother might have been a rich Indian Queen. Reference to the Arabian Nights was almost universal among the great Victorian novelists. At the opening of *Adam Bede*, of 1859, George Eliot also employed similar eastern devices as others when describing an Egyptian sorcerer who forecasts the future by gazing through a drop of ink; and by having Captain Donnithorne

express his gratitude to Adam Bede by saying that "I used to think if ever I was a rich sultan, I would make Adam my grand-vizier".[57]

The expectations of writers travelling to eastern countries other than Turkey were also influenced by reading the *Arabian Nights*. John William Kaye wrote about people who came to India having a preconceived notion of its splendour and were disappointed when they came to Madras to find that it was not composed of palaces like those described in the *Arabian Nights*.[58] Allen Grant, in *The Tents of Shem* described a Moorish house as "the sort of home one sees in ones fancy in the *Arabian Nights* but never hopes to come across in this prosaic world".[59] John Buchan as well wrote about eastern names that rang in his head like tunes, "Khiva, Bokhara, Samarkand and were the goal of many boyish dreams, born of clandestine suppers and the *Arabian Nights*".[60] In an early story, *Beyond The Pale*, Kipling tells of an Englishman in India who responded to a laugh from behind a grated window and, knowing that the old *Arabian Nights* are still a good guide, goes towards it and is not disappointed. This encounter leads to many clandestine meetings between the Englishman and a young Indian widow sequestered behind the walls, until the dangerous liason is brutally ended and the woman's 'marigold' hands are cut off as a punishment.[61] Kipling's description of the colour acquired by the palms as a result of the application of henna, a vanity of eastern women, and this reference is unique and particularly apt. In the story, Kipling suggests that Europeans should avoid straying into situations which they may not understand properly, and where they may do untold damage. By going into the dark gulley where Biseaa lives, Trejago crosses an imaginary (but important) line between east and west.

The references to the *Arabian Nights* in European fiction are entertaining on the basis of artistic licence and make interesting reading. According to the popularity of the *Nights* in Europe also derived from its threefold appeal,

from its pictures of social manners, its display of universal traits as well as from the machinery of its plots.[62] However it is irresponsible to use the *Arabian Nights* as a basis for understanding Oriental life; as happened in an article on British Foreign policy in the *Quarterly Review* which, explaining the rise of Mehmet Ali in Egypt said: "Those who have not read the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*, or who read them only as the fables of Scheherazade, and not as what they are- an accurate picture of Eastern manners,- can hardly comprehend the sudden elevations of Oriental life, whether under the Shahs, the Caliphs, or the Porte".[63] It is ironic that all these inaccurate perceptions were based upon a collection of stories of disputed origin. This proliferation of negative images resulted in commentators restoring balance. Hawari compares Galland's final work to a manuscript which Galland used and concludes that he supplied much of the glamour of the *Nights* himself and that it is crammed with material that is alien to its Arabic original and which "comes from another world - that of Galland's learning". Galland also digressed from the text because of his inability to grasp the meaning of portions of the Arabic. Reviewing a new translation of the *Nights* based on the same source Antonia S. Byatt recently came to the same conclusion when she said that much of what the western readers think of as the essential *Arabian Nights* is in fact apocryphal or inauthentic.[64]

ANTIPATHY

Antipathy towards Muslims amongst other nations found its way into literature throughout the nineteenth century. Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859) in *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* of 1826 compares the pleasure he derives from listening to music under the effect of opium with the pleasure a supposedly inferior Turk would experience in a similar situation. Then De Quincey retracts his comparison for he thinks he honours the Barbarians too

much by supposing them capable of any pleasures approaching the intellectual ones of an Englishman. This was because he considered music both an intellectual and sensual pleasure whose effect depended on the listener's capabilities.[65] This patronising attitude was a continuation of a trend promoted by the example of James Morier. After his retirement from government service Morier wrote *Hajji Baba of Isfahan* of 1824, which became popular as an Oriental *Gil Blas* and went into several editions. The Persian Ambassador of the time objected vociferously to the satire implicit in *Hajji Baba*, which was based on the experiences of the first Persian Ambasssador to England. In the advertisement to the second edition the writer even explains that he was given the journal of Hajji Baba who was the aide of the same Persian Ambassador. He met Hajji Baba by chance in Tocat where he had stopped for a rest, when Hajji Baba's servant asked him to meet his master who was undergoing treatment and needed cheering up. To show his appreciation of his friend's efforts in curing him Hajji Baba gave him his journal in order that he should publish it. The writer was most pleased and, after editing the text, published it as *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. Then ensues a picaresque tale reminiscent of the occidental version of *Arabian Nights.*

The narrator says that Hajji Baba's journal, though based on fact, lacked the scrupulous regard for truth found in the work of an European writer. Continuing on this note Morier differentiates nations into those who wear hats and those who wear beards and says that they will hold each other's stories as improbable until a more general intercourse of common life takes place between them.[66] In *Hajji Baba* Morier confesses that the face of the sick Agha was so woefully pale in contrast to his beard that, though he was a Turk, he could not help but feel some pity for him.[67]

As a record *Hajji Baba* is surprisingly devoid of the prejudices blatantly described in the preface to the standard edition of Morier's *Ayesha.* Morier claimed that changes had taken place in the east as a result of the interaction with

Europe and that these changes had occurred within ten years of the writing of the book. He says that the Turk of the past, who believed that he was polluted by the touch of a Giaour, was now dancing in the Hanover Square Rooms. He rejoiced that, as a result of these contacts, the great lie represented by Islam would eventually be found out.[68] According to Morier, the author of a book in which history and fiction are combined must specify the quantity of each so that facts can be preserved and fiction thrown away.[69] Morier made this stipulation in the preface to his novel *Zohrab* of 1832, which he described as a work having a preponderance of historical content. Morier explains that the main characters of the story were actuated by noble principles, which could never have been produced by the doctrines of the Qur'an but only by an excellence in human nature, which supersedes false religion, and acts as though it were guided by the right one. Morier elaborates the point with the uncharacteristic observation that there were Muslims in the east and particularly in Turkey "whose conduct in life would have done credit to Christianity". However the villain of *Zohrab* is the despicable Shah, a zealous promoter of his religion.[70] He usurps power by initially killing his brother, the legitimate King, and appropriating the rightful heirs, his nephew and niece Amima. In true Machiavellian fashion the Shah disposes of a neighbouring ruler who had helped him to attain power. However poetic justice is done when Zohrab, the son of this former friend, falls into the hands of the evil Shah who tries to make political capital out of his hostage. Zohrab escapes and a series of adventures is set in motion, so that eventually Amima is also rescued. The story is woven around the love between Zohrab and Amima, which emanates from a chance encounter between them and survives the villainous machinations of the Shah in his determination to maintain power. The story could be representative of unacceptable behaviour by a despot in any part of the world, and during any period. It is unfortunate that Morier did not follow his own

specification and clarify the division between fact and fiction. That division would have made the novel more credible if Morier had not reduced it to an indictment of Islam in general.

Another Oriental novel, *Martin Toutround*, was originally written in French and translated by Morier himself in 1849. The hero, Martin, in search of a wife, visits an Indian "Nabob" whose daughter is an heiress. He notes contemptuously that the monkey-like man, could scarcely be called a member of the human race, and that the daughter is so dark that she could not be called a lady. The English stepmother of the girl balks at calling her daughter.[71] The attitude of the stepmother would probably have been the same even if the girl had been of her own race. However the described reaction is reflective of the general squeamishness, felt by those who are attracted to partners of other nationalities, but here they exhibit a different attitude concerning the families because they are manifestations of a different culture.

A corresponding attitude was to be expressed by J.W. Sherer, the son of a senior Bengal civil servant. He served in various government posts in India and rose to the Indian Bench before retiring. He wrote numerous books on India including *A Princess of Islam* of 1897. He continues the trend when the character of George asserts that the ascendancy of the western over the eastern character was the secret that had enabled Europeans, with every other disadvantage, to override those Asiatics with whom they had been brought into contact.[72] The novel, based in India, gives a good depiction of Muslims even while declaring scorn for the narrators. The novel begins with an aberration of Islam in which George, an Englishman, is asked to marry a Muslim Princess by her uncle, the nawab of an Indian state. In Islamic terms this is very unusual and, if it occurs, it does so against the wishes of the relatives and in defiance of religious practice. After marrying, George leaves his Indian bride at home and goes away to England. There he marries

again and the abandoned Indian wife dies after hearing about his new bride.

A similar revulsion, but now related to the inhabitants of Afghanistan, was expressed by the writer Lillias Hamilton (1894-1897) who served as a court physician to the Amir of Afghanistan. In this case the western writer could also have been echoing indigenous attitudes of racial superiority amongst the various tribes populating the country. This subdivision of Afghanistan has continued into the present with factions belonging to different ethnic origins fighting each other. The reviewer of this book for the *Athenaeum* recommended the work as essential reading for all British administrators in India. Hamilton's *The Vizier's Daughter* of 1900 is set in Kabul and has as its heroine Gul Begum, the princess of a rebellious faction, which is eventually subdued. It also contains a portrait of the potentate whom Hamilton served. Hamilton's aversion to cultures other than her own is more obvious in her description of life in Afghanistan in *A Vizier's Daughter* where she says that it is a country without joy and that a crowd of girls seen there were hideous but quite unconscious of this. Hamilton describes the spokesman of a group of Hazaras as being distinguished from the rest only by being uglier than they.[73]

In comparison to these writers were Fraser, Kaye, W.D.Arnold and Kipling who, despite an inherited reserve, presented a comparatively authentic picture of the indigenous populations. Fraser, who had travelled to India, the West Indies and the Himalayas specialised in books on Persia and the east. His more accurately based fiction was considered as undistinguished and supposed to have "brought the decline of the Eastern Tale from the level to which James Morier had taken it to in the 1820's and 1830's". His novel *The Kuzzilbash* of 1828 was based on a manuscript found by Fraser during his stay in India. This manuscript had been written by a close comrade of Nadir Shah's during his conquest of India. Fraser explained that his own object was to present in an amusing manner some

sketches of countries and of manners little known in England and to give a description of a period of considerable interest in Asiatic history. He did this with considerable accuracy and realism, but, following in the wake of Morier's highly imaginative depictions, his mundane and comparatively authentic details were unappreciated and regarded as less pleasingly exotic. Even the name of *The Kuzzilbash* was debated as it conveyed little idea of the book's contents to western readers; one bookseller complaining that people thought that this was a cookery book. Undeterred, Fraser went on to write *The Persian Adventurer* of 1830, as a sequel to *The Kuzzilbash*, and *Ali Nemroo* of 1842, the tale of a Bakhtiaree adventurer.[74] Then, in a preface to another novel, *The Dark Falcon* of 1844, Fraser states that on this occasion his object has been to present in a more attractive shape the repulsive details of certain facts of Persian History. This novel was set in the time of the struggle between the Kajar and the Zend families, when the country was convulsed in bloodshed. It was based on historical facts, and employed historical as well as contemporary personages.[75]

Similarly John William Kaye's *Long Engagements* 1845 contains a knowledgeable and matter of fact account of the Raj. The novel is concerned with the love affairs of the Balfour sisters who go to visit their brother and his wife in Calcutta. The setting shifts between the Afghan war and the peace of Calcutta. According to Kaye some people derived their information about India from bad novels and worse comedies. Kaye's statement that the empire of a Mohammedan monarch is not one of democracy, unlike that of the British, and that an insurrection affects the British more than it does the Afghans was not appropriate to the centuries old fiercely democratic culture of the indigenous tribes. Kaye, was not unaware of this feature, as, in discussions of the Afghan war held during after dinner drinks, comments are made on the savagery of the opponents but, at the same time, their democratic independence is also discussed with comparisons to the Scots. An Afghan woman is

even shown to administer to the wounded Carrington before he is put to death. The Afghans are described as fierce Mahomedans only once and that is towards the end of the account of the conflict. In another statement of the virtues of the Afghans, an Afghan servant is depicted as being faithful to his English master till the end.[76]

Following in the trend of these novelists was William Delafield Arnold, the second son of Thomas Arnold and brother of Matthew. His *Oakfield; or, Fellowship in the East* of 1854 is a militantly moral novel which the East India Company strongly resented. This book was a critical comment on British rule in India and on the futility of missionary efforts, yet Arnold also unconsciously implies an attitude of superiority, for example when he says that a comparison of Dak bungalows in India with the inns of England cannot be justified.[77] In this novel Oakfield leaves Oxford without sufficient vocation to enter the church. Instead he enrols as an officer in the military forces of the East India Company. In Hajepoor, Oakfield is revolted by the 'ribaldry' of his fellow officers and boycotts the mess. His example converts the young Vernon, who dies piously after a river accident. Oakfield goes up country to Allahbad, where he becomes friendly with a sagacious magistrate, Mr Middleton. He refuses to be provoked into a duel by the local mess bully, Stafford, who speaks coarsely to Middleton's daughter Fanny. Oakfield is provoked, however, into horsewhipping Stafford's insolent emissary and is court-martialled but exonerated. Oakfield participates in the Sikh Wars of 1846. Later, he becomes a magistrate, administering justice to the natives of whom he has a higher opinion than most Englishmen. He dies after six years exhausting work raising the moral tone of the colony.

The efforts of these writers to present a more accurate account of life in Russia, India and Afghanistan culminated in the work of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) celebrated as the chief writer of the Raj, and still affectionately regarded by indigenes as essentially expressing the Raj at its best.

Alastair Fowler considers that Kipling's sympathies showed that he was as little of an imperialist as Conrad.[78] Edward Said indicates another point of view when he says that it is natural for Kipling to be assessed in different terms by Indian and British commentators.[79] At Kipling's birth British India was at its zenith, even the setting up of Congress was the idea of a British civil servant who believed that educated Indians were too few to represent a threat. Changes of course took place and the Agha Khan of the time, who strove for Indian Independence, wrote at a later date, about the "narrow intolerant imperialistic outlook associated with Kipling's name".[80] This criticism may have been accentuated by some of Kipling's early verse like *The Letter of Halim the Potter*:

> The Prophet (blessed in Allah) writes;-"Take heed
> Because ye are the Chosen, yet all skill
> Concentrates not in Islam. Swine and dogs
> Have knowledge of the weather more than ye-
> Learn from them, praising Allah!
> – I doubt not that the drugs
> Of them who know not Islam (-Read again
> The Prophet's sentence, though thou knewest it
> Before I knew the platter from the cup–)[81]

Thomas Pinney considers that Kipling's stories and newspaper articles combined to express a sort of Orientalism, a conviction that the natives are not suited to western forms, together with a very western belief that only the British knew what was best for India.[82] Jasper Griffin, in his lectures, was to express the same opinion, that for Kipling the Empire offered a civilising government, represented by the wolves in *The Jungle Book* who were contrasted with the natives as monkeys or *Bandar-log* who were incapable of order or civilisation.[83] This attitude still exists in post-colonial South West Asian society where it has been transferred

into the assumed superiority of civil servants or others generally educated in schools with English as a medium of instruction as compared to those from schools which teach in the national language. In an early story, *Lispeth*, Kipling writes about a girl of rustic Indian parentage who was baptised when she was five weeks old, raised by the Chaplain and his wife and retained as a maid. He records the injustices inflicted on her when she declares her instant love for a wounded Englishman whom she has brought back for medical aid and nursed back to health. As Lispeth had done this she declares that he will be the one she will marry. This embarrasses the Parson and his wife and they think that it would take a great deal of Christianity to wipe out such uncivilised eastern instincts as falling in love at first sight. They tend to humour the girl and conscript the invalid to continue the charade. They only tell the brutal truth to the girl after the Englishman has gone away. When she is told that she cannot marry him because he is made of a superior clay and is engaged to an English girl, Lispeth recants, impetuously declares that all of the English are liars and returns to her parent's people.[84] The moral of the tale is laudable, notwithstanding the fact that Indian girls of all religions are very demure in their attitude to marriage, and would seldom have behaved as depicted.

NOBLE SAVAGE

That antipathy towards the Muslim, to which reference has been made in earlier pages of this thesis, was so great that in most of those romances in which the major character happened to be a Muslim, he or she was almost always found to be a Christian by origin. To preserve the class structure such a person was usually also discovered to be the offspring of some exalted nobility, as happens in the case of Edgar R. Burroughs Tarzan. Morier's heroine, "Ayesha," who has a Turkish name but a Christian soul, is described as: "being so beautiful that it is a great pity that she belongs to the Turks when she should have belonged to the Franks".

It eventually turns out that she does indeed descend from the Franks.[85] Writing *Ayesha* in 1834, Morier juxtaposed Frank and Turk to give himself ample opportunities for creating scenes that would be highly popular with a contemporary audience. Bringing the novel closer to home would make it more intensely felt. Thus Ayesha's father was depicted as an Englishman who had settled in Athens so that his child would grow under Attic influences. Other characters include the Greek Zabetta and her boyfriend, Suleiman, who run away from their employers with the baby Ayesha. They raise the child as a Muslim in order to appease Suleiman's conscience and name her Ayesha. Osmond, the hero, is the quintessential Englishman of the age. He undertakes the journey through Turkey, sees Ayesha while passing through Kars, and falls in love with her. He decides to extend his stay in order to see more of her. Osmond is aided in this endeavour by Zabetta who arranges for them to meet on the roof terrace, where a Muezzin sees the couple alone and raises the alarm. An investigation is launched and Osmond is subjected to a religious debate in which he fails. He is given the option of conversion or death by the mufti. The Pasha, who is sympathetic towards Osmond, arranges a sporting event as a distraction in order to allow him to escape. Osmond flees and seeks refuge with Cara Bey, the villain, a concentrated essence of all deceits and tyrranies, cruelties and loathsome sensualities. He exemplifies all the wickedness which the traveller is anticipated to encounter on a journey through Turkey and Persia. Cara Bey, a Yezidi chief, treacherously decides to abduct Ayesha himself and to imprison and eventually poison Osmond. However Osmond manages to rescue Ayesha from the castle with the help of Russian soldiers. Many adventures ensue but the story ends with Ayesha's, baptism and her resumption of her original name, Mary. The preface to the second edition, together with the early chapters, are full of attacks on Muslim characters which disappear in the second volume and only surface again towards the end.

The same discriminating concept had already emerged in John Keats' (1795-1821) account of Otho the emperor of Germany. *Otho the Great* overcomes a rebellion by his nobles and his son. During the battle Otho is protected by an "unknown" warrior dressed as an Arab, who eventually turns out to be his son. When the identity of Prince Ludolph is discovered, the anomaly of the approach is exposed. The deaths caused on the battlefield are considered excusable, simply because they were caused by a German and not by an Arab.

> Still give me leave to wonder that my Prince
> Ludolph, and the swift Arab are the same,
> Still to rejoice that 'twas a German arm
> Death doing in a turban'd masquerade.[86]

Similarly in Murray's novel *Hassan* of 1857, the hero is abandoned as a baby when his father places him in the arms of Khadija, a Muslim woman who was sitting near a pyramid and mourning for her dead infant. Hassan eventually grows up to discover his true identity which proves to be of Arab nobility. As the story develops Khadija accuses her husband, the Sheikh, of not having adopted Hassan according to religious law. In a note to this Murray erroneously adds that Mohammedan law acknowledges that an adopted child has full rights of inheritance.[87] The theme reached its apogee in the next century with E.M. Hull's novel *The Sheikh* of 1919 (written in what was later to be known as the Mills and Boon style). The romantic role of the sheikh was also to be indelibly printed on the minds of cinema audiences, when it was portrayed by Rudolph Valentino in a film of the same name. Here the dilemma concerns an Englishwoman, Diana, and her refusal to leave her captor, the Arab Sheikh, because she loves him. A resolution is reached when it is discovered that he is actually the son of Lord Glencarryl. His mother, a lady of Spanish nobility, had, through a terrible accident, been forced to seek refuge in the camp of Ben Hassan and gave birth to a son who was

adopted by Ben Hassan and made his heir.[88] Both of these stories are based on non-Islamic ideas of adoption. Islam is very particular about strict observation of paternity and though a Muslim can treat anyone as a child, there is no formalised adoption and consequently no legalised inheritance.

Allen Grant's *Tents of Shem* of 1889 is based around Grant's travels in Algeria and here Grant introduces the idea of jihad or holy war to provide him with an exciting plot. *Tents Of Shem* is replete with stereotypical terms and, though an initial effort is made at a counter argument explains how Islam does not condone force, this is later totally discarded. The novel is set in the land of the Kabyle where two European men set out to explore the flora and fauna of the desert. In the process they meet a Kabyle girl who speaks English. The novel culminates with her discovering that, due to the machinations of a vile uncle, her father had to flee from England and seek refuge with the Kabyle to escape ignominy. She is discovered to be an aristocratic heiress who was always a Christian but was unaware of it. Meriem starts out as very loyal to her adopted people but turns against them when they plan to murder English men, women and children after declaring jihad against the infidel. Initially the book appears to defend the Muslim faith but this approach soon disappears and we find that Meriem and her father denounce Islam. He is "outwardly compelled to conform to the distasteful rites and usages of Islam".[89] The Kabyle maidens are described in Grecian terms and are said to reflect their Roman ancestry. One of the characters in the book, Kinglake, agrees with the poet Alfred Tennyson's appraisal of the native as inferior.[90] The lines under discussion were from *Locksley Hall*:

> But I count the grey barbarians lower than the Christian child
> I, to herd with narrow foreheads, vacant of our glorious gains,

Like a beast with lower pleasures, like a beast with lower pains!
Mated with squalid savage-what to me were sun or clime?
I the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time[91]

The speaker of *Locksley Hall* tells how the woman he loved rejected him and married another man, something which the poet had apparently experienced. Though Tennyson probably did not deliberately intend to be xenophobic, writing in a state of despair, he unintentionally echoed the prevailing attitude when his writer expressed those thoughts.[92]

These examples all provide evidence of the ways in which writers of novels and poetry accepted the general complacency of the times. Even when the writers were not deliberately cultivating it, an ambivalence towards other cultures, and in particular towards Muslims, was present in their works. Thus a continuation of the cycle of the perpetuation of a contrived image rooted in theological history, which broke ground in political expediency, was fed by literature. It was immaterial whether this literature was travel writing, drama, prose, novel or poetry, as the idea of Islam and the Muslim was expressed there. At worst, it was denigration, levelling into a patronising attitude, at best it culminated in well meant confusion. Whether this image was formed through interaction with the literature and cultures of the east or was based on fantasy, the result was the same. The Muslims and their religion were an unacceptable entity, seen either as too frivolous or as too sanguinary. This attitude has trickled down to the present as most of the image makers, both Muslim and non-Muslim, were raised on many of the works discussed here, many of which fall within the repertoire of acknowledged classics.

4

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The nineteenth century in Britain was very productive in all fields of the arts. The technological developments of the Industrial revolution made a great contribution to this vigorousness. Just as the Empire knew no bounds, neither did the creative faculty of its people which also manifested itself in music, theatre and the arts of the Age. The contact with eastern cultures, which were by now lagging behind, did much to bolster the national psyche. After the seventeenth century, which had witnessed a proliferation of eastern influence, there was again a considerable impetus in representations of the east. The only difference was that in the seventeenth century the acquisition of new lands was beginning and great diplomacy was required in their depiction. By the nineteenth century the Empire and national confidence was at its zenith, and Britain could assert its superiority. New elements and themes were more accessible and, departing from the strictures of the past, artistic expression was unbridled. The British Empire could make the world to its desire, and it did so with gusto and considerable xenophobia. One thing remained unchanged and that was the manipulated underlying hostility towards Islam. The general ambivalence towards Muslims that was felt in political circles, and recorded in literature, was also disseminated to the public through wider cultural avenues.

MUSIC

A brief survey of the historical interrelation of east and west in the field of music will provide a framework for understanding this process. According to Henry Farmer, in

Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence (1970), music along with arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, was part of the quadrivium course taught from the earliest times in the Muslim world. Music and singing were essential to daily life, and the courts of caliphs, sultans and amirs encouraged it. Farmer states that the political contact with the Muslims which began in the eighth century also affected the culture of Spain and western Europe in many ways. This filtration of eastern musical influence came through roving Arab minstrels and led mainly to the promotion of instrumentalists. On a more audible and visible level this interaction produced a substantial increase in the number of instruments which were included in the martial bands of Europe. A parallel development of practical theory also took place. This may have been contributed to by the twenty-one volumes of the *Kitab al-Aghani,* written by Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani (d.967). Apart from this collection numerous books by other Muslim theorists, who are better known as scientists, also influenced medieval Europe considerably. Unfortunately very few of the Latin translations of these original Arab and Greek works, are extant. This loss may have been the result of the pre-Renaissance Christian church's efforts to destroy the "infidel" influences evidenced in music. Al-Masudi, while writing about the Byzantine empire, said that the science of music was thrown out with the advent of Christianity. From the sixth to the tenth century the Church as a whole also despised learning. Despite this dearth of literary records on the subject of the development of musical theory,[1] Farmer argues fervently for the Arabian origin of the theory of music as opposed to the generally accepted Greek origin. Farmer's theory is interesting as in conjunction with evidence provided by Muslim writers it effectively challenges the myth that music was proscribed in Islam. In fact the contrary is observed and a rich Muslim musical heritage is depicted, on which much of western classical theory of music was based. This musical and cultural development of the Muslims received

an irretrievable setback with the sacking of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols.[2] It is interesting to observe that a culture, over whose contribution to classical musical theory academics argue in the west, would eventually itself be depicted as culturally degenerate.

As the western countries emerged from their Dark Ages and achieved political control over the Muslims, they also began to assert their cultural superiority. This process was to be so successful that eventually the assumed sense of superiority became second nature. It was displayed in a letter written by Charles Lamb (1775-1869) to his friend Manning, (on 26th February 1808) giving him all the news. While describing an opera, *Kais* (1808) by Isaac Brandon, Lamb demonstrates the continuing triumphalism on the subject of the eastern style when he remarks: "Tis all about Eastern manners; it would just suit you. It describes the wild Arabs, wandering Egyptians, lying dervishes, and all that sort of people, to a hair".[3] This attitude was to be recorded years later when Bernard Shaw wrote under the pseudonym of "Corno de Basseto" about the performance of Verdi's *Äida* presented at Covent Garden in July 1888: "Signor Manicelli conducted the court and temple scenes barbarically, evidently believing that the ancient Egyptians were a tribe of savages, instead of, as far as one can ascertain, considerably more advanced than the society now nightly contemplating in 'indispensable evening dress' the back of Signor Manicelli's head".[4]

An interest in the depiction of the east, similar to the situation relating to eastern politics and literature, also existed in the staging of artistic musical representations. This was evidenced in the successive staging of such Oriental themes as found in Handel's *Siroe, Re Di Persia*. This has a complex plot based on pre-Islamic Persian history and was premiered on 17 February 1728 at King's Theatre, Haymarket. The first complete and staged production since Handel's days was put on from 23 to 26 November 1993 at the Britten Theatre in the Royal College of Music.

The Indian Bayaderes, Hindu temple dancers, also inflamed the imagination of the public when they performed in Europe. Repeated performances of *Bayaderes* took place from 1810 and continue into present times. Weber's *Oberon*, was staged very successfully at Covent Garden in 1826 and the composer was there to take the applause. The poster bill of the performance was suitably embellished with pictures of fairies, Franks, Arabians and Tunisians. This show was followed by an *Aladdin* opera and *Oberon* was performed again in the evening.[5] In *Oberon* Weber uses a genuine Arabian melody for the chorus of the harem to sing to his Rezia,"....which was intended to sound Arabian, grotesque, and weird and it does achieve precisely that effect".[6]

With a few exceptions the depiction of the Muslims found in the mass media, whether musical or theatrical, were grotesque, contrived and as ill-informed as possible. This set up a vicious circle of perpetuating the stereotype which is still in evidence today. It was very easy to amalgamate the disparate Muslim world as a single entity, and to freely interchange the characteristics of one nation with another with very little detriment to the purpose. This was done freely in Petipa's ballet *La Peri* when it was staged at Drury Lane on 30 September 1843; so much so that even the critics were divided amongst themselves as to the nationality of the characters. The reviewers variously describe the Oriental hero as Syrian, Turk, or Persian. The production imported from the Academie Royale of Paris, with the famous Carlotta Grisi and Monsieur Petipa, in the same year was replete with odalisques. A year later at the same theatre, an adaptation of Byron's *The Corsair* was performed as a ballet for the first time in the Britain. It was subsequently staged in 1848, and again in 1856 at Her Majesty's Theatre, after having premiered in Paris at the Theatre Imperial De l' Opera and then at the Victoria Theatre in May 1859. It was to prove very popular as a ballet and continues to be performed up to modern times.

Attempts at putting forward a positive image of the Muslims were also made, but these proved unpopular and infrequent. An example was found in the attitude of Voltaire who had gone against the norm of the time when he tried to put forward a more sympathetic view of the Muslims in the first staging of *Zaire* in Paris on 13 August 1732. In spite of the fact that the heroine renounces the Islamic faith, however, the critics of an 1890 revival found the play too sympathetic to the Muslim Sultan. Mozart fared better with *Die Entfuhrung Aus Dem Serail*, when it was performed at Drury Lane in 1841. Mozart's opera is striking for its introduction of a merciful pasha who sets an example of generosity to his Christian prisoners. It restores a sense of balance to the stereotypical portrayal of the villainous Muslim, and is well received till the present. When it was presented at Covent Garden in 1827 the playbill listed the cast as Mahometans, Greeks and Foreigners. It seems that Muslims and Greeks were equally well known to the general public as the main protagonists, while the rest of the world was considered as alien.

However, according to John Mackenzie, in music and theatre even the late seventeenth century sometimes portrayed the noble Turkish ruler as a form of wish-fulfillment. The ballet *La Source* was performed at the Theatre Imperial De L Opera in Paris on 12 November 1866. It had a large cast with Muslim names, and featured a mountainous scene. It was to prove so popular that it was produced in Italy as *La Sorgente* and in Germany as *Naila.* Imperialism was now also evident in French operas such as Delibes' *Lakmé*,[7] which was introduced in 1883 and performed at the London Gaiety Theatre in 1885. This was an unusual work with its French view of the Indians and the British, but it also succumbed to the usual mixing of Hindu and Muslim characters and dress. Perhaps inspired by their natural colonialism, French composers turned to exoticism as in *Le Desert* and *Lalla Roukh* by Félicien David (1810-1876) or Saint-Saëns, *Samson and Delilah*, *Suite Algérienne*, and *Fifth*

Piano Concerto. Added to these were Auber's *Le Domino noir*, Bizet's *Carmen*, Charbiers' *España* & Debussy's *Ibéria*.[8] Bizet's *Djamileh*, a one-act opéra comique, is a variation of the Scheherazade idea in which the slave has one month to prove her love to Haroun. The depiction of the palace at sunset as Haroun reclines, smoking, is an authentic counterpart to Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales* or to Ingres' *Odalisques*.[9]

Reflecting the drama on the political scene, all of these extravaganzas were also provided with "a repertoire of musical orientationtalism, a collective category that rode roughshod over ethnic distinctions so that Arabic, Tartar, and Indian music all appeared interchangeable; making it inevitable that "The riches of authentic Oriental music necessarily collapsed to a meagre residue so as to be integratable at all into the European tonal system".[10] Just as it was difficult to distinguish what nationality was being presented on stage because of the amalgamation of all kinds of costumes; similarly the music of heterogeneous countries was lumped together. Mackenzie is able to discern a positive aspect and argues that these perceptions of the east, however artificial, produced a genuine revolution, major technical change and an alluring artistic world. According to him spectacle and Russian theatre helped the audience to feel less inhibited and perhaps led to a more constructive merging of the east and west. Félicien David visited the east and instituted the Oriental style carried on by Bizet, Delibes, and Saint-Saëns amongst others. Saint-Saëns even saw himself as revealing the east to the west in a sympathetic light.

The confusion regarding musical productions may be more readily understood as, being a universal language, music could synthesise more easily, especially when there was hundreds of years of intermingling amongst the cultures. This is evidenced in Hungarian music of the nineteenth century where it is virtually impossible to separate the Hungarian, Turkish, and gypsy elements, a result of the fact that Hungary was occupied by the Turks for nearly two cen-

turies and that gypsy disseminators established the Hungarian style. The vogue for Turkish music ended in the 1820s with the general European revulsion during the Greek War of Independence.[11] However the continuous staging of Orientalist productions indicates a steady popularity evidenced in the perennial charm of *Äida* until the present. In the post Saidian era, unlike for Mackenzie the melodies of the Desert were genuinely Oriental but were fleshed out with European harmonies. Mackenzie also argues that the amalgamation of eastern sounds was the result of a more honourable motive, stating that composers used the east to extend the language of their art. One reason for the success of *Äida*, an opera created wholly by western means, may be, as Mackenzie explains, a result of Verdi's achieving an intriguing sense of exoticism in his music by using the east for this purpose.[12] Mackenzie continues that the repeated social, moral, and sexual destabilisations which matched the introduction of new musical elements later cut across the simple dividing line of contrasting cultures. In eighteenth century musical Orientalism, the imperial boot was on the other foot. It was the Ottoman empire which was feared and then accommodated. Yet there was no monolithic discourse of alterity. In the nineteenth century two projects fused the musical journey: one was to search for new orchestral colour and the other was a proto-ethnomusicological search for the intriguing melodic and rhythmic invention through which it could be exploited.[13] Whatever the reasons may have been, the interest in Oriental music was to continue until the present, when the idea of world music has become popular. The successful use of the Hungarian lullaby in the film *The English Patient* also reinforces this argument.

THEATRE

In the world of theatre at times a similar but more visibly paradoxical situation prevailed. Political expediency notwithstanding, the taste of the general populace for anything Oriental remained unabated. This was described by

J.R. Planché when he took over the Olympia Theatre. His skit *The Camp at the Olympic* which he wrote for Alfred Wigan, was staged in 1853. The play gives a birds-eye view of the conditions prevailing in 1850-1860. Planché encapsulated the requirements of his audience by whom comedy was generally preferred to tragedy and while dramatic taste was both low and fickle: "Just what they like - whatever that may be - Not much to hear, and something strange to see".[14] Outside the British Isles the same pattern emerged simultaneously. Whether it was Russia, France or Germany the end result was the same, only the inflections were different, as all of these countries had different spheres of influence in their colonies.

A vogue for the Circassian and the Caucasian was a marked feature of the early Victorian period. Political interests in India dictated British policy in Russia where the Foreign Office carefully monitored the movements of the legendary Avar Chechen leader, Imam Shamyl's, revolt in the Caucasus, as well as of those of British soldiers secretly crossing the border from India in order to train the rebel followers. Because the uprising was crucial in containing the Russian advance towards the warm waters of the Arabian Sea, whether through Persia or the Indian sub-continent, the British Government had a more than usual concern with events. This interest was so widespread that 'A Circassian March' was composed and even the covers of the 'Scottische Reel' abounded with Arabian chargers. It was thought that both Shamyl and the Algerian Abd el Kader, who rebelled against the French, conspired to revolt against western domination during the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in 1838. For once the exploits of these two Muslims were found acceptable because the two countries at the receiving end were Russia and France, both more potent and geographically closer enemies. In 1834 Abd el Kader, who opposed the French invasion in North Africa, became the central figure in many equestrian dramas and plays staged in England. Shamyl was a famous opponent of the Russians,

and this interest was supplemented by the heroic personalities of Shamyl and his one time lieutenant, Haji Murad. Shamyl returned the interest shown in him by writing to Queen Victoria requesting her help and by having English journals read out to him on his long marches. Russian opposition to him evolved from Catherine the Great's dream of the Cross replacing the Crescent in India, Constantinople and the Caucasus. These were all to be part of her intended revival of the Greek Empire under Russian control which was to follow the annexation of the Crimea in 1783. All of these events provided ample material for staging equestrian extravaganzas which were also to prove lucrative for their producers. Astley's Amphitheatre was a popular London venue for staging such performances and is one of the subjects described by Dickens in *Sketches by Boz*. It was set up by Philip Astley, a retired cavalryman, and from 1769, it presented melodramas and equestrian displays under canvas. Astley's was visited by the Persian Ambassador on 14 May 1810 who meticulously recorded favourable impressions of the horsemanship displayed.[15] This must have been evidenced in productions similar to the *Conqueror*'s *Steed; Karabagh or The Prophet of the Caucasus*, which was staged for the seventh time at Astley's on 1 August 1842. This equestrian spectacle was based on the events of the Crimean war. It featured a gladiatorial event with wild gymnastic feats of the "Syrian Antipodean", a hall of countless mirrors, and a Russian ballet.[16] It seems that the public's appetite for exoticism was insatiable. *Abd el Kader*, a favourite equestrian event based on the legendary Algerian hero, was to feature in five dramas over the years 1837-56. *The Arab of The Desert* was also presented as a novelty, an equestrian comic pantomime at Astley's in February 1856. Described as not having lost one particle of its great attraction, it was approved to be played every evening until further notice. *Lalla Rookh Or The Rose Of Lahore*; based on Moore's poem, originated in 1846 and was staged at Her Majesty's Theatre on 11 June in 1856.

The publicity described its setting, India, as a country, at that moment interesting to all Englishmen. *Lalla Rookh* was also presented as a popular equestrian event at Astley's on 13 June 1836. The inevitable illuminated Palm grove was advertised with "other effective incidents of grandeur", including a contest of drowning steeds.

The prime 'Orientalist' event was *The Desert: Or The Imann's Daughter* performed in 1847 at Drury Lane. The first night of the grand Oriental Spectacle took place on Easter Monday 5 April 1847 and the piece was said to have "correct and striking costumes". There was a programme with details of the scenery and an outline of incidents. Act I Scene I featured the Exterior Of The Grand Temple Of Mecca, irradiated by the Thousands of lamps perpetually burning around the Shrine of the Prophet. In Scene II were seen the ruins of an ancient Egyptian Temple Tower near Madina conducting by a panoramic effect to Scene III, which included The Vast Desert, and the inevitable oasis. The army of animals displayed in it consisted of twelve camels, two stupendous elephants pulling a chariot, attended by fifty horses and a whole body of camels. There was also to be an opening chorus of Allah! Allah! The seemingly innocuous description of the Prophet's shrine at Mecca irradiated by thousands of lamps was to confirm the fabricated legends and misconception and to contribute to an ideology that was totally alien to veracity.[17] John Mackenzie regards this play as a perfect example of positive Orientalism but for an ordinary Muslim it represents a bewildering violation of historical facts which could only lead to an incorrect image of his or her religion. This also conflicts with the conclusion reached by Mackenzie that, because theatre became more accessible for people from all walks of life, melodrama became less class specific, often using racial differences as a substitute for domestic conflict. Spectacular theatre strove for realistic effects, vying to produce fresh gasps from an audience looking for fresh sensation beyond the proscenium arch.[18]

Political expediency and a fascination for the exotic also combined to produce theatrical extravaganzas like those discussed here, which were to captivate mass audiences in the west. Cherubini's opera of *Ali Baba,* based on the *Arabian Nights,* had its first production at the Paris Opera in 1833. It was staged regularly in several variations, became a perennial favourite as a pantomime and remains so today. Weber's *Abu Hassan* was performed in 1865 at Covent Garden. It was also presented, as Weber's Operetta, together with Mozart's opera-buffa, *L'Oca del Cairo*, on 12 May 1870 as it had been in 1811. Consequently an *Arabian Knight's Entertainment* was presented as an Oriental burlesque extravaganza at the Royal Charing Cross Theatre on 30 October 1869. The Arabian Nights was dramatised as *Haroun Alrachid* at the Globe Theatre in November 1887. This was a farcical comedy which exposed male idiosyncrasies; it had the hero reading the *Arabian Nights* in one sitting. *Sheherazade* was a frequently staged ballet and has still not diminished in popularity. The success of this theme was so great that it seems to have provided enough material for a public exhibition called *Tales from the Arabian Nights* to be held at Leighton House from 10 December 1997 to 30 January 1998.

Among other nineteenth century 'Oriental' entertainment were *World's War; or, The Turks Faith and The Christians Valour* staged at The Victoria Theatre in April 1854. According to the playbill at the Theatre Museum in Covent Garden, it included great sieges of Ptolemy, Jerusalem, and Constantinople featuring the final triumph of England and France over oppression and tyranny. Another such performance was Auber's *The Circassian*, a comic opera first performed at the Opera Comique Paris in 1861 and later it was staged at the Criterion in November 1887.

John Mackenzie, in his book, *Orientalism* has a different view from Said about the extent of dealings with binary moral absolutes in the theatrical world. According to him, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, India was treat-

ed with awe and respect, an attribute also to be found in the reports of travellers. Mackenzie confuses the issue when he elaborates his argument to show that sometimes this was expressed through spurious images of riches and plenty, which were presented as an ideal and contrasted with the disadvantages of the west. By pointing out that Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* was later associated with Milton's devil in *Paradise Lost*.[19] Mackenzie reinforces the argument of this book, that the image of the Muslim as evil was also a consequence of theatrical portrayal. This ambivalence was apparently expressed in the seventeenth century play *Aureng-Zebe*. The inimical mode of depiction was encouraged in pantomime which was encouraged by the patent system of restricted theatre licensing in London, which survived till 1843. After its abolition the power of the Lord Chamberlain grew. Domestic, political and class conflict, depiction of the royal family and politicians, references to the Irish problem, biblical scenes and religious controversy were banned until the twentieth century. The result was that subjects involving discovery, empire, war, depiction of others and the fantasy world were acceptable. Therefore these were re-emphasized by the development of a highly topical theatre through which audiences were introduced to the main events and ideas of the age.[20] Pantomime was further established together with a tradition of retributive comedy which was intended to deflate the high and mighty in social and cultural terms. Oriental potentates were used to point up the satire of the first; crazes for chinoiserie and Egyptiana. During the height of the Napoleonic wars the theatre season of 1811-12 was notably Orientalist in tone, as evidenced in portrayals of *Blue Beard* and *Timur*.[21]

In his account of the "Oriental" theatre Mackenzie is not concerned with genuine Oriental artefacts transmitted to the west, but with their reflection and reworking in western art.[22] This characteristic was disturbing to the balance of authenticity as it only served to reaffirm erroneous stereotypes. It also resulted in the continuation of an unbroken chain of prejudice well into the nineteenth century a tendency sup-

plemented by the general requirements of entertainment of the period.

After a surfeit of these Oriental extravaganzas, it was rare to see discretion exercised, a question discussed in *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*, by Shaw. After Shaw was established as a writer, he declared that he was unable to write a drama on the life of Muhammad, because of the possibility of a protest from the Turkish Ambassador or from the Lord Chamberlain who fearing such a Turkish protest, would refuse permission to stage it.[23] Such an unusual sensitivity to Muslim sentiments is unexpected, particularly for Shaw who was rarely serious. It was (apparently) a result of the delicate political situation of the time. In *The Madras House*, which was produced at the Savoy in 1910 by Shaw's close friend Harley Granville-Barker (1877-1946) an Oriental theme, was also introduced. This play represents a comparatively serious representation of most of the prevailing misconceptions about Islam, expressed by the bewildered family of the main character Constantine Madras, who has voluntarily become a Muslim. In the course of the play he cleverly rebuts most of these. Such statements of fact generally represented no bar to a continuance of the presentation of Oriental subjects, as the table of theatrical events and musical compositions appended to the thesis will illustrate. The staging of so many of these productions demonstrates the predilection of public taste, where a thirst for anything eastern made no discrimination between origins or purpose as long as the result was exotic and Oriental.

ART

After being amused by the extravaganzas portraying Muslims discussed above, it was not surprising that the general public, together with the literati who attended them, found nothing strange in the bill posters or costumes of a spectacle. These presentations effectively united a large part of the world, which could not be more disparate, into a single event and style. By doing so they effectively reinforced stereotypes of the Muslims. The same tendency was to prevail in Orientalist paintings depicting the Muslim world.

Thackeray should not have wondered that artists had never attempted to depict everyday life on the Turkish streets, or such scenes as the camel market and other mundane events, instead of grand processions, sultans and magnificent landscapes.[24] Though some artists were to produce impressive works by doing precisely this, those who concentrated on fantasy as inspiration received the greater accolade. This tendency was also observed above in the discussion of literature, when the tastes of writers like Beckford were fed by an idea of what the east might be rather than by actual knowledge. Comparing the representations of the east by western artists, John Sweetman comments that, in spite of Britain's stronger political links with Islam, Europe made more creative use of it.[25] The Saracen as a figure of excess in western literature became a powerful conditioning factor for the artist as well. The image was inherited from the Middle Ages and from before, particularly from the Crusades which began in 1095. Thereafter, the early twelfth century was a particularly formative phase for the development of the distorted image, even though the interaction between the two worlds increased. This was because the western world was now emerging from its comparative backwardness, and was becoming increasingly confident of its abilities. In spite of evidence to the contrary, western man's sense of superiority may not have been unblinkered as was demonstrated by Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the Indian Mughal dynasty, in 1616. He may have been the first Englishman to feel a twinge of doubt when he was handed superlative copies of Isaac Oliver made by Mughal artists, though Roe's overall verdict was to be slighting. In the seventeenth century, when Turkey ceased to threaten Europe, the religious challenge initiated by the Crusades lost some of its urgency but the continuing regard for the Holy Land meant that it could not disappear from European view. Consequently in the later eighteenth century there was, by contrast, an appreciation of Muslim weapons and other relics as evidenced by the col-

lection of Horace Walpole. Eventually the Saracenic element reappeared in the literature of the Romantics when Scott provided a stimulus by portraying the medieval crusader hero in *The Talisman*.[26] In the world of art the Renaissance and Romantic image of the ideal man was now being expressed in terms of an alien culture. This was evidenced when non-conformists had their portraits painted in Turkish costume. According to Sweetman the Muslim could represent excess for the European, a rival discipline, as well as freedom from one's own discipline.[27] All of these notions were important to the nineteenth century, which was passionately interested in the motives of the hero. Delacroix tried to reconcile them and was influenced by Byron who hailed the contemporary Ali Pasha as a Mohammedan Buonoparte, cruel but mighty. Consequently *The Massacre of Chios* (1824) by Delacroix, depicting the conquering Turks subjugating the Greeks, is a superficial indication of the crusades. However his other painting of *Greece on the Ruins* (1827) makes heroes of the Turks also.[28] In spite of the intentions of these artists, which may have differed from what is apparent in the paintings, the effect that they had on public opinion was ambivalent.

Particular mention must be made of the depiction of women in a Muslim harem. Arguably, one painting, being essentially the artist's individual depiction structured by artistic conventions, is as valid as any other. The confusion begins when the viewing public begins to take the painting as a realistic portrayal of the subject. This is what readily happened with paintings of the eastern world in general. Western viewers seemed to deliberately ignore the fact that a work of art cannot be a correct rendering because of its status as a work of imagination. A similar situation was manifested with the generally salacious paintings of the Muslim harem which came to be represented by Ingres' *Odalisque*. It is interesting to note that Ingres' inspired by a non-Oriental source, painted three *Odalisques*.[29] Consequently the trend he set was followed by, among others, Renoir and Matisse. The nude in Orientalist paintings had more to do

with indulging western fantasies and blaming Muslim proclivities than with reality. The nineteenth century naturalistic tendency in art lent greater authenticity to these scenes, specially when they were painted by artists like Delacroix who had visited the east. The reaction they produced was similar to that achieved by Ingres' odalisques, although Ingres drew the harem from imagination. John Sweetman says that the harem subjects of Ingres are to some extent eccentric, but even a purist will agree that they are not frivolous. The gouache variant of his harem compared very well with his other studies of the human form. His pictures are explained today as an exercise in volupté, and placed in the tradition of Titian's paintings of *Venus*.[30] Artistic merits notwithstanding, it is interesting to note that the viewing public could distinguish between the world of fantasy and reality when it came to mythological figures but lost this discerning faculty when it came to the representation of the Muslim harems. With these paintings as a guide, supplemented by prevailing depiction in literature and with few eyewitnesses outside the harem, except perhaps of the undress of some female slaves, it came to be generally accepted that Muslim women spent most of their lives in various states of indolence and deshabillé when they were not dressed up as tents. This trend was to prove so popular that it was eventually transferred onto photographic postcards in the Victorian age. Thus the familiar but false image of lngres's *Odalisque* found its way later into the French Salon, onto postcards, and eventually into the ideas of western posterity. Writing on behalf of the "other", Malek Alloula exposes these ideas portrayed by artists by noting their selection of coffee drinking and smoking the hookah as stereotypical references to the inner harem. The hookah, Alloula says, is rarely used in Algeria and serves mostly as a part of interior decoration. Even in those parts of the Muslim world where it is used the reality is opposite to its evocation, associated with hashish, which gives life to a world of dreamy feminine presence in various states of self abandonment.[31]

In direct contrast to Orientalist paintings are the depiction of the harem by indigenous artists, which continue to be as authentic today as they must have been when they were painted. These specific scenes are found in the *Badshahnamah* and illustrate the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan's (1627-59) marriage ceremony, and the wives and daughters of his enemy Nazar Muhammad Khan of Khurasan against whom he had sent his son Aurangzeb and Jaswant Singh.[32] Only on rare occasions does a nude female form emerge in the miniature paintings of India, Persia and Turkey. These scenes, found in mid-sixteenth century paintings belonging to the school of Shah Tahmasp (1530-70), represent the moment when Prince Khusrau sees his beloved Shirin bathing in the woods. The original work here was an illustration by Sultan Mahmud in the Mss. of the *Shahnamah* by Nizami, executed for Shah Tahmasp in 1537. The other drawings, which are different in style and have rounded outlines, are by Kamal and include a stereotypical odalisque pose.[33] The reign of Shah Tahmasp was a period of innovations which may have contributed to the unrest amongst his subjects.[34] It is not surprising that this was also the period when western techniques of painting began to influence the art of the miniature. Even those nude images which are commonly found in the illustrated manuscripts of the times are very different in style and content from the Orientalist ones. The indigenous miniatures or drawings usually illustrated manuscripts of legendary romances or other poetical works and were similar in form. This is usually the case for example, in Oriental collections like those of the Bodleian Library, and of the Chester Beatty. The collections of various other galleries and museums, including the British Museum, the Museum of Lahore, the Louvre, the *Padshahnamah* exhibition at the Queens Gallery London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York all show the same tendencies. Among the New York examples, is a scene painted in Herat in 1524, showing Shirin bathing modestly attired in pantaloons, with

her long hair concealing her torso. This is similar to that of the mid-seventeenth century, belonging to the school of Bukhara, which depicts, another legendary romantic couple, Yusuf and Zuleikha, in the *Bustan* by Sheikh Sadi wearing ordinary dress. These in turn were not different from a picture of the school of Shaykh Zadeh which has women playing musical instruments in a pavilion while clothed in daily wear including headresses. An eighteenth century Mughal painting also shows a Princess entertaining a guest at a pleasure party, dressed discreetly in an (albeit transparent) material, as the season would have warranted. A juxtaposition of even these supposedly salacious indigenous depiction with those of the Orientalists will make the differences between the two styles quite obvious. The fact that there is such a vast contradiction between the two styles is also a result of a difference of attitude towards paintings themselves. In the west artists produced material that would be put on public display, while in the east paintings were commissioned for private collections and did not have a message to convey, especially when purchased by indigenous commissioners.

The gap between the old and new indigenous styles generally grew after the sixteenth century, at the time when east-west interaction became more frequent. As the dominance of the west increased politically it manifested itself in the world of art also, consequently there was a great overlapping of styles which reflected British tastes. It was also an unconscious result of the absorption of foreign styles by indigenous artists, working at the behest of British masters. Therefore art was used to confirm the preconceived images of western viewers.[35] This is especially prevalent in the Indian miniatures of later times which were imbued with the expertise of the west. Westernising tendencies also led the Ottoman Empire to create its own school of painting in the Occidental style, a style of which Hamdy Bey was the most celebrated exponent. Similarly Orientalist depiction of the Middle East and North Africa was strikingly distinct from other Imperial art and was influenced by the Islamic Near

East. According to Mackenzie it celebrated cultural proximity, historical parallelism and religious familiarity rather than true "Otherness". This was evidenced in the works of David Roberts, J.F Lewis, Georges Clarin, and Henri Regnault, who visited Granada before proceeding further east. The European artists projected onto the east their fears and fantasies but also aspirations, renewed values and wished for freedoms. Paradoxically, they often sought to portray, not the strikingly different, but the oddly familiar (evidenced in portrayals of chivalry, the lion hunt and the horse) and they did so in order to make a comment on their own societies. The honourable motives of the western artists seem to have been of little consequence as the collective image they projected continued to be negative. John Sweetman's book was formulated out of an interest in John Frederick Lewis's paintings of the Orient. He describes Lewis as "an unconventional and unmoralising Victorian" artist of life in Cairo. Unlike the work of other Orientalist artists who painted from imagination, Lewis's art was based on actual experience. According to Sweetman, the Classical western tradition rejected the idea of Orientalist art as escape and encouraged the assessment of Orientalism as a kind of virulent chinoiserie run to seed. Chinoiserie was propelled forward by an idea of what China was felt to be like: an idea made more potent by distance. In Sweetman's view, the main period of chinoiserie coincided with the rococo style in decoration of about 1750, a period when many Europeans were looking for a more unbuttoned, if not frankly informal, art.[36]

Mackenzie's *Orientalism History, theory and the arts*, which treats the same subject, followed fairly closely on Sweetman's. Mackenzie agrees with Sweetman's analysis and adds that Macaulay lampooned the craze for chinoisserie as a means of attacking Queen Mary and her introduction of Dutch taste to England.[37] This interest in the Oriental was also manifested in the celebration of Napoleon's exile in Elba which led to the erection of a temple, a pagoda, and a Chinese bridge in St. James's Park, something which may

also have resulted from the taste for chinoisserie of the Prince Regent. The essence of the chinoisserie style is far removed from the reality of a European version of the east. Turqueries, by contrast, was a broad term which conversely could also point to close acquaintance with, the surface reality, at least of Muslim life.[38] What Chinoisserie could not provide in substance and self sufficiency for painters was provided by the "other". It is true that rich interiors and decorations created respect and amalgamation, but the effect was limited to this alone.[39]

Mackenzie's book also challenges the belief that the Orientalist trend in art was an agreeable frivolity based on escapism. He makes the claim on the basis of the long association of Europe with visual ideas from the Oriental world. This association started from the fifteenth century and lasted to the twentieth century. The relation with Islam, however, was different since it had existed so close at hand in Spain, Sicily, and Constantinople. Mackenzie accepts, however, that Persia and Arabia remained relatively remote though they were increasingly explored in the nineteenth century and introduced into Romantic writing.[40]

Mackenzie is also greatly concerned with the ideas of Edward Said and his followers. Mackenzie describes the use of the term "Orientalism" by Said as a construct, an emblem of domination and a weapon of power and not a reality, with the older concept, which referred to British policy in India, representing a conservative and romantic approach. The old method not only utilised the languages and laws of both Hindu and Muslim India, but also desired the preservation of allegedly traditional social relations. This Orientalism was assaulted by evangelism and utilitarianism and was, from the 1830s, overwhelmed by the new Anglicist approach.

According to Mackenzie a full understanding of Orientalism can only come from artistic promiscuity, so he adopts an eclectic approach to the arts. The prime focus is on British works, but he also considers other western works.

In discussing the world of art, Mackenzie contends with the idea that visual representations apparently expressed a set of binary oppositions, turning the representative east into the moral negative of the west because it limited possible readings of paintings and other visual forms. For him, Victorian and Edwardian artists were not only eclectic in their approach to the arts, they were also massively eclectic in their response to cultures. For Mackenzie they were the first age to access these alien societies and, as a result, they resorted to classification, in order to understand the welter of material with which they were confronted. He agrees that stereotyping did exist in popular cultural forms but insists that it was one half of a striking duality. In the "high arts" the depiction and adaptation were powerful and positive.[41]

This may be a plausible explanation but it does not eliminate the problem that most pictorial representations of Muslim life were misleading and ultimately perpetuated a negative portrayal. In design Oriental art and crafts were used to underpin Modernist and quasi-medieval standpoints.[42] This is an area which had a relatively anodyne effect on the image of the Muslim.

Many buildings in Britain were constructed according to eastern designs. Prominent among these buildings were Lord Bute's Cardiff Castle, Lord Leighton's House in Kensington, with the Arab Hall, together with other rooms in country houses. This predilection for Muslim architecture is observed in Thackeray's reaction to the mosques and other buildings in Istanbul. Having been weaned on the prevalent attitudes of the west, Thackeray was surprised into remarking on Muslim architecture "why, Mohammadanism must have been right and lovely too once. Never did a creed possess temples more elegant; as elegant as the cathedral at Rouen, or the baptistery at Pisa and compared it to 'Gothic architecture' which is Catholicism carved in stone".[43] Even though there is no such thing as an Islamic style, as the cupola, the niche, and the minaret only appeared in the reign of al-Walid, these were to be the dom-

inant features of Muslim architecture, characteristic of what was to be known as the Saracenic Mosque.[44] Architectural motifs were one of the aspects of Muslim life which were readily incorporated into the western world both indoors and outdoors. To satisfy public taste the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly was established for the display of eastern artefacts; later in the century, in 1894, the Omar Khayyam Club, a convivial organisation, was founded and was mentioned regularly in George Gissing's (1857-1903) letters to H.G.Wells (1866-1946).[45] The Oriental style in architecture became more prominent at the end of the nineteenth century and was used for exhibitions and leisure centres, but Moorish and other Muslim architectural styles were more influential as they could easily blend with European forms and Indian elements. Many buildings for national and international exhibitions were "Oriental" in style but they housed western technology, perhaps to show a creative amalgamation between the modern and the exotic.[46] Unfortunately, even in the realm of architecture the end result of incorporating eastern styles was frequently to be a negative one. Because the two worlds were climatically and topographically so different the transplanting of the Oriental style mostly underlined these differences and created a glaring contrast. A prime example of this effect was the Prince Regent's George Gissing's (1857-1903) letters to H.G.Wells. It also served to perpetuate negative impressions of the east: opulence, excess, intrigue and vulgarity which has continued to be associated with the Muslim world.

What is self evident from the study of these aspects of politics, religious zeal, fantasy, propaganda or artistic licence, in western portrayals of the musical, theatrical or visual Muslim world, is that there is a marked unresolved incongruity between the two perspectives of the observer and the observed. Comparing the portrayals of Muslims and Islam in history and literature, with those in the arts, the discrepancy becomes progressively diffuse. The aberrations arose less due to forces inimical to Islam, and more to Muslim

manifestations. Although the bias persisted unconsciously it remained in the background. As these depiction were more tangible, the Muslim's contribution to the development of the stereotype can be easily discerned. Conversely, because the Islamic and Muslim aspects were so accessible, and observable, it also shows irresponsibility on the part of the western recorders, to consistently portray only what was sensational as a result of negative selectivity. Thus it must be concluded that the cultural portrayals of Islam and the Muslims in nineteenth century Britain were surprisingly uniform, and were a reflection of the distorted image that had evolved through history and literature.

5

GENERAL MISCONCEPTIONS

The misunderstanding of Islamic concepts in the period up to the end of the nineteenth century was more extensive and more varied than that found in the studies which relate to the Qur'an and to the personality of the Prophet Muhammad. This is not unexpected as the predisposition for criticism of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad was firmly established, it was not very difficult to transfer bias to the practitioners of the religion. This area provided even more material to generate further misconception, because not only was the populace spread over a large disparate area, but it was greatly varied in its religious practice as well. The study of these distortions leads to the conclusion that there had always been a tendency to exaggerate supposed Islamic practises by outside observers of the religion. Eventually these misconceptions came to acquire a life of their own, to the extent that they were accepted as representative of Islamic belief, even by some inadequately informed Muslims. This chapter will concentrate on some of the misconceptions that have appeared more frequently than others in western literature. The selection of these misconceptions has been made on the same basis used in previous chapters. The guideline for their inclusion was that they were frequently used by western writers to depict Muslim behaviour and were pertinent to the core of Islam.

SWORD AND QUR'AN

The overwhelmingly sanguinary descriptions of the spread

of Islam which were familiar in the nineteenth century, despite evidence to the contrary, led to the inevitable and paramount misconception that Islam is or has been a religion propagated by the sword from the time of its declaration in the seventh century onwards.

There is little evidence to support the perpetual assertion that Islam was spread by the sword. Under scrutiny this allegation has proved as difficult to verify as it is to ride into battle with a sword in one hand and the Qur'an in the other. Keeping the mortal fallibility of Muslim rulers in mind, and putting individual temperament on one side, it was the guidance of the Islamic injunctions which helped them to choose the more humane option. In spite of these provisions, however, Muslim rulers, being subject both to human and inhuman proclivities, did enact horrors on others as well as each other and frequently turned a blind eye to any Islamic injunctions which were inimical to their ambitions. Their policies were guided less by the principles of Islam and more by their political and tribal affiliations. This is illustrated in Muslim accounts of the Seljuq conquests in Asia Minor which were made in the name of the Seljuqs and not in the name of the Caliph Al-Qaim, a devout eleventh century Muslim.[1] However for the western writer the conflict would inevitably acquire the qualification of being an Islamic conquest. This is a point where the differentiation between Muslim and Islamic becomes helpful if a clearer picture is to emerge.

The Qur'anic ayahs stipulating tolerance in matters of faith which form the Islamic basis are vital to this issue and need to be studied in detail. The same ayahs have been frequently cited by writers on both sides of the divide, to either enhance the idea, as in the case of Muslims, or, when employed by western writers, to detract from the idea of tolerance in Islam. Unfortunately, the misconception about forced conversion in Islam, which was deliberately cultivated by non-Muslims, was to prevail and create confusion amongst the Muslims as well. To the detriment of Muslim society the confusion prevented the more accurate

Islamic idea of tolerance in matters of faith from being perpetuated. To promote understanding of the misconception which promotes violence it becomes imperative to put the idea of tolerance in Islam in perspective.

ISLAMIC TOLERANCE

Tolerance of religions was unequivocally stated very early in the history of Islam as "THERE SHALL BE no coercion in matters of faith." (2:256) This doctrine was to provide the foundation for all Islamic activity and was one of the main reasons for the proliferation of the religion. It was manifested when the Prophet and the early Muslim converts together with their clans, the Bani Hashim and Bani Muttalib, were ostracised by the pagans. They were made to live in a valley outside Mecca for many years during which time they sometimes faced famine as a result of social and economic sanctions. This ostracism was resorted to by the Pagans because they wanted to contain Muhammad's ideas and prevent them from spreading amongst the merchants and pilgrims who came to Mecca. Daily confrontation with the misery of a community so close to them caused a build-up of remorse amongst the perpetrators of the injustice. Eventually the Pagans revoked the interdiction on the Muslims and offered a compromise to the Prophet, that all the Meccans should practise both religions. It is then that the following ayahs were revealed:[2]

> Say: "O you who deny the truth!
> "I do not worship that which you worship, and neither do you worship that which I worship. "And I will not worship that which you have [ever] worshipped, and neither will you [ever] worship that which I worship. "Unto you, your moral law, and unto me, mine!" (109: 1-6)

It is on the basis of these ayahs and the numerous hadith illustrating the same tolerance, that Islamic jurists

unanimously condemn forced conversion under all circumstances and declare it to be null and void. Any coercion is regarded as a grievous sin in Islam, something which contradicts the fallacy that Islam commands conversion by the sword. This belief has been borne out by Muslim behaviour in general. However there have always been exceptions, Muslims who certainly did not adhere to religious strictures, perhaps as a result of personal vagaries. Historically it has been observed that, even during the military conquests of the Byzantine and Persian Empires and those of other nations by the Muslims in the early years, the spread of Islam came about indirectly. In fact during that period fiscal expediency caused the Muslims to discourage conversions amongst their subjects. This was specifically recorded in connection with the large scale conversions in Transoxania during the early eighth century. Promises had been made to the populace that on conversion to Islam they would be exempted from paying the jizya. Consequently the Muslim administration found it difficult to remit this poll tax and discrimination was made between old and new converts to Islam, which led to great resentment amongst the people and erupted in a revolt. The Khaqan of the Turks came to the aid of the rebels and the Abbasids lost Samarkand and Bokhara. They had eventually to agree to the demand of the converts and only later were they able to restore their rule.[3] As a practical method the Muslims tried to maintain a distance from the occupied populace in order to preserve their identity. It is pertinent to note that Islam has never had a missionary movement comparable to that of the Christians. The movements for propagating Islam are also more concerned with the revival of faith within the Muslim community rather than with seeking converts. This is not to say that they refused those who voluntarily sought conversion. If some organisations used this cover for other agendas, that is again a result of their own proclivities rather than of Islamic dogma. Forced conversions are invalid for practising Muslims, and are certainly

not meritorious. The conundrum is confusing and non-Muslims have always found it difficult to reconcile the opposing factors of military conquests and religious passivity.

The reality of Islam is very different from the image that has emerged from the confusion of those western writers who have taken up the subject. Morier had provided an earlier basis for this misconception in his *Second Journey to Persia* when he explained that "Every good mussulman is enjoined to make as many converts as possible".[4] This is an aim which Muslims are allowed to achieve as long as it is not accompanied by force. Morier was to develop this erroneous concept even more graphically in *The Oriental Tale*. This is a short story about an Englishman who is taken prisoner by a Tartar tribe, and is compelled to administer care to an ailing tribal girl. The two fall in love, to the great anger of the chief and the tribe, and eventually manage to escape.[5] The interrogation of the Englishman is reminiscent of the religious debate in Morier's novel *Ayesha*. Osmond in *Ayesha*, refuses to believe in the Prophet or the Qur'an and, according to Morier, is liable to be killed by the assembly. Sulaiman, a "sound Muhammadan" tries to resolve the predicament facing Osmond when he says there is no doubt that "All infidels are worthy of death", no more time should be wasted discussing that issue. Then Sulaiman distracts the crowd's attention from Osmond by reciting ayahs from the Qur'an. Osmond extricates himself from the predicament of forcibly becoming a Muslim by demanding a debate between the two religions of Christianity and Islam. He stipulates that he will convert to the religion which is victorious in the debate. However, when he fails in his argument for Christianity, he reneges on his promise and, after publicly denouncing Islam, narrowly escapes death. The Mufti in *Ayesha* also reacts to Osmond's insults by inciting the crowd with: "Mussulmans, do you hear this? Mussulmans, our faith is in danger! the infidel is among us - slay!" and the crowd surges forward to kill.[6] Morier

comments that Ayesha, who had been taught Christianity by her mother, could not reconcile herself to the ayahs of the Qur'an which made it lawful to kill those who disclaimed her Prophet, stating that this could "never stand before right reason".[7] Even the generally discerning Scott expressed this view in an uncharacteristic passage of *The Vision of Don Roderick*:

> Alla and Mahomet their battle-word,
> The choice they yield, the Koran or the Sword.[8]

Similarly, the usually well informed Disraeli was to write in *Alroy*: "I am a devout Moslem, and 'tis my duty to destroy all Giaours". This remark was made to Alroy by Hassan who had helped Alroy and had now been robbed of a load of shawls.[9] Lytton developed the concept a little further in *Leila* as: "The sword of the believer is the Key of Heaven and Hell".[10] This obviously refers to the fate of the Muslim's soul, which was believed to be rewarded by martyrdom. This erroneous image of Islam prevailed and was transferred into poetry in such works as Tennyson's *Akbar's Dream*. The subject of this late poem is the Mughal Emperor Akbar's attempt to create a universal religion that would incorporate the best in all the religions of India including Christianity and Zoroastrianism together with Islam and Hinduism. The experiment failed, but it provided Tennyson with material to falsely malign Islam in *Akbar's Dream* (1881) when he has the Emperor say:

> ".....; but our Ulama,
> Who, "sitting on green sofas contemplate
> The torment of the damned".
> And continues with:
> "To drive
> A people from their ancient fold of faith,
> and wall them up perforce in-mine unwise".[11]

JIHAD

The different methods employed by Muslims and Christians when acquiring converts were often graphically contrasted by Osborn who depicted the mythic Arab, with the Qur'an in one hand and the sword in the other, "spreading his creed amid the glare of burning cities and the shrieks of violated homes". He contrasted this image with that of the apostles of Christ, working in the dark recesses of the Roman world, amidst the moral darkness but with the gentle but irresistible power of right.[12] Osborn is comparatively dispassionate in his observations, but even he turns to the preconceived image when he says that God had commanded Muslims to fight His battles called jihad and that they were to kill unbelievers until conversion was achieved.[13] Osborn's idea was developed by Grant Allen who introduced the subject of a jihad into his novel *Shem*. The subject of the novel is a religious struggle carried on by the Kabyles in Algeria who instigate the conflict by reciting from the Qur'an on the extermination of infidels.

On the contrary, although battles (amongst other struggles) fought in the name of Islam are also called jihad these are supposed to be undertaken only when all other means to resist oppression have been exhausted. The confusion regarding this concept, along with the custom of displaying a stylised wooden sword in mosques during Friday sermons or khutbas, could have contributed to the prevalent sanguinary image of the "sword" in Islam. This custom, which was discontinued in the nineteenth century, symbolised the Prophet's exhortation after a battle, that they were returning from a lesser battle or al jihad as asghar, to a greater one al jihad al akbar.[14] This greater jihad, refers to a struggle with the self to prevent it from vice, ignorance and disbelief. In comparison to this moral strife, the physical conflict against injustice has a lesser priority. However, like most western writers, Allen uses it here as a stereotypical expression for violence and says "In a Jehad... 'all infidels alike are

commanded to be slain, without fear or favour, without lot or exception'".[15] Dod reinforced this misconception pugilistically and with a particularly strange comment: "Islam was said to have been a religion of opposition from the first, living by aggression, mighty and purifying while it flows in full flood, but when resting and at peace, it stagnates and throws up a filthy and putrid scum".[16] Neither of these allegations have any historical support, on the contrary the description could even have been the very opposite of the truth as, in the heat of battle, Muslims may at times have succumbed to non-Islamic acts.

This antipathy to Muslims does not belong solely to the west, there are those in the east who have also found Islam a convenient scapegoat for all their misfortunes. The Buddhists blame the Muslims for their decline in India, while ignoring other more plausible factors such as havocs of nature and seventh century Hindu revivalism. This decline was recorded in the *Vishnu Parana*, compiled to record the triumph of Hinduism over Buddhism. The ancient Buddhist centres of learning and civilisation in India were overrun and decimated long before the first Arab incursions in the subcontinent. Evidently, when the Muslims initially entered Sind they were given support by the remaining Buddhists who were unhappy with the Hindu rulers. This is plausible because Buddhism is so closely related to Hinduism that it posed more of a threat, as it had done in the past, than the totally alien Islam. This argument is supported by the fact that, if Islam were so determined to exterminate other religions, then it would have destroyed both Hinduism and Buddhism rather than have been selective in preferring one to the other. It is a historical fact that India has always remained predominantly Hindu despite nearly a millennium of Muslim rule. The Muslims did perpetrate some forcible conversions on Buddhists but this was in a small part of Bengal and in the eleventh century. A recent publication of a Buddhist Society of London, tells a very different story and states that

Buddhism only met with two opposing forces during its history, the Muslims and communism.[17] According to D.P. Singhal's account of Indian history the India to which Islam came was in a state of decline, perhaps as a result of a debilitating pride in past accomplishments. The Arabs treated Indian culture with the utmost consideration, but the Indians remained unresponsive. In his brash youth Muhammad bin Qasim, the first Muslim infiltrator, did inflict some harshness but he made up for it by giving money to those who were affected by it. He also allowed the practice of Hinduism, and employed Hindu officials. Real Islamic history in the sub-continent begins with the Turkish Afghan invasions in India, and it was then that Islam first made an impact on Indian society. Ironically, most of these invasions were against other Muslim rulers and either acquisition of power or the reinforcing of Islam amongst its practitioners, was the prevalent motive rather than spreading the religion. There is a great difference between the conquest by the Arabs with their cultural strength and the conquest carried out by the barbaric Turkish Afghans.[18] It must be observed that when there is tolerance it is not described as Islamic, but once violence is introduced then the Islamic label is readily applied. It is also relevant to note that the animosity towards Islam is felt more acutely where the Muslims entered as conquerors and displaced the resident communities rather than when they came as traders. It was immaterial for the chroniclers whether their conversions were brought about by force or peacefully. It is essential to delineate facts that are largely ignored in non-Muslim literature. Most of Africa, and South eastern countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma (Myanmar) were then also Muslim countries, but these had been converted by wholly peaceful means and not by military conquest.

Even while this stereotype of the intransigent Muslim was being propagated, a more reasonable attitude, which had been evident even as early as the sixteenth century, was also

exhibited by western writers and persisted well into the Victorian Age. Richard Hakluyt, in his early *Travels*, tells how "two Christian slaves are forcibly circumcised and forced to recite the words which would make them 'Turk'. The men refused to perform the latter command. Hakluyt explained that the reality of the situation was that the two were desired by the Turkish Sultan's son and that the orders were carried out in 1584 at his behest.[19] The mendacity of these Muslims in observing Islamic injunctions was also evidenced in the execution of this enforced 'conversion' in areas outside of Muslim control. The Islamic quality of tolerance towards other religions was recognised by the people in cities near Hims in 635 when the Muslims peacefully occupied the area. Simon Ockley reports the event as "They persuaded their leaders to sue for peace, as the Arabs killed those who opposed them and protected those who submitted to them and stood by their word".[20] This realistic appraisal was, however, ignored by later writers who preferred the more prevalent and vituperative statement that Islam "owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword".[21] Lytton also expressed the prevailing belief that the multitudes of Spain only followed the religion of the Muslims out of political policy and not out of faith as they belonged to the enlightened people of Europe.[22] In terms of western triumphalism this was expressed by Murray as: "Whenever the Moslem arms imposed the faith of Muhammad, as they did throughout so many of the kingdoms of Asia, the conquerors held sway down to the nineteenth century. Wherever they failed to do so, as they everywhere did fail in Europe, the fruit of their triumphs has always been insecure".[23] In Turkish dominions it was also said that, after the destruction of the Byzantine Empire, the Greeks were still permitted to worship within their own faith, and allowed to elect their own officials. The Sultan appointed the Patriarch only after consultation with the Phanar whose authority was almost absolute. However the Greeks abused this privilege and obstructed all power

except their own. In particular, they resisted the rule of the Pashas and Cadis, who failed to counter them. By wily misrepresentations to the Phanar they could dismiss a rigorous governor. The hereditary Pasha, with no income of his own, was caught between the tyranny of these people and that of the Sultan to whom all officials had to answer. Thus the Pasha either became a tyrant and rebelled against the Sultan or a timid instrument of the primates.[24] Kinglake, writing in *Eothen* of his journey to the east, undertaken ten years before, gives his personal reactions in lively descriptive passages. He states that he avoids introducing antiquarian research, scholarly learning, or religious knowledge. Kinglake observes that in Smyrna, which was something of an exception to the usual picture, the Greeks preferred "groaning under the Turkish yoke" to "being the only true source of legitimate power" in their own land. Kinglake also states that "There is no spirit of propagandism in the Mussulmans of the Ottoman dominions". On the contrary "an attempt to disturb the religious repose of the empire by the conversion of a Christian to the Mahometan faith was positively illegal".[25]

Writing about India, Blunt states, apparently in good faith if erroneously, that the Arab traders came to the west of India with the double mission of propagating faith and making money. They used persuasion for purposes of expansion and achieved this through peaceful preachers.[26] According to recorded history Muslim trade missions established routes and were followed by religious men who would satisfy the needs of their own community. They were venerated because of their good works, and influenced those of other beliefs who thus began to come within the fold. This has been the reason for the expansion of Islam in India, Africa and the Far East. Shaw was to express a different opinion, stating that Napoleon classed Muhammadanism as perhaps the best form of popular religion for modern political purposes, and as one which might have some uses. In *Androcles and the Lion* he

concludes that, if religious doctrine were separated from the political necessity which often acts in its name, there would be no religion more tolerant in matters of faith than Islam.[27] These words about the use of the latent quality of Islam as a political weapon were to prove the depiction of political changes in the Muslim world, always being linked to Islam. This was illustrated by indigenous conquests of the Muslim dynasties of India and the Wahhabi's in Arabia; or by colonial enforcements in India and Turkey as suggested by Hunter and Blunt.

Even in present times Islam has continued to provide a convenient platform for achieving political ends. It has been employed both by local aspirants and foreign interests in Muslim countries. Recent examples of the culmination of these efforts were discernible in the Gulf conflict and the massacres in former Yugoslavia when Islamic identity was forcibly devolved upon the perplexed Bosnians.

ACCEPTANCE OF CONVERTS

Another reason for confusion amongst western writers was Islam's successful propagation and its complete acceptance by all voluntary converts, in comparison with other religions. Contrary to the distorted image of Islam imposing exclusivity, people from all religions can visit a mosque which is essentially a meeting place, with the sole exception of those in Mecca and Madina. As no sacrament is required in Islam any place can be used for worship. Thackeray described the mosque of Sultan Achmed, which he said could be entered by any infidel without molestation. He also watched an audience of women listening to a preacher, but was told to move on by a Turk.[28]

Scott's *The Talisman* revolves around the existence of an amulet brought back from the Holy Land by a Scottish crusader and preserved in the family. The story tells of a Scottish Knight, Sir Kenneth, who fights inconclusively with a Saracen emir and befriends him. The Emir proves to be

Saladin himself who goes to the sick Richard's camp and cures him with a Talisman. In the meantime Kenneth has been disgraced and only escapes execution when the Saracen physician takes him as his slave. Saladin generously allows him to return to Richard's camp as a black mute slave and in this guise he saves Richard from an assassination attempt. Richard discovers his saviours identity and allows him to redeem his honour. Kenneth defeats and wounds his accuser and is also revealed to be a Prince of Scotland who can marry the Plantagenet Princess he loves, their birth being equal. Scott also graphically describes Muslim accomodative ability while commenting on Muslim-Christian relations; the Saracen tells Sir Kenneth that, to the followers of Issa bin Mariam (Christ), we are like a shield and we will respect and honour him even if the light of the Prophet has not shone on him. The latter clause is incorrect as all Muslims revere Christ as a predecessor of Muhammad and believe that he will reappear at the end of time to save the world from the anti-Christ. Islamic tolerance was not totally unacknowledged. Sir Kenneth protests that he would be apostatising if he were to go to Saladin's side. The Muslim replies that Saladin only makes converts of those on whom the light of the Prophet willingly shines.[29] This revelation leads to a discussion between the two, and comparisons are made between Christian and Muslim missionaries.

Some of the literature of the period makes it clear that the writers did recognise differences in practice, which did not always show the Christians as more tolerant. David Morier in *Photo* expressed Christian intransigence when his Dhimo says : "... promise me absolution for knocking that Turk on the head", and "No good Catholic ever yet went to the evil one merely for sending an odd Turk or two thither before his time".[30] Blunt, on the other hand, predicts greater success for the Muslim since he invites the black to immediate equal status, unlike the Christian who offers brotherhood only in the next world.[31] Hunter was to concur that the

Muslims offered "plenary privileges of Islam to Brahman and outcaste alike".[32] Religious intolerance was more frequently manifested by others, including the Hindus who were also highly selective about the people they admitted within their community. Hindu selectivity was described by the Earl of Dunmore in a diary of 1892 recording his travels, when he said that there was a Hindu temple in Kashmir to which no Muslim was given entrance.[33]

MUSLIM TOLERANCE

That Muslims were tolerant of new converts as well as of practitioners of other religions, whether as a result of religious piety or of economic pragmatism is demonstrated in Bernier's observations that "India never became a thorough Muhammadan country". Quoting from an article in *The Calcutta Review* (no. civ 1871) Bernier said that the minority Muslim invaders had to depend on the majority Hindu populace for labour of every kind. Eventually the Muslims had also to depend on the Hindus in order to recruit for their army.[34] In reality Muslims displayed manifest noninterference in the practice of other religions in their domains. Tolerance of other religious practices almost bordered on indifference, especially when they permitted publicly horrifying customs such as the burning of Hindu widows at the funeral pyres of their dead husbands. Bernier says that the Muslims by whom the country was governed did all in their power to suppress this barbarous custom. They did not forbid it because they do not interfere in the free exercise of the religion of the majority but checked it by indirect means including the requirement that permission must be sought from the provincial Governor before a Hindu widow sacrificed herself. The official only gave permission after doing his best to dissuade her by making enticing promises and by even sending her among the women of his harem to try the effect of their remonstrances.[35] It took the direct intervention of British colonists

to put an official end to the custom of suttee. The Ottomans also carried this non-interference to a reprehensible extreme when they did not interfere with the witch-hunts and burning at the stake in Hungary during the Calvinist-Lutheran struggle. It is significant to note that the victims of these perceived religious malpractices in both countries were mostly women and that they may have been regarded as expendable by all the cultures concerned.

Tolerant opinion existed in respect of all practical details of the life of minority populations while the Muslims were in the ascendant. Henri Pirenne writes that, in reality, "the Muslims assimilated the civilisations and not the religions of the conquered territories, and did not expect to make converts of their subjects".[36] This assimilation was made obvious in India where there was great harmony as a result of the tolerance accorded to each caste and creed with a recognised position in the social family. Thus opposing elements, like the Hindu Brahmin and the Muhammadan nobleman, lived together under a system which precluded class rivalry, a state of affairs which was even reported in the periodicals of the century.[37]

Closer to reality than his official submissions was Hunter's fictional account of the situation in *The Old Missionary,* a novel set in India in the early days of the century. The novel tells of an old sailor, Trafalgar Dawson, who settles down as a hard-working missionary in Northern Bengal. His experiences are the pre-text for a close historical reconstruction of Indian life from 1820-50. Respect for other religions was also demonstrated by Hunter when he described in his novel the scene at the Missionary's funeral: "Crowds of Musalmans of all ranks, from the senior native magistrate and the officials at the mosque to the shopkeepers from the closed bazaar, lined the wayside and salaamed as the coffin passed".[38]

OTHER RELIGIONS

The observation of the Islamic custom of allowing other

religions to practice without fear was widespread. The Muslim capacity for cohabitation with peoples of all creeds was a fact of life, as was manifest when the Muslims were in a position of power. This manifestation of tolerance was to prove a double-edged sword as close habitation with other cultures also led to the imbibing of their customs. Familiarity was to breed acceptance of many insidious cultural effects, some of which it would have been better to avoid. The fact that this integration between Islam and Christianity became commonplace is illustrated in Eden's book when she records that, while on shikar or hunt for tigers, the British group encamped near a Hindu temple. There "the tolerant Brahmins allowed her to sketch and to look at the idol from outside. While the Muslim servants took off their shoes and went in to salaam to the idol".[39] This incorporating of other religions was a factor which sparked the Muslim revival movement in India. Tolerance was taken to such an extreme that Islam was in danger of losing its identity. Gradually, with the changes in the world situation, there was a slipping away of religious power, so that the Muslims themselves were becoming subject to alien forces. There was an awareness that Muslim identity was being threatened on more than one front and this gave rise to various indigenous reactions. One of these attempts at preventing their religion from complete dilution with others produced the revolution based on the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya, a Muslim theologian and led by Ibn Wahhab in Arabia. This was to have a cataclysmic effect on the Muslims themselves as it involved drastic purges of manifestations of Muslim deviations from Islamic strictures. Its impact was so great that its effects are still reverberating in a post colonial world that has entered a new millennium. This movement was essentially aimed at the Muslims, as an attempt to set them back on the path from which they had deviated. A basically iconoclastic religion was developing totems completely alien to it. As with a revolution this process tended to have a snowball effect and many

unfortunately praiseworthy ideas suffered along with those which needed to be expunged. In spite of the fact that this uprising and other similar ones which followed, was directed more against co-religionists who were perceived to be straying from Islam, the British empire and outside powers sought to combat these movements as direct attacks on their rule, seeing them as motivated by religious zeal. While in certain cases where the Muslims were being oppressed this may have been true, generally Muslims were guided by the ayahs of the Qur'an that enjoined equal consideration for all those who believed in the one God. The relevant Qur'anic ayahs may have been any one of these (2:62, 111, 113, 120, 135, 140 and 5:14, 18, 50, 69) which are similar in content to:

> VERILY, those who have attained to faith [in this divine writ], as well as those who follow the Jewish faith, and the Christians, and the Sabians - all who believe in God and the Last Day and do righteous deeds - shall have their reward and their Sustainer; and no fear need they have, and neither shall they grieve. (2:62)

INFIDELS

Even though the Wahhabbi revolution was resisted by the Muslim representatives of the debilitated Ottoman Caliphate, a concept of infidels under siege, similar to that mounted by the Wahhabis, was transferred to other Muslims with great facility. These events were prolifically described by western writers, particularly in English literature. Morier wrote in *Journey Through Persia* that the British Government knew that the Arab pirates who plagued their ships were under the protection of the Wahhabee.[40] The situation in Persia was not very different. According to Morier, the King of Persia "in consequence of his reverses, had distributed alms, ordered prayers in mosques, and the denunciations of vengeance on all

unbelievers to be read from the Koran".[41] It is not surprising therefore to read in a report from the times entitled "Persia" a column which sets out the text of the Firman read in mosques throughout Persia inciting the population to take arms against Britain. The words of the Firman were in accordance with the Islamic requirement of self defence when attacked, one couched in the politest of terms and in accordance with Persian culture. The strongest terms are: "-– you will assist me to defend with valour and energy our honour and dignity, which have been my rule of conduct as they have been that of my ancestors". This was in response to the invasion of the Persian Gulf by British ships, in utter disregard of treaties and diplomatic appeals.[42] The Qur'an was again misused by another political leader with a different agenda, Ali Pasha exhorted the Albanians to fight against the Suliots, (according to his personal and expedient interpretation) because it was written in the Qur'an that, even after the destruction of the Ottoman empire, Albania would be preserved if it was firmly united. These uprisings culminated in major troubles in India with the focus on Muslims even though all religious groups had participated in returning the deposed Mughal king to power. A venerable sheikh was produced who expounded passages from the Qur'an giving them the same interpretation as that given by Ali Pasha.[43]

One result of the insurrections against the British in Afghanistan was that such passages appeared in novels as the one quoted below. In Kaye's *Engagements* a dying Englishman explains to a compatriot the difference between friend and foe as perceived in the concept of loyalty held by the Afghans against whom they are fighting. He declares that "the Afghan would cut your throat, because you are a kaffir - one of the hated tribe of invaders ....but he would strike down the arm raised to kill me, because he knows that I have rendered him a service". While some of the Afghans aligned themselves with the British forces, the leader of another ethnic group living in Afghanistan

disapproved of this. A Hazara chief wished to harness religion for his side in the rebellion against the Afghans and the Ferenghees alliance. He was prevented from doing so by the Qur'anic ayahs discussed earlier which qualified them as righteous. The chief then overcame this obstacle by declaring the instruction to be pertinent to the Prophet's time only.[44]

The fallout from the Wahhabi revolution was to be global and it was to provide oppressed Muslims with an opportunity for restoring their hurt pride by fighting against the "infidel". Murray wrote in his *Memoirs* of the restoration of Mecca and Madina from the Wahhabis, "the sectarian oppressors of the true Moslems," by the Egyptian Muhammad Ali.[45] The Egyptian Alliance was faced by the artificial dilemma of dealing with a Christian whose presence was an offence, but although he was "...a dog of an infidel", it was argued that, since Muhammad Ali had made friends with these Franks, it was wrong to strike or insult them in the streets without cause.[46] In the Sudan a marabout was quoted as saying that the time has come "when Islam is to rise all together in its might against the hordes of the infidel" and the Mahdi of Sudan declared that in the near future "Islam shall no longer obey the dogs of Christians".[47] Concerning the situation in Arabia in 1871 there was a special article about "The Wahabee" in the weekly journal *All the Year Round* published from London. It was understandable that great interest was aroused in this a comparatively new sect of Muslims, who appeared dramatically on the world stage and who presented radical ideas.[48] Rudyard Kipling's knowledge of the various participants in the uprising in India is evident from his poem, "What Happened":

> "Killar Khan the Marri chief, Jowar Singh the Sikh,
> Nubbee Baksh Punjabi Jat, Abdul Huq Rafiq -
> He was a Wahabi."[49]

PROPHECY

In the aftermath of the events in 1857 a public inquiry was held to consider the similarity of prophecy amongst the Hindus and Muslims. W.S. in *Notes and Queries*, asked for information about a letter from E.A.W. of Haslebury published in the *Record* of 23 September 1857. This letter states that for fifty years Muhammadans have been looking for power in India, which is to be achieved in 1857, and E.A.W. quotes from relevant manuscripts, journals and from the letters of Henry Martyn (2 vols) 1857. A Pundit had told Martyn of a prophecy published in holy books that English Rule would last 100 years. A king's son born then would bring about the change. The Muslims also expected a great event at about the same time. W. S. would like a translation of this to be made from Muslim books.[50] The Hindu *Book of the Future* does indeed foretell a time when all men shall be of one religion and caste and the *Vishnu Parana*, compiled at the time of Hindu victory over Buddhism, admits that eventually, in the Iron Age (now), all souls will be blessed or achieve "liberation" by purity of life and rectitude of action and not as a result of religion or race.[51] Khan refuted Hunter instantly and said that the poems and songs circulating amongst Muslims, in particular the *Prophetic Poem* foretelling the downfall of the British and other coming events, were nothing new and had first been published by "Saint Vali Nyamut Ullah, a dervish of Cashmere, who died in 1028 Hijra or 1618".[52] In any case the volatile situation that prevailed all over the Empire did not require extraordinary prophetic powers to predict insurgencies and rebellions.

In spite of genuine Muslim efforts to achieve a different effect, the centuries old fear of Islam was still echoed by Kipling in his "Vision of Hamid Ali":

And whether Islam shall arise again
And drive the Christ across the Western sea

As people hold shall be in two more years,
When from the North the Armies of the North
Pour like the Indus and our rulers fly,
And Islam and the Sword make all things clean.[53]

RETALIATION

The misconception that there is a Muslim imperative of retaliation is related to other preconceived ideas about the sanguinary methods employed by Muslims. Amongst the most widely prevalent of these was the belief that the phrase 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth' represented the epitome of Muslim behaviour. It is obvious that nothing could be further from the true Islamic concept of retribution than this widespread error. According to the Qur'anic ayahs (2:178), permission for just retribution is granted, but not as a licence for literal revenge. On the contrary the stipulation of 'an eye for an eye' is to act as a limit to the extent of retaliation, which must never exceed the harm caused. A practical alternative of blood money as compensation for the loss inflicted is specified, and even then forgiveness is enjoined. This qualification becomes particularly relevant in the light of the custom of blood feuds, which Islam was particularly concerned to eliminate. These were part of tribal practice and led to the loss of numerous innocent lives. The following ayahs of the Qur'an were revolutionary in bringing to an end this senseless bloodshed:

> And we ordained for them in that [Torah]: A life for a life, and an eye for an eye, and a nose for a nose, and an ear for an ear, and a tooth for a tooth, and a {similar} retribution for wounds; but he who shall forgo it out of charity will atone thereby for some of his past sins. And they who do not judge in accordance with what God has revealed – they, they are the evildoers! (5:45)

These and similar ayahs (2:178, 4:92) were then

translated into codified law, wherein the specification for 'blood-money' for every kind of injury was introduced, a code which proved a more practical alternative to punishment and execution.[54] If a person's guilt is proved in a Muslim court, after undergoing detailed investigation of witnesses and evidence on record, then the punishment is decided and where appropriate, a distinction is made between murder and manslaughter. The Qur'anic ayahs pertinent to this situation are:

> And upon him who has slain a believer by mistake there is the duty of freeing a believing soul from bondage and paying an indemnity to the victim's relations, unless they forgo it by way of charity. (4:92)

In spite of this clear injunction for the exercise of charity, Ockley recorded the contrary practice in a letter from the Caliph Umar to Abu Ubaida, his Governor, on the eve of the conquest of part of the Byzantine empire. He explained that the concept of retaliation is described as Mosaic, which modern Rabbis interpret as pecuniary, but that the Muslims act in a manner contrary to this and that the judge is obliged to let an injured person have satisfaction.[55] Kipling alluded to a quid pro quo situation in "The Ballad Of East And West":

> "A gift for a gift," said Kamal straight; a limb for the risk of a limb. "Thy father has sent his son to me, I'll send my son to him!"[56]

Hamilton was to repeat the same idea in *A Vizier's Daughter* in a remark made about a Muslim character who was actually acting according to Islamic stipulations: "He is no Muhammadan, he has forgotten the ancient law, 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth'".[57]

Well before these writers, Morier had even based a short story, *Misselmah a Persian Tale,* (1847) on this very

concept. The book, which was inspired by an anecdote of John Chardin, was published in aid of Irish charities. It led to Sir Walter Scott hailing Morier as the best contemporary novelist on the east, and as one who provided the equivalent of a hallmark or a royal stamp on silver, to credit unknown authors on the subject. Morier began the story by saying: "We cannot but smile at a person such as the Persian Shah Abbas being described as 'the Great', consider what nation must call such a being". Morier also says that he will spare the English reader as many Mohammedan names as he possibly can and so calls the Persian Shah's even more despicable general of artillery Top Beg. According to Morier, retaliation for this man's cruelty and jealousy had led to the extirpation of the general's harem by the Shah.[58] The story *Misselmah* describes Top Beg returning from a successful military campaign with captured slaves from Georgia who include the beautiful Misselmah and Ferhad, her lover. The members of the Shah's harem are jealous of the new beauty, whom they can observe from their abode, situated at a higher level than Top Beg's. They conspire to peep into General Top Beg's harem in order to incite the general into reckless action and so bring him into disfavour. Falling into the trap Top Beg orders anybody who looked into his palace from the Shah's harem to be shot, causing some fatalities and wounding Ferhad who has become the Shah's favourite. In spite of being warned against pursuing this action by the Shah the General persists. The angered Shah retaliates by appointing Ferhad to superintend the execution of his command which was an order to decimate all the inmates of Top Beg's harem. The Shah bases his orders on the alleged belief that: "The law of retaliation is ever imperative upon a Muhammadan".[59] Ferhad executes the command but secures Misselmah's life by asking the Shah for a reprieve for her, a request which is gratefully granted.

Though this story was obviously a caricature of general practice in respect of vengeance in the eastern world and

was totally un-Islamic, the concept of retaliation in fact extended world-wide and was just as reprehensible wherever it was found. Unfortunately this misconception of Islamic behaviour has perpetuated itself both in the minds of Muslims and non-Muslims and has had a retrograde effect on society as a whole.

PRAYER

Another example of the fascination of the western writer with Muslim practice is the theme of haunting sounds which provoke various responses. This relates to the Muslim call to prayer, a source of endless fascination for observers of the religion. The call has also provoked diametrically opposing points of view. The Islamic ritualistic prayer is always said in Arabic. However, the personal supplication can be made in any language the individual prefers. Southey was to make a mistake, in common with many other writers, when he said that "Every Musalman, from the peasant to the prince, ought to say his prayers in one of the sacred languages, Persian or Arabic".[60]

Muslim practice has five specific times for prayer which are preceded by the call to prayer wherever possible. The times for the Muslim prayers which involve regular prostrations are set according to specific stipulations aimed at avoiding confusion with worship of the sun. These are: *Fajr*: The early morning prayer from dawn to daybreak. *Zuhr*: The early afternoon prayer which begins from the declining of the sun to late afternoon. *Asr*: The late afternoon prayer which ends just before the setting of the sun. *Maghrib*: The sun-set prayer which begins after sunset and ends with the disappearance of the red signs in the horizon. *I'sha*: The night prayer which begins after this and ends at midnight. These prayers, if missed, can be said at a later time, but there is a strict injunction regarding the avoidance of prayers at the rising, zenith and setting of the sun.[61]

The actual call to Muslim prayer is also always in Arabic and this must be the sonorous effect which has aroused differing responses amongst writers of English. It is generally as follows, the exceptions being insignificant:

> Allah is great (four times) I bear witness that there is none worthy of being worshipped except Allah (twice) I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah (twice) Come to prayer (twice) Come to success (twice) This is followed twice by Prayer is better than sleep, only at the call for the early morning prayer. Allah is great (twice) There is no deity but Allah (once).

The word 'azan', which is used for the call to prayer, actually means announcement, and in extremely rare cases it was used as a mode of summoning the faithful for reasons other than prayer. In *Vathek* Beckford reports that the viziers order the muezzins to make the call for prayer in order to detract attention from the Caliph's outrageous behaviour.[62] Walter Scott, while keeping to the spirit of it, documents the incomplete call as: "To prayer - to prayer! God is the one God - To prayer - to prayer! Muhammad is the Prophet of God.-To prayer - to prayer! Time is flying from you.-To prayer - to prayer! Judgement is drawing nigh to you".[63]

However, most writers made mistakes in their account of the timing of azan or call to prayer. These discrepancies are generally minor, involving the time of prayer, something which seems of no consequence to outsiders. On the contrary these are serious lapses for those professing the faith as they are seen as totally against religious practice. Beckford, for example, mentions the call for prayer as being made at break of day.[64] Morier makes the same mistake as Beckford when he writes in *Zohrab*: "the stillness of the morning had been broken by the cry of the Muezzins from the Mosques to announce the morning prayer at break of day".[65] The call is always made before daybreak so as to avoid what could be misapprehended as the worship of the

sun. David Morier in *Photo* also makes the error when he says: "... a Christian clock, which, just then striking the hour of noon, mingled its profane sound with the orthodox chant of the muezzin, who seemed to wait the signal to begin his call to noon prayers".[66] Thackeray, reminiscing about his travels from Cornhill to Cairo, recalls the sound of the azan and says that Turk and Jew prayed at that time in which each adores the Father, who is equally above all. "Cavil not, you brother or sister, if your neighbour's voice is not like yours; only hope, that his words are honest (as far as they may be), and his heart humble and thankful".[67]

Kipling, resonating the previous expressions, says in "The Vision of Hamid Ali": "... when the Muezzin called to prayer/ At midnight from the Mosque of Wazeer Khan".[68] He too is mistaken, for the last call for prayer is soon after sunset and long before midnight. After that any prayers that are said are voluntary and do not require an azan.

Writing on a different note, the following authors may have confused the call for prayer which is chanted out loud with the ritual prayer with that which is normally recited silently by individuals. However the spirit of the ritual, if practised with the correct intent, seems to have been captured by Robert Hichens in *The Garden of Allah* of 1904: "this long sound of prayer moved her to the soul, made her full, very full of compassion for everybody and everything, and as if prayer were a cord binding the world together".[69]

The misconceptions discussed above do not display the same malevolence found in others, but they also tend to distort the fundament of the faith of Islam and so do not contribute to any effect other than diminishing the authenticity of the writers who chose to employ them.

QIBLAH

Of a similar kind are the misconceptions amongst western writers about the direction in which Muslims say their prayers, in spite of the fact that the Qur'an and consequently the Muslims are very clear about the conflict regarding

the direction of prayer. The Qur'an specifies clearly:

> True piety does not consist in turning your faces towards the east or the west. (2:177)

And that:

> .... every community faces a direction of its own, of which He is the focal point. (2:148)

Within sixteen months of the Prophet's migration to Madina, and after praying for nearly twelve years towards Jerusalem, this was revealed:

> We have seen thee [O Prophet] often turn thy face towards heaven [for guidance]: and now We shall indeed make thee turn in a direction which will fulfil thy desire. Turn, then, thy face towards the Inviolable House of Worship; and wherever you all may be, turn your faces towards it [in prayer] (2:144) That is exactly what the Muslim community, praying alongside the Prophet, did and the mosque Zu-Qiblatain in Madina is renowned because of this incident.

This change from praying in the direction of Jerusalem obviously caused great displeasure amongst the Jewish community of Madina, but it was not the sole cause of friction, as the Muslims were already undergoing great harassment, after the initiation of their call, and even at a time when they were praying in the direction of Jerusalem. The change was made basically to sift between genuine Muslim believers and those who paid lip service to the Prophet yet were sedulously creating more problems for him. The Prophet was constantly looking for Divine guidance which eventually came in the form of these ayahs. The observation of praying in the direction of the qiblah wherever

possible is enjoined upon Muslims, but when they are unable to do so it is equally valid to pray in any other direction. Precise mathematical direction is not necessary, general orientation is sufficient as is practiced in certain mosques which were built when such calculations were not possible.

Even the direction of Muslim prayer, the qiblah, has aroused great controversy, something which is clear from the confusion of references to it. Walter Scott refers to it in the *Talisman*: "The moslem turned towards his keblah, the point to which the prayer of each follower of the Prophet was to be addressed, and murmured his heathen orisons."[70] Moore shows some confusion when refers to it in *Lalla Rookh:* "And down upon the fragrant sod kneels with his forehead to the south".[71] Considering that the poem is set in the Indian sub-continent this is a completely wrong direction, as Mecca lies west of India.

James Morier was to prove prophetic in *Hajji Baba of Ispahan* when he says that the relations of a deceased bigoted Mussulman are told "...the bed upon which he lay must be unfortunate; ... the foot of the bed had not been turned towards the kebleh".[72] This is a singularly unfortunate suggestion as Muslims expressly avoid doing this and a British official during the Raj was even murdered by his Indian orderly for doing so.

Osborn is again totally mistaken when he says that "after the change of Kiblah, those who did not comply (Jews) were declared infidels, the faithful were to cease commerce with them and particularly not read their (so called) sacred books".[73] This seems fabricated as, according to Muslim sources and up to the present, Muslims continued to revere the books of the Jews. The Muslims continued to buy from Jewish shops and, as stated above, the siege of the Qaynuqa is recorded by chroniclers from both sides as being initiated by an incident caused by the insulting of a Muslim woman who came to buy some jewellery at a Jewish shop. Muslims also associated with Jews to the extent of freely partaking of meals with them, apparently helped by the similarity in regulations regarding food. The Prophet himself

continued to do so even after expelling the tribes from Madina and nearby areas. It turned out to be hazardous for him as he is thought to have succumbed to a poison found in the meat served by a member of these displaced Jews. The poison is said to have been so potent that though Muhammad spat it out, it debilitated him causing an illness that eventually killed him. Osborn was mistaken when he stated that the changing of the qiblah from Jerusalem to Mecca had disastrous consequences for the human race. According to him, if Muhammad had not done so then the Arabs could have 'entered the religious comity of the nations as peace-makers, not as enemies and destroyers'. Also, according to Osborn, the change brought the Muslims into direct antagonism with the Jews, by providing them with their own centre. Osborn seems to overlook the fact that the Muslims initially prayed only in the direction of Jerusalem (which is still held sacrosanct by them) and that even then there was no dearth of Jewish instigation against the Muslims, something which always led to conflict between the two.

This misconception of the direction of Muslim prayer has been needlessly employed as it serves very little purpose except to cause confusion. It appears to have been a focal point amongst western writers but, since it has little effect on their belief, Muslims are not particularly concerned about this error. The unnecessary depiction of it, however, again brings the veracity of the writer into question.

The next ritual under discussion is the physical practice of prayer in Islam. This has also provoked a consistent fascination amongst western observers who wrote about it and depicted it in different forms. This was done whenever Islam was mentioned, till it was eventually adopted as a standard depiction of Muslims. However, even in mundane non-regal situations, the only descriptions in consonance with Islamic stipulations are those of Clair - Tisdall, who describes the reverence of Muslims at prayer and the Mosque's noble simplicity as commendable.[74] Hull, in *The*

Sheikh, also describes: an old Arab who "was placidly absorbed in his devotions, prostrating himself and fulfilling his ritual with the sublime lack of self consciousness of the Muhammadan devotee".[75] Hichens romanticises this, but unconscious cultural differences add a misrepresentation to a colourful description: "The personal pride which, like blood in a body, runs through all the veins of the mind of Muhammadanism, that measureless hauteur which sets the soul of a Sultan in the twisted frame of a beggar"... "was not cast off in the act of adoration. These Arabs humbled themselves in the body. Their foreheads touched the stones. Yet they were proud in the presence of Allah, as if the firmness of their belief in him... and hatred for those who looked not towards Mecca gave them a patent of nobility. Despite their genuflexions they were all as men who knew, and never forgot, that in them was conferred the right to keep on their head-covering in the presence of their king: With their closed eyes they looked God full in the face".[76] Islam does provide dignity to man by removing all social distinctions and endows a sense of superiority over others, not because of hatred for other religions, but because of the knowledge of being on the guided path. Muslim men may or may not keep their headcovering on while praying as a matter of culture, but not as a religious stipulation. During the annual pilgrimage it is specifically required that men should be bareheaded. The depiction of the Muslim at prayers seems to have inspired awe in the western chroniclers of the nineteenth century. This, at times grudging, admiration did not, however, diminish the number of erroneous depictions. This is another of those distortions, which have not had a retrograde effect on Muslim society or on the understanding of Islam. Again misconception only affects the validity of the western writer's information or research.

PROSTRATION

Another manifestation of western misconceptions of Islam,

similar in effect to the one last discussed, concerned the Muslim act of prostration during prayer. The prostration is a limited one, as it involves bending on the knees first and then touching of the forehead to the ground supported by bent arms. Other religions of the east manifest prostration to a greater degree but only Islam is automatically associated with such an act, as the persistent images in the arts testified in the nineteenth century and as they do even now.

As a result of this fascination with the Muslim act of prayer only one step further was needed for another overemployed device in the depiction of the Muslim courts to be created. The custom in question is the introduction of the practice of prostration in nineteenth century works, whether in the theatre, paintings or literature. This is a practice that is specifically opposed to the Islamic belief that no one is worthy of prostration except Allah. To prostrate before anyone or anything is tantamount to the denial of the omniscience of God. Even the Prophet Muhammad was to be revered in a strictly limited manner and did not qualify for prostration, so the question of doing so before lesser mortals does not arise.

Ockley refers to this misconception when he describes the eastern manner of prostration, saying that Zeid Ebn Waheb touched the ground with his forehead in front of his master, whose permission he sought, before he could go to the Caliph Umar on behalf of Abu Ubaidah with the Message of victory at Antioch.[77]

Adam Mez, again referring to this custom, states that "The old Arab Muslims regarded kissing the ground in front of a man as an invasion of God's privilege." He explains that the Byzantine ambassadors would not do so before Caliph Muqtadir in 917, in reciprocation of the exemption in court etiquette that had been granted to the the Muslims. Mez furthers an example from the beginning of the eleventh century when a Chief of Police rebukes his clerk for wishing to kiss the ground before him by telling him not to do so: "Tis a custom of tyrants."[78] There was to

be a brief reversal of this custom in 1008, during Caliph Al-Hakim's reign, people used to kiss the ground at even the mention of his name. However, when this very man reverted to Islamic ideals, he forbade this practice and the use of the title 'Maulana'. His successor, Zahir, however, revived all these practices.[79] Bernier refers to it in his *Travels:* "The Mughal Aurangzeb wanted to surrender all the keys of the gates of the fort so that he could come in security to visit his father the Emperor of India "for the purpose of kissing his majesty's feet".[80] Morier in the *Second Journey to Persia* writes that when presented to the Shah of Persia the British Ambassador bowed normally, while the Persians bowed with bodies at right angles with hands on their knees and legs slightly apart. Only on remarkable occasions do they make the prostration of "Rouee Zemeen" i.e. "falling upon the face to the earth and worshipping, as Joshua did".[81]

Writers in English refer to this practice as a general attempt to convey alien practices. Morier refers to it in *Misselmah* where Ferhad "fell on his face and kissed the ground" in front of Shah Abbas and begged for Misselmah's life.[82] In *Mirza* of 1842, Morier writes that the court jester prostrating himself before the melancholy Shah exclaimed "Kebleh of the world! as I am your sacrifice".[83] In Murray's *Hassan*, Amina kisses the hem of her robe when he does not make any sign of paternal embrace.[84]

These misrepresentations were not only ignorant but have perpetuated an incoherent depiction of the Muslims, intensified by the further use of such discredited accounts upto the present times, and are particularly evidenced in theatrical performances.

OATHS

Another favoured device of western writers in describing Muslims is the use of colourful oaths in order to suggest authenticity. Unfortunately it often manages to do the opposite as a result of the misuse of ill-chosen words. It is

sufficient to briefly state that these oaths are contrary to Islamic strictures which in fact discourage their use and stress the gravity of employing such words, specifying that oaths must be taken only on Allah's name or on the Qur'an. Even in general use the informed Muslims use the name of Allah to express their feelings, and expressly avoid invocations of any other being.

According to Hawari the source for the countless use of 'Wullahy' (by Allah) by nineteenth century writers, was Torrens' translation of *The Arabian Nights*.[85] Simon Ockley, in his *History of The Saracens*, explains the use of the term by Arabs as an acknowledgement of God's Omnipresence and not as a profanation. He quotes Governor Abu Ubaydah shouting "Wallah" translated as By God at Khalid, the general of the Muslim forces during the conquest of Damascus. The incident occurred during an altercation in which the Governor protested at the mistreatment of some Damascenes to whom protection had been extended by some soldiers under Khalid's command.[86]

An extended play upon these oaths is found in Morier's *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, where the narrator says that he met Hajji Baba by chance in Tocat where he had stopped for a rest. The servant of Hajji Baba asked him to meet his master who was undergoing treatment and needed cheering up. Knowing Hajji Baba he visited him and heard his tale of woe of an Italian charlatan masquerading as a doctor. It was later discovered that the doctor had little knowledge of medicine and less of Arabic. His Arabic vocabulary consisted only of the terms "mashallah" and "inshallah" which were consistently misapplied. Hajji Baba then explains how he detected the fraudulent doctor by his misuse of words of commiseration, 'I began by telling him that I was very ill. All he said in answer, with a grave face, was "Mashallah! Praise be to God!"' Enraged, Hajji responded "But I shall die man!" The doctor replied gravely "Inshallah! Please God!" and set about the proper treatment and as a result

Hajji Baba recovered. The story suggests the extent to which such oaths were known in the west, and their supposed prevalence.[87] In spite of knowing the nuances involved in the above exclamations, however Morier makes a fundamental mistake in using the term "Bismillah, in the name of the Prophet!" in his other novels.[88]

Thackeray used a similar device to add to the humour of his *Major Gagahan* when he has the Major use the terms "all true men will follow Loll Muhammad! Allahhumdillah, Bismillah, Barikallah?"[89] He then adds in a note that the Major puts most approved language into the mouths of his Indian characters, as they form the very essence of eastern conversation. Bernier, however uses the terms effectively in his *Travels* when he quotes the Persian ambassador saying as "Billah! billah! Ispahan cannot be compared to the dust of your Delhi". Bernier notes that this term is the colloquial equivalent of "By God!" and forms part of a Qur'anic *ayah*. He also describes simultaneous swearing upon the Qur'an, the head and the beard of the Khan, "'Mashallah!' he said 'a cheating ....dog like you to lay your dirty hands on our Antar'",[90] a totally incorrect usage. Disraeli in the earlier *Alroy* uses similar expressions: "By the holy stone, a dead man" and "By the stone of Mecca". In a note Disraeli explains that the Kaabah is to the Muhammadan as the Holy Sepulchre to the Christian and that "It is the most unseemly, but the most sacred, part of the mosque at Mecca, and is a small, square, stone building".[91]

The misuse of certain prayers and oaths by western writers may have its origin in the prolific use of these by Muslims. However this basis in personal observation does not decrease their contribution as a distorting factor into the understanding of Islam, even though the effects are again more benign than some of the others which have been mentioned above.

FIGURAL REPRESENTATION

Another common misinterpretation by both Muslims and

non-Muslims, which has had extensive effects, is the theory that pictures of animals are forbidden in Islam. This is one of the few misconceptions to have produced almost no malevolent results, and consequently may have contributed to the creation of beautiful works of art such as the arabesque. It is still interesting to study its development as it contributes positively to the effect of preconceived notions on manifestations of Muslim behaviour. That figural representation is prohibited in Islam is a belief that has acquired widespread circulation amongst Muslims. Contrary to accepted belief there is no specific mention of this stricture against the depiction of animals or humans in art form in the Qur'an. However there are hadith which mention the Prophet's dislike of such material. The expediency of this discouragement of figures by the Prophet is understandable, considering the essentially iconoclastic nature of Islam and the danger of the predilection of the new converts towards idol worship. One result of this iconoclasm was the flowering of the Islamic art of calligraphy, and, since it was not a Qur'anic injunction, the depiction of the human and animal form has continued to be found in Muslim culture. Great controversy has ensued amongst Muslim scholars writing about this issue, which surfaced again with the development of the photograph. Al-Faruqi has come up with an interesting theory regarding the rejection of figural representation and icons. She relates it to the Semitic fear of idolatry and the underlying motivation of the Second commandment of the Old Testament. This idea also played its part in the art of the ancient Mesopotamian culture. Al-Faruqi says that as a result of a world view based on tawhid, there is an "unmistakable unity in Islamic art which defies its wide distribution in time and space". In visual art it is manifested as abstract art where nature is disguised and transfigured by the negation of mass, volume, depth, perspective, space, enclosure, gravity, cohesion and tension. She cites the example of miniaturists and says that the portrayal of Beauty which expressed something other

than nature was "the real essence of the Trancendent."[92] This does not co-relate very well with the incident described by Cyril Glasse in the *Concise Encyclopaedia of Islam* in which the Prophet is supposed to have saved an icon of the Virgin and child and ordered everything else inside the Kaabah to be painted over.[93] The Qur'anic ayahs which describe the wonders of Solomon's palace include "statues", making it difficult to reconcile with the total dismissal of figurative art. The fact that figurative art continued to be found in all kinds of Muslim art whether it was textiles, carpets, metalwork, porcelain, incense burners, or glazed tiles which are sometimes found in mosques, also proves that there was a toleration of these images and that this apparent ban should be kept in perspective. Therefore the latter day fear of lapsing into idolatry and strict injunctions against art do not have supremacy over Muslim opinion. This difference of opinion even filtered down to western writers as evidenced in Thomas Moore's explanation, in *Lalla Rookh*, that Muslims are supposed to prohibit all pictures of animals, but Toderini says that they are no more averse to this than other people even though the Qur'an forbids it. He quotes a Mr. Murphy who says that the Arabs of Spain had no objection to figures in paintings.[94] However these writers generally subscribed to the iconoclastic view expressed in the *Dictionary of Islam*, compiled by the Reverend Patrick Hughes, who quotes from a Muslim book of traditions, Hughes says: "It is unlawful for a Muhammadan to have an image of any kind in his house".[95] During his travels in India Edward Lear also describes the Fort of Gwalior in his journal, saying that there are "some extremely old temples and lots of statues, defaced by Mussulmen piety".[96] The continuation of this misconception will not effect the religion of Islam or the Muslims. However, if allowed to proliferate, the distortion will result in the unfortunate destruction of more such valuable artefacts. This destruction would be a great loss to posterity and to the culture of all nations and religions.

CONCLUSION

The study of these various misconceptions, many of which continued into and beyond the Victorian Age, provides evidence for the conclusion that there was a persistence of stereotypes which must have resulted from a conscious decision of the writers who employed them. This was probably a result of a wish to add 'local colour' as well as of a conventional restatement of the assumed superior virtues of the western and Christian way of life. The Muslims were by now incapacitated by illiteracy and colonisation and so unable to raise their voice to explain the situation. Therefore, not only was a continuity of misconceptions maintained, but a frivolous attitude was introduced together in parallel with an orchestrated increase in the dissemination of these stereotypes in the service of Empire. The study of these misrepresentations of Islamic concepts leads one to conclude that the ignorance of Islamic belief and ritual led to the erroneous depiction of Muslim behaviour by writers of English literature. This was something which could be ignored as trivial if it were not damaging in many ways to the perception of Islamic belief. If these misconceptions are allowed to continue without amending, as they were in the nineteenth century, they would move beyond the realm of stereotypes and could become reality for uninformed assimilators now on both sides.

6

AFTERWORD

As a result of the search conducted for this book, a few generalisations can be made. Considering the background of inherent general ambiguity that had developed and prevailed towards Muslims in the realm of English literature of the nineteenth century, the importance of the subject cannot be overstated. The other overall conclusion that has been reached is that Victorian writers had fewer problems in understanding Islamic issues than might have been expected, but that they were frequently dismayed by manifestations of Muslim proclivities. Their ideas about the issues involved in some of these misconceptions were based on hearsay while some prevailing notions were based on evidence provided.

The chapter on the varied practices of the Muslims produced more extensive material than the researches for any other topic. This was because, even though the disparate Muslims greatly differed in the peripheral practise of their religion, they were mistakenly perceived as a unified entity by outsiders. The ability of Islam to unify a diversity of peoples created anxiety in the minds of those who observed it as a whole from the outside. To them it appeared as a monolithic behemoth which would engulf the whole of humanity. In order to contain this perceived threat extensive efforts at distortion of the truth were undertaken, which time and history proved to be insubstantial.

The concern of this book therefore is not with the individual or artistic devices of the authors concerned but rather with the effects of their endeavours. If the fallout of these works were not so negative, widespread or endemic, then there would be little need for a plea of understanding of the negative Muslim stereotype. The sweeping generalisations about Islam in English works of literature and in other forms of art which percolated into the Victorian period necessitate a closer view of this depiction of the Muslim.

Two books concerning this depiction or 'Orientalism' have recently been published, that one by John Mackenzie focuses on the arts while the other by Mohammed Sharafuddin concentrates on Romantic literature. When the two works are amalgamated they cover some similar ground to that specified in this thesis, with the difference that they have focused on Edward Said's *Orientalism* and on those who subscribe to his view of Orientalists in general. Another book concerning the same material was written earlier by John Sweetman who remarked that Said has a debatable thesis on the subject of the visual arts but does not go on to discuss it.[1]

According to Mackenzie, Said's book is polemical and consequently Mackenzie's book will be the same. He believes that this is the only way to grapple with Said. Mackenzie works towards a similar goal to Said, but wants to achieve it through understanding appropriate historical and cultural contextualisation. Mackenzie argues that when techniques of cultural cross-referencing are used, twentieth century insults often become nineteenth century compliments and sympathies.[2] According to Mackenzie historians are clear and readable while theorists are abstract, retreating into a corner.[3] Mackenzie agrees that sympathies can only be built upon the exposure of areas of alleged misunderstandings of the past. But, according to him, the identification of negative stereotyping, slights and insults on the basis of late twentieth century perceptions has the opposite effect. It poisons the deep wells of sympathy and respect which artists of all sorts felt for the east in distinctly nineteenth

century ways, not necessarily amenable to the critical values of the twentieth century. In Orientalism, more than in other fields, a particular selection of paintings, or quotations, can be used to prove anything.[4] Modern critics damage the intercultural relations which should seek sympathy for the future, because of a monolithic binary vision of the past. Orientalism was endlessly protean, if this was adopted to further the western arts it does not invalidate the synthetic creative act which followed or the products which survive. Inevitably some dross was produced but many masterpieces remain. Mackenzie sums up with the premise that Said and his followers could only agree with the statement that no true art can ever be founded upon a perpetual parade of cultural superiority, or an outpouring of imperialist bile.[5]

By the end of reading Mackenzie's book, with his unique approach towards Orientalism, one cannot help but be struck by the similarities of his conclusions with those of Said and his followers. Then Mackenzie broadens his criticism and says that the work of Said and Rana Kabbani is riddled with misconceptions and only serves to further the misunderstanding they seek to allay.[6] For Mackenzie Orientalism, in art and music, tends to be given a privileged alterity: it is viewed as the single other against which Europe was constantly setting itself, while in reality internal as well as external others were sought out, such as the Scottish, Spanish, Russian, cultures and others.[7] Mackenzie also criticises Rana Kabbani's interpretation of Orientalism and claims that she misses the complexities and dualities of western representations of the east, as well as adaptations of eastern forms, while taking instead disturbingly ahistorical forms. According to Mackenzie when "Occidental susceptibilities are applied to nineteenth century art it is at worst reduced to grotesquerie".[8]

It would be pertinent to refer to Kabbani's book *Europe's Myths of Orient* (1986) which is based on her doctoral thesis submitted at Cambridge University. She conducts a detailed study of travel literature beginning with Arab travel writers, the colonists of the times and ends with

nineteenth century colonists, of which the British were the main examples. In her introductory chapter she traces a common characteristic amongst all of the writers, which was the indulgence in exaggeration while describing alien cultures and the conscious promotion of the colonising power. One disturbing factor in this study may be her pellucid depiction of these traits which does not leave room for other readings. In doing so she projects the feelings of countless readers of the cultures that have for centuries been alienated. She continues to pile evidence to prove her case through detailed analysis up to modern times with a chapter devoted to orientalist artists of today.

The fact that this may be wearisome can only accentuate the frustration of the communities which have had these readings imputed to them for centuries. It would be more conducive to understanding if the dominant cultures adopted a more amenable attitude, in order that the debate may progress. Impatience will terminate the efforts of suppressed societies, which are only beginning to put forward a different point of view. The fact that the opinions they project are personal, communal, as well as subscribed to by respected academics from all disciplines, even in the dominant cultures, demands a more accommodative attitude rather than dismissal on the basis of personal irritation.

The prolific material studied in this book also contributes to the view that, in spite of access to greater information about the discussed communities, a persistent misunderstanding continues which needs to be discussed further.

Mohammed Sharafuddin's *Islam and Romantic Orientalism* of 1994 is an attempt to put forward an opposing approach to Said's which he calls realistic "Orientalism." He expounds the idea that historical development must be historically realistic and states that what Said wants cannot be achieved in one leap from darkness to light and from prejudice to truth. Orientalism can, however incompletely encourage and foster a discovery of the orient. Sharafuddin focuses his study on Landor, Southey, Moore and Byron

and considers the stimulus for their interest in the orient to be a form of rebellion against their own societies. He commends their sympathetic portrayal of Islam and states that Byron relied on many popular Islamic sources and western commentaries. Sharafuddin overlooks the 14 centuries that have elapsed since Islam was introduced to the world, and, however incompletely Orientalism may have encouraged the discovery of the orient, even eight hundred years is a considerable length of time to have enabled a better understanding than that which has been displayed.

After reading these books one can only conclude that, in spite of their purported denunciation of Said, they all in some way or the other express an opinion similar to his. No matter how these writers attempt to explain away Said's allegations they tend to prove exactly what he propounded.

As misunderstanding is usually generated by distance and ignorance of the problem, this can be overcome by acquiring knowledge and familiarity with it. Since a vacuum concerning realistic portrayals of Islam has existed for so long, attempts to point out the injustices to an appropriated community are just beginning. It is too early to protest, for those sensitive to criticism of Orientalism, as it is for those critical of feminism. The voice of the other side is just beginning to be heard. If that tentative effort can arouse such strong emotions, then the feelings of a community which has been marginalised for centuries and continues to be so can only be conjectured. In any case, continuing to struggle in this quagmire of misunderstandings is detrimental to academic discourse. Meaningful dialogue becomes more important in considering those countries that were part of empire, and the effect that the salutary and even flawed policies of the colonial powers had on the population. It was immaterial what the intentions were, because when the affected populations took on board the negative opinions of their colonists, they also acquired the beneficial ones which had a positive effect. As the gap between the colonised period and independence has increased, the focus has been

mainly on the negative effects, something which has resulted in the entrenchment of these societies and the expression of defiance in living up to the deleterious images. It would be advantageous to acknowledge this factor as dialogue must continue in full cognisance of the effects produced. The ends aimed at are not unattainable, as proponents of Islam and the Muslim sensibilities like Malek Bennabi, who personally suffered at the hands of the French colonists, have also subscribed to it. Writing in 1949, Bennabi commented that European society had pulled the Muslim world out of the chaos of occult forces with which it had replaced its spirit and upon which it was foundering. Bennabi wrote this after describing an experience in which he had wept at seeing the Prophet's name used derisively over a stall in the 1931 Colonial exhibition in Paris. He compared the Muslim world to a shadow deformed by the imagination of the visionaries who had lost, along with their sense of the real, the very genius of the soil He was also critical of Muslim society and of what he called the post-Muwahhid man, who was the incarnation of colonisibility. This was his term for a person whom the coloniser makes perform the role of the indigene whether in the guise of a pasha, a false alim, a false intellectual or beggar. According to Bennabi, the Muslim world had frozen in 1349 in which state it still seems to be.[9]

Despite the trend of the majority over the years, there have been, as observed, efforts by writers in the west to overcome the barriers of misunderstanding between the two cultures. The efforts of controversial writers must also be acknowledged for they have kept the issue in the forefront. A different perspective is always welcome, but criticism is more constructive when it is based on fact. It is equally obvious that concern for future welfare only occurs when affections are engaged between two entities. The burgeoning Muslim civilisation's translating and expanding on Greek and other classics contributed towards the preservation of the western world's civilisation. Similarly the efforts of the Orientalists towards the preservation and translations of Muslim culture, art and literature is to be appreciated, for

they perpetuated an inheritance which its custodians allowed to disintegrate. If it were not for each other the two would not be. In the spirit of accommodation, it is to be hoped that the Muslim world and western academia will not allow personal irritations to interfere with their judgement and will instead appreciate the constructive intent underlying the criticism of each other's works. To do so will always be beneficial to dialogue and the state of misunderstanding and consequent misrepresentations in English literature and other mediums will not remain in the present unsatisfactory situation, a situation which has existed for centuries.

If the attribution of these distortions were anodyne it would be easy to ignore them. However the deleterious ramifications of these distortions cannot be ignored. Thereby a need arises for access to the Islamic aspect, which became even more pertinent while this study of Islam and the Muslims was commencing. The need has heightened now because the perceptibly rebellious conduct of the previously colonised Muslims and the prevailing misconceptions of Islam have consolidated the inimical image of the religion. This image has sadly consolidated itself not only in the minds of the west, but also in those of Muslim posterity. This is because, presently, both sides generally obtain their information about Islam and Muslim behaviour from distorted sources and have unquestioningly assimilated these erroneous ideas. Some of these accounts are indigenous while other, nonindigenous ones, have become classics. These supersede any later works taking up a reasonable stance which the western as well as the indigenous mind at times regard as aberration. Therefore the problem of overcoming the misconceptions about Islam has become twofold, as now, along with outside observers, the Muslims themselves are not too certain of their religious stipulations. This lacuna can be rectified by detailed theological delving into works and concepts that form the fundamentals of Islam and or disparate Muslim nationalities. A fresh appraisal of this inherent problem of misunderstanding would be beneficial and timely for all concerned.

NOTES

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NAME	YEAR	PLACE
Cara Mustapha	*1686*	
Zaire	*1732*	*Paris*
Banditi	*1781*	
Gulnaré	*1798*	
Zaira	*1803*	
Gulistan	*1805*	
Zaira	*1805*	
Circassian Bride	*1809*	
Bayaderes	*1810*	
Abu Hassa	*1811*	
Faruk	*1812*	
L,Italiana In Algeria	*1819*	*Haymarket*
Il Turco In Italia	*1821*	*King's Theatre*
Aladdin	*1826*	
Oberon	*1826*	*Covent Garden*
Arabi nelle Gallie	*1827*	
Abdul und Erinieh	*1828*	
Le Dieu Et La Bayadere	*1830*	*Paris*
Ali Baba	*1833*	
La Revolte Au Serail	*1833*	*Paris*
The Arab Of The Desert	*1837*	*Sadlers Wells*
Zohrab The Hostage	*1837*	*Covent Garden*
The Cataract Of The Ganges	*1837*	*Covent Garden*
Timur The Tartar	*1837*	*Sadlers Wells*
The Indian Girl	*1837*	*Drury Lane*
El Hyder	*1837*	*Sadlers Wells*
Babu	*1838*	

Arajoon	*1838*	*Adelphi*
Leil, Maid Of The Alhambra	*1838*	*Sadlers Wells*
Englishmen In India	*1839*	*Drury Lane*
Le Diable Amoureux	*1840*	*Musique Paris*
Anato, King Of Assyria	*1840*	*City Of London*
The Pacha Of Egypt	*1840*	*Sadlers Wells*
Die Entfuhrung Aus Dem Serail	*1841*	*Drury Lane*
Semiramide	*1842*	*Covent Garden*
Abd El Kader	*1842*	*Sadlers Wells*
Conqueror's Steed; Karabagh	*1842*	*Sadlers Wells*
Lalla Rookh	*1842*	*Sadlers Wells*
La Peri	*1843*	*Paris*
Love And Vengeance	*1843*	*Sadlers Wells*
The Son Of The Desert	*1843*	*Sadlers Wells*
Ali Hitsch Hatsch	*1844*	
Aladdin	*1844*	*Lyceum*
Alzira	*1845*	
Crusaders	*1846*	
Nabucco	*1846*	*Her Majesty's Theatre*
Lalla Rookh Or The Rose Of Lahore	*1846*	*Her Majesty's Theatre*
The Desert: Or The Imann's Daughter	*1847*	*Drury Lane*
Thea Ou La Feé Aux Fleurs	*1847*	*Her Majesty's Theatre. London*
La Fille De Marbre	*1847*	*Musique, Paris*
Corsaro	*1848*	
Leila	*1848*	
Abd El Kader	*1848*	*Victoria*
Caid	*1849*	
Conquista de Granada	*1850*	
Moses In Egypt	*1850*	*Covent Garden*
The Apostate	*1852*	*Marylebone*
World 's War	*1854*	*Victoria*
Le Corsaire	*1856*	*Paris*
The Arab Of The Desert	*1856*	*Astley's*
India In 1857	*1857*	*Surrey*
Sacountla	*1858*	*Opera Paris*
The Corsair	*1859*	*Victoria*
Le Papillon	*1860*	*Paris*
Circassiene	*1861*	

Lalla-Roukh	*1862*	
Nana Sahib	*1863*	*Victoria*
The Hump-Backed Horse	*1864*	*St. Petersburg*
Abu hassan	*1865*	*Covent Garden*
Cid	*1865*	
Zaidé	*1866*	*Salzburg*
La Source	*1866*	*Paris*
Leila	*1868*	*Brittania*
The Abyssinian War	*1868*	*Royal Alfred*
Pindee Singh	*1868*	*Royal Charing*
Abon Hassan	*1869*	*Cross Theatre*
Zana	*1870*	*Brittania*
Äida	*1876*	*Covent Garden*
Zelma	*1876*	*Brittania*
La Bayadere	*1877*	*St. Petersburg*
The Circassian	*1877*	*Criterion*
Yedda	*1879*	*Paris*
Zoraiya, Or The Moorish Woman In Spain	*1881*	*Maryinsky Theatre St. Petersburg*
Namouna	*1882*	*Theatre de l'Opera, Paris*
Sakuntla	*1884*	*Paris Opera*
Lakmé	*1885*	*London Gaiety Theatre*
Mikado	*1885*	
The Mikado	*1885*	*Savoy Theatre*
The Talisman	*1889*	*St. Petersburg*
La Garconniere	*1889*	*Prince of Wales*
The Begum's Diamonds	*1889*	*Avenue*
Barbier von Baghdad	*1891*	*Savoy Theatre*
The Nautch Girl	*1891*	*Savoy Theatre*
The Naulakha	*1891*	*Opera Comique*
Boabdil	*1892*	
Mirza	*1893*	*Opera Comique*
Tarass Bulba	*1895*	
Geisha	*1896*	
The Geisha	*1896*	*Daly's Theatre*
The Yashmak	*1897*	*Shaftesbury Theatre*
A Greek Slave	*1898*	*Daly's Theatre*

A Chinese Honeymoon	*1899*	*Theatre Royal, Hanley*
San Toy	*1899*	*Daly's Theatre*
The Rose Of Persia	*1899*	*London*
Carnac Sahib	*1899*	*Her Majesty's Theatre*
The Sons Of The Empire	*1899*	*Brittania*
The Blood-Red Flower	*1907*	*St.Petersburg*
Cleopatra	*1909*	*Paris*
Schehrazade	*1910*	*Paris*
Petrouchka	*1911*	*Paris*
The Sleeping Princess	*1921*	*London*
Cydalise Et Le Chevre-Pied	*1923*	*Paris*

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